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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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George F. Thomson, journalist, is assistant editor on the staff of *St. Nicholas.* Mr. Thomson was born and reared in Craig, Missouri. Following his graduation at Northwestern University (Ill.), he did journalistic work in Chicago and Boston. In August, 1917, he enlisted in the Royal Flying Corps, went to France, served as a lieutenant and pilot until June, 1918, when he was shot down and made a prisoner. He was later repatriated and in 1919 was discharged with the honorary rank of lieutenant in the Royal Air Force.

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William G. Bek, a native Missourian, is head of the department of Germanic languages in the University of North Dakota. His contributions, brochures and translations relating to German settlements in the United States place him among the highest authorities in this line of historical research. His translation of "Duden's Report," lately published in the *Review*, is regarded by scholars as one of the most important contributions to western history that has appeared in recent years.

John N. Edwards (deceased), one of the most widely known journalists of Missouri, was a member of Shelby's expedition to Mexico. He is regarded by some competent authorities as having been the greatest master of journalistic writing that the State has produced.

HOW MISSOURI COMMEMORATED.

By Walter B. Stevens.

Woe to the people that lets its historic memories die; recreant to honor, gratitude, yea to its own life, it perishes with them.—*Rev. Dr. Truman Marcellus Post, Washington University's first Professor of History, at the Dedication of the Blair Monument in Forest Park.*

Missouri has commemorated one hundred years of statehood. None of the twenty-three States preceding Missouri into the Union has more reason for satisfaction on the manner of Centennial observance.

The Committee of One Thousand, meeting in Kansas City, November 24, 1916, builded well. From that day to the concluding events of this centennial year of 1921, Missouri has recalled in varied and fitting forms the past. Five years have passed since the one thousand Missourians, representing widely and generally the communities of the State, came together to inspire each other and their fellow citizens with the purpose of taking stock of Missouri statehood. In that half of Missouri's closing decade of the first century but few weeks have gone by without some form of observance. Here it has been the centennial of a pioneer church or institution. There it has been the celebration of some basic element of the State's material life that has claimed. The progress of higher education in a hundred years has been traced. Successive steps of Missouri's Struggle for Statehood from 1817 to 1821 have been brought home to this generation in impressive manner. Editors, teachers, ministers, the legal fraternity, have given time to research, to writing and talking of Missouri history.

At Columbia, January 8, 1918, the centennial of the presentation of Missouri's petition to Congress for statehood and admission to the Union found assembled a distinguished company to participate in an all-day program. Missouri's century of progress in religion, in education, in business, in the several professions, was traced in a series of addresses of permanent interest and value. A pioneer dinner, true to the traditions, by the light of candles, gave realistic setting to the memories. The songs of generations past were sung. It was an occasion to be remembered for a lifetime. Two years later, on the 25th of March, 1920, was commemorated at Columbia, in pageant and speech, the day one hundred years before when the news came from Washington that Congress had enacted the Missouri Compromise and when the first newspaper "extra" issued west of the Mississippi was on the streets of St. Louis. These timely celebrations at Missouri's educational center were under the auspices of the State Historical Society, the Columbia Commercial Club and the artistic organizations of the University of Missouri.

Missouri editors, meeting in Columbia for Journalism Week, made a pilgrimage to Old Franklin to honor the memory of Nathaniel Patton and the *Intelligencer* of 1819.

At Washington, in Southern California, in New York and other parts of the country, Missourians abroad kept the Centennial and sent back to the home State their remembrances.

Daughters of 1812, with all-day ceremonial and in the presence of the national officers of their organization, unveiled tablets in the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis, paying tribute in bronze to the "Founders of Missouri."

Daughters of the American Revolution marked with enduring granite the points of interest along the great trail to Boone's Lick country and on to Independence and Westport, the outfitting points of the Santa Fe Trail. In 1921 they made a pilgrimage to St. Charles, the first state capital to honor in the form of tablet the memory of the important part that community has borne in the history of the State.

The Missouri Valley Historical Society at Kansas City kept impressively the Centennial of Steam Navigation of the Missouri river with banquet, songs, poems and reminiscences, which drew to the City Club a gathering representative to Kansas City's best citizenship.

And so Missouri's centennial period has gone by with the celebration of a succession of centennial days and events which recalled Missouri's travail for statehood and Missouri's beginnings in state life. Interest has grown. Its fruition has been the formation of historical societies and local observances in many communities in the growth of the State Historical Society giving that organization the foremost rank in membership west of the Alleghanies. This virile interest in Missouri history, inspired by the centennial period, has prompted poetic tributes which would fill a large book, historical addresses which would require a series of volumes, and newspaper columns which are countless. Especially notable has been this growing space given in the past five years by the press to Missouri history. More than one hundred pages of the *Missouri Historical Review* have been filled with the condensed titles of these newspaper contributions.

Missouri history has come into its own place in the courses of study at the State's institutions of higher education. This has been true of those institutions where it will be of widest influence—the several State Teachers' Colleges. There are now textbooks of high standards on Missouri history adapted to grade schools, to high schools and to colleges. For theses on which to present claims to higher degrees graduate students are finding subjects in Missouri's past.

Many and varied were the observances by which Missouri commemorated and they were well distributed through the years which followed the meeting of the Committee of One Thousand at Kansas City in 1916. The climax of interest and participation was reached in the official commemoration at Sedalia. By the records of Secretary Bylander, 323,000 passed through the gates from August 8 to August 20, 1921. The thirteen days included the centennial of the date of President Monroe's proclamation, August 10, 1821: "The admission of the State of Missouri into this Union is declared complete."

Happily conceived and efficiently carried out were the plans for the official commemoration. On the recommendation of Governor Arthur M. Hyde, the General Assembly appropriated $150,000. Under the act, the Missouri Centennial Commission was organized. Governor Hyde was elected president of the commission. Lieutenant-Governor

Hiram Lloyd was made vice-president of the commission and chairman of the executive committee, giving his entire time to the duties of the position. The membership of the commission included the state officers,—Attorney-General Jesse W. Barrett, State Auditor George E. Hackmann, State Treasurer L. D. Thompson, Secretary of State Charles U. Becker, Speaker S. F. O'Fallon, Senators R. F. Ralph, W. T. Robinson, W. M. Bowker, J. D. Hostetter, Representatives F. H. Hopkins, who was made secretary of the commission, W. R Lay, Wilson Cramer, S. L. Highleyman, J. W. Head, Oak Hunter, Charles L. Ferguson, D. E. Killam, President of the State Board of Agriculture, A. T. Nelson and President of the State Fair Board, A. C. Dingle.

The appropriation of state funds was wisely applied to the increase of the premiums of the State Fair by fifty per cent; to the production of the Pageant of Missouri, a spectacle not equaled in magnitude or in splendor by any other state centennial; and to the assembling of an historical exhibit which proved to be one of the outstanding features in popularity of the Exposition. Day after day visitors by thousands flocked to the Education Building and thronged about these historical exhibits. Their interest was expressed in the lingering around the cases, in the comments, in the numberless questions. Strong and lasting impressions of Missouri's great past were carried away. Could it have been otherwise with such evidences?

The original commission issued to the first woman postmaster in the United States, a Missourian who served so well in that official position that she was continued in office under nine Presidents. That commission, issued in form before women were recognized, referred to this Missourian as "he."

The great iron kettle in which the Boones boiled down water from "the Lick" and made salt so necessary to render food palatable and healthy when meat was the Missouri pioneer's staff of life.

A table cloth for which the women of one Missouri family plowed the ground, sowed the seed, harvested the flax, carded, spun and wove the finished product.

Babies' dresses, daintily trimmed, which had served five generations, and which, in good state of preservation, were brought from careful wrappings to show how Missouri motherhood wrought a hundred years ago.

Grandfathers' clocks, "in running order," ivory fans, India shawls, lace caps, homemade cradles, colonial chairs, warming pans, muskets, snuff-boxes.

Farming tools made by hand on the pioneer farms, rough as to finish but of evident efficiency.

There were spinning-wheels, andirons, candlesticks, daguerrotypes, tapestry.

Quilts there were in number, variety and ingenuity of design to tax the judgment of the jury of award.

To Lieutenant-Governor Lloyd, as director, to Senator Robinson, as chairman of the historical exhibits committee, and to Professor C. H. McClure of the Warrensburg Teachers' College, as superintendent, was due the credit of this great collection of Missouri historical exhibits. Probably none of them realized what was to come when the invitation went forth to Missouri families to send in their treasured relics, none of which might be fewer than fifty years old. But the contributions overflowed allotted space until in cases, upon frames and walls, and over the aisles they occupied nearly one-half of the spacious Education Building. But what more educational to Missourians than these same hundreds of exhibits could have been displayed!

As the visitor entered the Education Building there came into full view the exhibit of the Missouri Historical Society, the organization formed at St. Louis more than half a century ago by Elihu Shepard, the pioneer schoolmaster; Thomas Allen, the pioneer railroad builder; Charles and Pierre Chouteau; Albert Todd, Thomas T. Gantt, Henry Shaw, Charles Gibson and other foremost men of the city who at that early date realized the importance of preserving Missouri history for coming generations. The exhibit was selected and arranged with impressive effect by Mrs. Nettie Harney Beauregard, archivist of the Society, from the thousands of historic pictures, manuscripts, and relics which fill the Jefferson

Memorial at St. Louis. Portraits of distinguished Missourians who have passed, from Benton to Mark Twain; drawings in black and white of the colonial buildings of St. Louis; prints and sketches of pioneer events, documents and manuscripts, medals and miniatures, maps and photographs—all relating to Missouri's history from the coming of Laclede and Chouteau down through the 150 years and more of development.

There were such odd articles as the combined oil and timepiece; as the oil burned down it showed the hour by the numerals on the container. The scales upon which the gold of returning Forty-niners was weighed at the Palmyra branch of the old State bank. A picture of the Judgement Tree under which Daniel Boone, syndic of the colonial government, dispensed common sense justice to pioneer Missourians. The pin-cushion and threadholder which Mrs. James Monroe, wife of the President, gave to Mrs. Samuel Hammond, wife of Missouri's territorial governor.

Original bills issued by the first banks, the Bank of Missouri and the Bank of St. Louis, which flourished and liquidated before statehood.

Posters of the early steamboats and of stage coaches and of political meetings. Black-bordered funeral notices according to the custom which preceded the daily newspaper.

Autograph letters of Benton, Linn and other Missourians of the days before the typewriter.

A reprint of the *Missouri Gazette*, the first Missouri newspaper, published in 1808, which changed its name to the Republican and became the *St. Louis Republic*. A memorandum told that the files of this newspaper published continuously 110 years, are preserved in the fireproof Jefferson Memorial.

St. Louis people are familiar with the wonderful historical collection housed in the Jefferson Memorial. Many thousands from out in the State gained their first realization of the magnitude and variety of the collection from this exhibit at Sedalia.

When the moving-picture operators roamed through the Centennial Exposition, seeking the most striking objects and scenes to portray for the information and interest of those who could not come to Sedalia, they halted at Professor McClure's Historical Department and put down cameras and tripods for a prolonged stay. The aisles were cleared, the cases were moved about, platforms were improvised, exhibits were rearranged with reference to light effects.

In the heart of the department was an exhibit, a live exhibit, the like of which the moving-picture men, as well as most of the Exposition visitors, had never before seen. Here were the card, the spinning-wheel and the great loom. Hour after hour and day after day they were in actual use, doing the service once familiar in the households of pioneer Missouri. The deft fingers of Mrs. Ann Denton and her assistant, Miss Mary Jane Gilbert, carded, spun and wove as if it was every-day occupation with them, while the films recorded the methods of textile industry in its infancy.

Lasting influence of the Historical Department, and it may be well said of the entire Centennial Exposition, found effective expression in the exhibit and effort of the State Historical Society under the immediate direction of Sectetary Shoemaker's winning personality. The State Historical Society receives, binds and preserves in its fireproof building at Columbia nearly 484 newspapers, the leading dailies and weeklies, representing every county in the State and City of St. Louis. There are now in this collection 11,000 bound files, two of them over one hundred years old, and many of them seventy-five years old. Of the substantial and permanent manner in which this work is done, Mr. Shoemaker exhibited a number of sample files. From the most complete collection in existence of books by more than 7,000 Missouri writers, the secretary filled several cases by way of illustration of the widely varied character of Missouri authorship. From the 145,000 books and pamphlets were shown selections of the oldest and rarest. Nowhere else in Missouri, not even at Jefferson City, because of the capitol fires, is there a collection of state documents to compare with that of the

State Historical Society. One of the most recent works of the Society was shown in the two large, handsomely printed volumes of the history and proceedings of the last Constitutional Convention, that of 1875. But, perhaps, of farthest-reaching effect upon the Exposition visitor were the stacks of the most recent issues of the *Missouri Historical Review*, the quarterly magazine in which have been printed during this centennial year more than eight hundred pages of Missouri history. Copies of the *Review*, Secretary Shoemaker distributed with brief talks emphasizing the Society's official relation to the State and the fact that the Society's resources were at the service, without cost, of all Missourians.

In these sample copies of the *Review* was an especially valuable article by Dr. Jonas Viles and Professor Jesse Wrench of the University of Missouri, giving in detail what has been done recently and what can be done in the way of organization of local historical societies and the establishment of memorial museums. To most readers the information of widespread activity in the formation of historical societies in Missouri was a complete surprise. These two well-known teachers of history wisely and truthfully said:

"In every case the State Historical Society is ready and eager to assist in every way within its power, not only the problems of organization but even more the problem of what to do after the local society is fairly launched. The State Society hopes and expects to be the means of correlating and co-ordinating this local activity throughout the State, so that one county will know what others are doing, learn from their experiences and inform them of its successes."

The idea of state-wide and permanent interest in Missouri history was kept in view by Governor Hyde, Lieutenant-Governor Lloyd and the Centennial Commission. In his introduction to the Book of the Pageant and the Souvenir Program, Governor Hyde wrote:

"It is appropriate that each community in the commonwealth should hold a local celebration of its own, reviewing not only the State's history, but emphasizing the historic incidents, developments and achievements of the locality."

The Centennial Commission issued and spread broadcast throughout the State an attractive booklet of eighty pages on "How to Celebrate Missouri's Centennial, A Handbook of Suggestions." This opened with an illuminating and carefully detailed program for local celebrations prepared by Professor E. M. Violette who had the benefit of experience with the highly successful celebration at Kirksville. Throughout Professor Violette's article ran the thread of more than temporary amusement or enthusiasm in such celebrations.

Professor C. H. McClure, head of the department of history in the Teachers College at Warrensburg, told "How You Can Organize a Local Historical Society," a work in which Warrensburg had furnished a conspicuous example.

"How Schools Can Celebrate the Centennial" was from the pen of State Superintendent Sam A. Baker, presenting the importance of the study of State and local history by Missouri school children.

"How to Compile a County History" was illustrated in graphic detail by "A History of Boone County," prepared by the State Historical Society. This was a revelation of the richness of local history.

"How to Produce a Pageant" not only went into details of this now popular form of celebration but told of the successes at Kirksville and Columbia and suggested a long list of pageant subjects which might be taken from Missouri History.

And, finally, this Handbook gave Professor McClure's "One Hundred Interesting Facts About Missouri," a compilation worth while in every Missourian's library.

What shall be written of "The Pageant of Missouri" that those who did not see it may realize something about it! It must be tame and unsatisfactory. The great stage, with its peristyle and Ozark scenery; its setting of the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri. The stage of thousands of square feet, upon which hundreds of persons moved, upon which horses and oxen trod; in front of which marched and massed the entire National Guard of Missouri. The coming of the first steamboat, crude of design but realistic with smoking chimney and boom from the announcing cannon. The departure of the first railroad train from the shore of Chouteau's Pond, with tooting and sparks. The battle scenes from the years of the Osages and their Indian enemies down through the attack of British upon St. Louis, the Mexican and Civil Wars, to the home coming of Pershing and the Missourians from overseas. The abdication of the throne by Mississippi, queen of the valley, to Missouri, queen of the whole West. The contest of North and South in Congress resulting in the Missouri Compromise.

No words were spoken as the pageant moved through the three periods,—"Discovery," "Development," "Achievement." But there were cheers from the massed actors which swelled to mighty volume nightly from the 20,000 spectators as the thrilling events rapidly succeeded each other. At the climax of the second period a chorus of one hundred sang Lizzie Chambers Hull's "Missouri" to Noel Poepping's music.

When the professional pageant masters had elaborated their scenic and dramatic framework, Chairman Lloyd and the executive committee of the Commission called in several writers of Missouri history to advise as to the incidents of the fourteen episodes of the three grand periods. Thus was given to the Pageant its character and personality illustrative of Missouri history. In the fitting Book of the Pageant Floyd C. Shoemaker has given these vivid descriptions and significant explanations of the several episodes:

Episode One, of the "Discovery" period, is located on the Mississippi. The master of ceremonies, with four pages, enters escorting the Spirit of the Mississippi.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: The most important geographical factor in the early history of the Mississippi Valley was the great river itself, the Mississippi. This artery of travel and commerce, extending from middle Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico, was the highway, and in fact the only open path available for the use of man in the days of discovery. With its tributaries, it spread like a gigantic piece of network from the Lakes to the Gulf, from the Alleghanies to the Rockies. The highways on land after decades of development never entirely displaced it until the coming of the railroads. It is, therefore, appropriate that the

Spirit of the Mississippi be the commanding character in this episode. The best and most interesting work on this river is by a native Missourian, Mark Twain's "Life on the Mississippi."

The Mississippi River was discovered by the white man in 1541. The famous Spanish explorer, DeSoto, first viewed it on April 25, 1541, at a place near the Chickasaw Bluffs, a few miles below Memphis. DeSoto crossed over with his followers into what is today Arkansas. He traveled northward and then westward thru the Ozark highlands and he may have set foot on Missouri soil. If so he was the first white man to visit our territory. DeSoto died in Arkansas in 1542 at a place called Guacoya, and tradition reports that his body was buried in the "Father of Waters."

Episode Two represents the same time and place and is a dramatic presentation symbolized by spirits and fairies and dancing.

Episode Three is of the year 1673 and the scene is in Missouri, on the banks of the Mississippi.

Twenty Osage Indian braves, eight squaws, eight papooses, and a chief portray Indian life in Missouri, erecting tepees and preparing a meal. A horn sounds in the forest and startles the Indian village. Some of the braves enter forest and return bearing a wounded Indian. A pow-wow takes place, and the medicine man appears. An Indian war dance is given. A sentinel gives alarm. Father Marquette and Joliet are seen in canoe. They make a sign of peace which the chief answers. The Indian braves return. Father Marquette and Joilet show alarm, and the chief reassures them. They smoke the pipe of peace and Father Marquette tells the "Sweet story of peace on earth, good-will to men." The Indians strike camp and the explorers depart in canoe.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: Altho the influence of the Indians in peace and war was felt in practically every American commonwealth during the days of discovery and pioneer settlement, few states were so fortunate in establishing amicable relations with them as was Missouri. This was due largely to the peculiar adaptitude of our early French settlers in dealing peaceably and justly with their aboriginal neighbors, and also because of the admirable handling of the Indians by Missouri's last territorial governor, William Clark, who later became the national government's Indian agent in the West. Another fact of importance is that Missouri, unlike many states, never had a large number of Indians, Indian tribes, or warlike chiefs of ability. It seems that the Osages were the distinctive Indians peculiar to and historically native to Missouri.

The Missouris, who gave their name to the river, were living here when Marquette and Joliet made their famous trip in 1673. They were never a strong tribe. As early as 1702 their number was estimated at only 200 families, and in 1805 they numbered only 300 souls. In 1829 they were found with the Oto, in Nebraska, and numbered only 80, and in 1885 there were only 40 individuals remaining. For a hundred years they have been absorbed by the Oto. Other Indian tribes that settled temporarily in Missouri came late, as the Sauks, Foxes and Delawares. These originated east of the Mississippi and settled in Missouri during the Spanish period (the latter half of the eighteenth century).

The Osages were the distinctive Indians of Missouri, and well might any state be proud of having produced such perfect physical specimens. The great artist, Catlin, who best judged the American Indians from coast to coast, states that the Osages were "the tallest race of men in North America, either of red or white skins." Few Osage braves were under six feet, many were six feet and six inches, and some were seven feet. They were well proportioned and good looking. In movement they were quick and graceful. In war and the chase they equaled any. Altho living close to the white man for decades they late retained their primitive customs and dress. The Osages shaved the head and decorated and painted it with great care. They cut and slit the ears and profusely ornamented them. One trait of character distinguishes them. Altho they had the Indians' love for whiskey, and altho in early times they satisfied this love, by 1840 they had become and were total abstainers, despite the enticements of the traders.

The Osages are mentioned on Marquette's map of 1673 as living on the Osage river, where they are also placed by all subsequent writers until their removal westward in the nineteenth century.

The name Osage is a French corruption by the early traders of the Indians' own name, Wazhazhe (variously spelled Wa-saw-see and Wos-sosh-e). Altho visits of traders were evidently quite common before 1719, the first official French visit appears to have been in that year by Du Tisne. They were divided into several tribes and villages, and had 750 warriors in 1804 besides 600 in the Arkansas band. Even as late as the '30s their total population was over 5,000. On November 10, 1808, by a treaty with the United States at Fort Clark, near Kansas City (Missouri), the Osage ceded all their lands east of a line running due south from Fort Clark to the Arkansas river. They later ceded their Missouri land lying west of this line.

It is fitting that, in the pageant, the Osage Indians should typify Indian life in Missouri. Dramatic license here pictures Father Marquette and Joliet meeting the Osage. It is not recorded that these two men ever came in contact with this tribe.

The famous expedition of Father Marquette and Joliet in 1673 is known to every student of American history. They were the first white men after DeSoto in 1541 to traverse the Mississippi for an extended distance. Other French explorers, notably Radisson and Groseilliers, may have seen and traveled the northern waters of the Mississippi in 1659-60 but they had not drifted southward for any distance. Marquette and Joliet entered the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin river. They floated down the "Father of Waters," made temporary camps from night to night, passed the mouth of the Missouri, and ended their journey at the mouth of the Arkansas river. They started on their return journey on July 17, 1673, and reached Green Bay, Wisconsin, at the end of September. Joliet went to Quebec, where the news of the discovery was received with great joy. In 1674 Father Marquette undertook to found a mission among the Illinois. He died on May 19, 1675.

The main object of the Marquette-Joliet exploration was to traverse the Mississippi River and determine into what waters it emptied. The object was not accomplished in person but the explorers learned definitely from the Indians as well as from the direction of the flow of the river that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. They had hoped that it flowed into the Pacific Ocean, thus giving a waterway across the continent with only a short portage between the great Lakes and the Mississippi. The significance of this exploration of Marquette and Joliet lies in their breaking the path through the Mississippi Valley, and in their practically determining into what body of water the Mississippi River emptied. Marquette and Joliet were not the forerunners of either French missionaries or French traders in the Mississippi Valley, but the report of the work as circulated in Canada and France did much to stimulate French activities in the Valley. The inclusion of these two men in the pageant on Missouri history is warranted on the foregoing basis of facts, rather than on any presumed actual landing on Missouri soil by them or any actual meeting between them and the Osages.

Episode Four introduces LaSalle, 1682; the founding of St. Louis, 1764; the British Attack on St. Louis, 1780; Transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States, 1804. The scene is laid in St. Louis.

La Salle and twelve French soldiers arrive and raise the standard of France. Pierre Laclede Liguest, Auguste Chouteau, twenty trappers and hunters, women and children, erect the village of St. Louis. A hunter informs the excited people of the American Revolution and of the expected British attack on St. Louis. British and Indians fire on the stockade. General George Rogers Clark and American Revolutionary soldiers are seen in the distance, rushing to the aid of the French. The British and Indians withdraw. Then enter Captain Amos Stoddard, the American general and official representative of the United States, Governor DeLassus, the Spanish lieutenant-governor; Madame Rigauche, the French schoolmistress who rallied the settlers to the defense of St. Louis; John B. Trudeau, the schoolmaster poet of the attack on St. Louis; Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark, leaders of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition; Charles Gratiot, the French resident who called for three cheers in token of allegiance to the United States; Auguste, Pierre and Madame Chouteau, the "Mother of St. Louis;" J. B. C. Lucas, the personal representative of President Jefferson in St. Louis in 1804; and American troops. Captain Stoddard first takes possession of Upper Louisiana as agent for the French government and then for the American government. The Spanish flag is hauled down; the French flag rises. The Spirit of the Mississippi with attendant spirits ballet. Captain Stoddard replaces the French flag with the Stars and Stripes.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: In this episode are grouped four scenes representing four distinct historical events of importance and covering a period of one hundred and twenty-two years. The first relates to La Salle (1682), the second to the founding of St. Louis (1764), the third to the British and Indian attack on St. Louis (1780), and the fourth to the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States (1804).

Robert Cavelier de La Salle ranks among the great empire builders of France. He had ability, courage, determination, and vision. The Mississippi Valley meant even more to him than a wilderness peopled by Indians who should be converted and who would be profitable trappers of furs for the white man. La Salle viewed this domain as a potential colonial empire for France. He was daring as an explorer, courageous as a trader, but he was great in his vision as an empire builder.

Born a native of France, on November 22, 1643, he died in what is today the State of Texas on March 20, 1687. Few men have so filled their course with activity as he did during his short life of forty-three years. He early went to Canada in 1666 to seek his fortune. From there during the following two decades he headed one expedition after another into the wilds and waters lying to the west and southwest. He was among the first if not the first to view the Ohio and float upon its current. He traversed Lake Michigan from north to south. He viewed the Illinois and the St. Joseph rivers and conceived the scheme of colonizing the Illinois country with his fellow Canadian French. Here he built a fort. Disaster and bankruptcy followed his steps, mutiny and jealousy rose with each exploit, but nothing daunted his great soul. Lesser failures stimulated him to greater efforts.

He conceived the idea and proposed the plan to follow the Mississippi to its mouth. Traversing the Illinois River, he embarked on the Mississippi on February 6, 1682. He reached its mouth on April 9, 1682. There he planted a column bearing the arms of his country and in the name of his sovereign, Louis XIV, took possession of the Mississippi Valley in the name of France.

He returned to his native land, aroused the interest of his king, and sailed for America in command of a squadron. He planned to erect a fort and establish a French settlement on the Gulf of Mexico. Failing to find the mouth of the Mississippi, his expedition finally landed to the westward on the Texas coast. One of his vessels was wrecked, and a subordinate treacherously abandoned the colonists and returned with the fleet to France. For nearly three years every conceivable hardship was endured—sickness, starvation, destitution, isolation, Indian warfare, and finally treachery and even assassination of the great leader himself. A few, a mere handful, of the survivors reached civilization again.

La Salle's scheme was a failure, but his vision and his life lived. France became the mother of the Mississippi Valley, French settlers and traders first colonized the domain from the Lakes to the Gulf and from the Ohio at Pittsburg to the Missouri at Kansas City, and far beyond even these limits their traders, trappers and missionaries penetrated.

No record is there of La Salle having set foot on our soil, but Missouri as part of the great valley of the Mississippi was influenced historically by his achievements. His life is not the sole possession of any state of the Middle West, it belongs to all.

The century following the exploits of La Salle was marked decade by decade with the extension of French influence in the Mississippi Valley. The explorers and missionaries penetrated farther and farther. Others followed to check and consolidate what had been covered hastily. Forts were erected to protect the trapper, to awe the Indian, and to visualize the might and sovereignty of France. And finally came the settler. From Canada he colonized the Illinois country on the east of the Mississippi;

from France by way of the Gulf he founded the embryo cities of Lower Louisiana.

For nearly half a century the west side of the Mississippi was neglected for settlement. Traders and explorers traversed our Missouri land, and miners profitably dug our lead ore, but the headquarters and homes of all were in the Illinois country—in the settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. In 1723 (1719) a French fort, Fort Orleans, was erected up the Missouri river, located somewhere near the present town of Malta Bend. It soon was abandoned or destroyed. A few years later, perhaps in 1735, as some reports have it, the first permanent settlement was made in Missouri. This was Ste. Genevieve, probably in origin a mining and salt-making settlement, later an agricultural village and trading post. Shrouded in historical twilight, almost darkness, is the founding of Ste. Genevieve, and even its first few decades of existence. Not so, however, is the record telling the story of Missouri's second permanent settlement, her capital for over half a century, and today her metropolis.

The annals of the founding of St. Louis, as behooves an event of such historical importance, are accurate, concise, complete, and filled with the romance of a romantic race. Fortunate is a people of city or state who have preserved and cherished the deeds of their ancestors, thereby honoring their forefathers, themselves and their children. The founders of St. Louis were such a race.

Living in New Orleans during the middle of the 18th century was a wealthy merchant by the name of Antoine Maxent. One of his friends and co-workers was a young man of ability, a native of France—Pierre Laclede Liguest. These two secured from the French officials of Louisiana in 1762 the valuable concession of exclusive trading privileges for eight years with the Indians on the Missouri. An expedition was fitted out under the leadership of Laclede and on August 3, 1763, began its slow progress up the Mississippi, reaching the Illinois country on November 3rd. With Laclede was Auguste Chouteau, a lad of thirteen years. After stopping at Ste. Genevieve, where it was found that the warehouses were inadequate for storing the supplies thru the approaching winter, and that it was too far from the mouth of the Missouri river, the expedition made its quarters in old Fort de Chartres on the Illinois side.

From here Laclede and his companion, Auguste Chouteau, crossed over the Mississippi and examined the west bank as far north as the Missouri river, looking for a suitable place to found a new trading post. A site was found a few miles south of the Missouri that seemed perfect for Laclede's purpose. It combined the facilities of an adequate and natural river port, a series of gently sloping natural embankments, rich agricultural lands beyond, plenty of timber for buildings and fuel, and spring water. So nearly perfect was this spot that Laclede visioned not only a trading post but a real settlement which would prosper greatly and eventually prove to be the chrysalis of a city. This was in December of 1763. Laclede marked the trees and proposed a return with men to begin the building of the post as soon as the Mississippi was freed from ice. He turned to the lad Auguste Chouteau and said: "You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form our settlement after the plan I shall give you."

It was on February 14, 1764, that the founders of St. Louis crossed over from Fort Chartres and landed at the new site. There were thirty men, and in the history of St. Louis they have been dubbed "The First Thirty." Auguste Chouteau directed the work. The following day, February 15, 1764, marked the founding of St. Louis. Laclede arrived in April. "He named it St. Louis," wrote Auguste Chouteau, "in honor of Louis XV, whose subject he expected to remain a long time (he never imagined he was a subject of the king of Spain) and of the king's patron saint, Louis IX."

The new colony attracted settlers. Some came thru hope of profit, some thru confidence in Laclede, and others who had learned that the Illinois country on the east had been ceded by France to England in 1763 crossed over to escape British rule and live again under the banner of France. It was soon learned, however, that France by secret treaty in 1762 had also ceded the Louisiana country on the west. This cession was to Spain. But to the French colonists, Spain was preferable to England and so the immigrants from Illinois continued to pour into St. Louis, which became the seat of the Spanish government for Upper Louisiana.

The settlements in Missouri now began to increase. The next three decades witnessed the founding of St. Charles (1768-69), New Madrid (1780), Cape Girardeau (1793), St. Ferdinand, and other villages. The French occupation of Missouri under Spanish rule, together with an influx of some Americans, induced by liberal land grants from the Spanish government, had begun in earnest. Every decade was to see Missouri's population mount higher and higher. The important beginning of this was the founding of St. Louis. That event presaged the future prosperity and position of Missouri.

As no excellence is attained without engaging effort, so is there frequently ever no promise of survival without serious strife. Hardly had a decade passed after the founding of St. Louis and the erection of its stockade when the news was brought that the American colonists on the Atlantic seaboard were in revolution against England. Three years later, in 1778, General George Rogers Clark with his Kentucky riflemen was planning his famous military expedition to strike at the British forts in what is today Illinois and Indiana. Was St. Louis in the west, in the Missouri country, under the Spanish rule to escape the conflict? A blow was to fall on the new post, but British minds, not American, were to direct it.

To strike at the French settlements in the Mississippi Valley from St. Louis to New Orleans was said to be the plan conceived by the British commander on the Lakes. Their Indian allies were to furnish the men, the British commanders the brains and leadership. St. Louis was the first to be attacked.

Unfortunately, tradition and rumor vie with history and fact in describing the circumstances surrounding this farthermost western battle of the period of the American Revolution. Were the inhabitants warned? It seems that they had been but had not made adequate preparations. Was the Spanish commander DeLayba a coward and a traitor? Tradition at least so accuses him. Was the American army under General George Rogers Clark stationed at that time in the Illinois country opposite St. Louis, and if so, was it ready to come to the aid of the St. Louis French or did he or his emissary actually appear? These are intersting questions to which all answers are not unanimous. As regards Clark some evidence points to his presence in Kentucky at this time making preparations to resist the east wing of the proposed British attack on Kentucky.

The attack was made on May 26, 1780. If the attack had been on the day before, when the French colonists were observing the festival of Corpus Christi and many roaming the fields picking strawberries, the result might have been different. As it was, the shock was severe, the loss of life serious, and the result for the few defenders even behind stockade mounted with cannon was in doubt against such great numbers in the attack. Missouri's first schoolmaster and poet, John B. Trudeau, and the schoolmistress, Madame Rigauche, were there. The pageant presents these as encouraging their comrades. Trudeau has left a poem describing the attack, the first poem written on Missouri soil and the first on a Missouri subject. It is in the form of a dialogue between a messenger from St. Louis bearing news of the attack and the Spanish governor in New Orleans. The messenger tells of the cowardice of the Spanish lieutenant-governor at St. Louis.

The attack lasted one day. The French loss was heavy, estimates ranging between 20 and 68 killed, and 18 prisoners; the

British loss, or rather French-Canadian and Indian, was small. The Indians and French-Canadians withdrew from the attack and retreated northeastward. They also relinquished their plan of subduing the French settlements farther south. There is little question that if the Indians and Canadian French had persisted in the attack, St. Louis would probably have fallen. The defenders were few and their artificial means of defense limited. It is reported that some of the Canadian French leaders played false to the British cause and that this together with other factors brought dissension in the ranks of the Indians. The pageant depicts the American command under General George Rogers Clark as appearing in the distance in succor of the French. Clark was possibly in Kentucky, preparing to resist a British and Indian attack on that territory.

The significance of the failure of the attack on St. Louis in 1780 is at least three fold. Primarily, it saved St. Louis from the severities of capture, possibly destruction. It safeguarded the other Missouri settlements. Finally, it resulted in the abandonment of the British plan for the capture of the chain of French posts southward, the erection of British forts, and the substitution of British for Spanish rule in the Louisiana country. These results eliminate from consideration possible negative factors due to the counter-activities of General George Rogers Clark. If St. Louis had fallen, Clark might still have circumvented the British. The least that can be said at any rate is that the result of the failure of the British was directly positive from the standpoint of Missouri and indirectly favorable later from the standpoint of the United States.

The last quarter of a century of Spanish rule in Missouri, the twenty-four years following the attack of 1780, marked the beginning and growth of American immigration to what is now Missouri. Just as the French settlers in Illinois and even Indiana came to Missouri following the acquisition of the east Illinois country by England, so did the acquisition of these parts by the American government during and following the Revolutionary War result in many of both French and American settlers there crossing the Mississippi to Spanish soil. The American administration on the east side of the river had brought confusion, land speculation, taxes, and poor administration of the law. The Spanish authorities in upper Louisiana offered special land inducements. Even some of the settlers in older American territory, especially in Kentucky, made new homes here. Such was the extent of this American immigration that one Missouri settlement, Cape Girardeau, was entirely American and by 1804 over half the population of what is now Missouri was American. Our territory was well prepared racially for the change in rule which came in 1804 as a result of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

The Louisiana Purchase will always rank among the most significant and fundamental acts of the United States. It transferred to our country a domain from which were later carved in whole or in part thirteen states, whose economic value alone is today almost infinitely greater than the purchase price of $15,000,000 paid to France, and whose geographical and racial importance is beyond accurate estimate.

Prior to the Purchase, Spain had ceded all Louisiana to France by the treaty San Ildefonso on October 1, 1800, but Spain remained in actual possession. The United States purchased it on April 30, 1803. The formal transfer and possession of Upper Louisiana did not take place until March 9, 1804. On that day the Spanish lieutenant governor at St. Louis, Governor Carlos DeHault DeLassus, surrendered title and possession to Captain Amos Stoddard, of the American Army, who first acted as a representative of France. After this ceremony had taken place, it is rumored that in deference to the number of French inhabitants, the French flag, which had replaced the Spanish flag, was allowed to remain unfurled for twenty-four hours. On the day following, March 10, 1804, the French flag was lowered, and the United States flag was raised, Captain Stoddard taking possession for the United States.

Many of the original settlers of St. Louis were still living. Among these were Auguste, Pierre, and Madame Chouteau—"The Mother of St. Louis." In the Pageant these persons appear in this scene. Charles Gratiot is also represented. Gratiot was the Frenchman who called for three cheers by the crowd in honor of the American occupation and in token of allegiance to the United States. The famous explorers, Captain Meriwether Lewis and General William Clark, were present, preparing to begin their remarkable expedition to the Pacific, 1804-1806. Both of these men later became Missouri's territorial governors, Clark serving until 1820, when Missouri elected her first state governor.

"Development," the Second Period of the Pageant, opens with the years 1817-1821, Missouri's Struggle for Statehood.

The Spirit of the Mississippi is on the throne with spirits grouped about her. At her feet are floral fairies. Below are groups of French, British and United States Revolutionary troops, and personages heretofore presented. Also present are David Barton, Missouri's first United States Senator; Alexander McNair, Missouri's first State Governor; Frederick Bates, Missouri's territorial secretary and later Missouri's second State Governor; Edward Bates, a leading lawyer, Missouri's first Attorney-General, her second Congressman, and the first cabinet official from west of the Mississippi River; and Joseph Charless, Missouri's first editor. Persons representing Missouri's counties enter. Missouri steps forward and is approached by twenty-three representatives of the twenty-three states which had been admitted. The representatives of the northern states and of the southern states in turn beseech Missouri to come to their side. Both show anger at her hesitation. Groups of citizens on either side are excitedly circulating statehood petitions for signatures to be sent to Congress. Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri's greatest statesman, is at Missouri's side. A messenger enters and hands a scroll to Benton. He reads it. It tells of Missouri's request for statehood having been granted. The excitement ceases. Benton conducts Missouri to the throne. The Spirit of the Mississippi vacates and Missouri is seated, thus proclaiming and assuming her sovereignty. The representatives of the Missouri counties march in pairs and are announced by the master of ceremonies. After 106 of them have appeared, they hesitate. General William Clark, "Red Head," then enters with Indian chiefs of the Sauks and Foxes. The treaty of 1836 is made and signed, and the Indian's final title to Missouri soil is relinquished. The treaty added what is known as the "Platte Purchase Country" to Missouri and her present boundaries were set. Representatives of the eight counties of the Platte Purchase now enter. The county representatives in couples bow to the audience and take their positions.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: This episode attempts to portray Missouri's struggle for statehood. It includes the years 1817 to 1821. Missouri's centennial celebration this year is in commemoration of her birth of statehood one hundred years ago. The episode is, therefore, one of the most significant in the pageant. A resume of events leading up to it is necessary.

Following the American occupation in 1804, Upper Louisiana was governed from St. Louis by Capt. Amos Stoddard, who exercised all military, civil and judicial powers. The population of Upper Louisiana at this time was slightly over 10,000, of which about 4,000 were French, 5,000 were Americans and 1,200 were slaves. Later in the year 1804, on October 1st, Upper Louisiana, or "the district of Louisiana" as it was now called, passed under the jurisdiction of the government of Indiana Territory. Missourians soon protested against this and relief was given by an act of Congress passed on March 3, 1805. This act changed the "District of Louisiana" to the "Territory of Louisiana," and provided for Missouri (including Arkansas) a separate territorial government of the lowest grade. All officers and judges were appointive. The legislature consisted of the Governor and the three territorial Judges.

During the following half decade the Territory of Louisiana (Missouri) made rapid strides. The first newspaper, *The Missouri Gazette*, was established in St. Louis in 1808. By 1810 the population had risen to 19,976, distributed in the five districts of Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. Missourians desired a higher form of government. They petitioned Congress, and on June 4, 1812, the "Territory of Louisiana" became the "Territory of Missouri." Changes were made in the government providing for a two-house legislature, one elected by the people.

The War of 1812 retarded growth, altho Missouri was fortunate even in her Indian conflicts compared to other states. The concluding of peace brought renewed American immigration to our soil. Especially Kentucky and Virginia, the Carolinas and Tennessee, even Illinois and Indiana and the Atlantic states to the east and northeast, sent their hardy sons and daughters by the thousands. Missouri's population of 19,976 in 1810 had risen to 40,000 in 1817. Recognition of Missouri's growing importance had been made by Congress in the law of April 29, 1816. This act made Missouri a Territory of the highest rank, the elective tenure being applied to both houses of the legislature. Together with the growth in population and in governmental rank, was the increase in settlement. The few settlements along the Mississippi spread to the northward along that river and to the northwestward along the Missouri. The Salt River country developed, and central Missouri in the rich Boone's Lick country assumed importance. St. Louis boasted of two newspapers—*The Gazette*, Charless' paper, and *The Enquirer*, Benton's sheet. Banks were established, churches and religious organizations were founded, trails but recently blazed became pioneer post roads, and towns sprang up almost overnight. Missourians now demanded statehood.

In 1817 popular petitions for statehood were circulated over the territory. These were presented in Congress by Missouri's Territorial Delegate, John Scott, on January 8, 1818. The bitter struggle of Missouri for admission to the Union had begun—a struggle that did not end until two compromises had passed Congress, an entire nation had been rocked thru public opinion aroused for the first time on the slavery question, a territory had become a population of disgusted but determined inhabitants, and a President's proclamation had been issued.

From 1818 to 1821, the Missouri Question, as it was called, was the main issue before Congress and the Nation. Missouri has well been called "the stormy petrel of American politics." Whether

Missouri was to be admitted slave or free was a question involved with a greater one, the political disposition of the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase. Other territories became states. Indiana was admitted in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818 and Alabama in 1819. Missouri, with a total population in 1820 of 66,586 (10,222 slaves), equal to or larger than these states, was forced to wait.

Indignation in Missouri was at high pitch. Public meetings drafted petitions of protest against the injustice of Congress delaying action and attempting to impose slavery restrictions on Missouri. Grand juries and church organizations in Missouri did likewise. Finally, on March 6, 1820, the first Missouri compromise bill became a law, and Missouri was permitted to frame a state constitution and form a state government. The news reached Jackson (Missouri) on March 21st and was announced in St. Louis on the 25th with an extra edition of *The Enquirer*, Benton's paper—the first extra published in Missouri. Missouri was to become a state without restrictions. The entire territory celebrated. In St. Louis parades were held, the houses were lighted with candles in each window, and transparencies depicting a negro playing an Irish harp were carried thru the streets.

The people at once made preparations for electing delegates to a constitutional convention. After a five weeks' campaign, on May 1st, 2nd, 3rd, the election was held and 41 delegates were elected. These "Fathers of the State" met in St. Louis on June 12th. The place of meeting was the "Mansion House." "In a tavern, Missouri, the State, was born." Her first lawgivers and lawmakers in early years met in taverns. In fact, Missouri's capitols from 1820 to 1826 were all taverns. Her first constitutional convention met in the Mansion House Hotel; her first state legislature met in the Missouri Hotel in St. Louis, and when the capital was moved to St. Charles the legislature again met in a hotel. A history of Missouri's Capitals and Capitols has been written by a Missouri historian, Prof. Jonas Viles, and was printed in *The Missouri Historical Review.* Missourians will find it interesting reading.

On July 19, 1820, a state constitution was adopted, a state election was ordered and the state convention adjourned, its labors ended. The following month, on August 28th, state officials and Congressman John Scott were elected. The old territorial government had passed. Missouri had become a *de facto* state. On September 18th, the first State General Assembly met and organized. At 4 p. m. the two houses assembled in joint session for the official count of the votes for governor and lieutenant-governor. A committee of three from each house was then appointed to inform Alexander McNair and William H. Ashley of their election. At 11 a. m., on September 19th, Governor McNair and Lieutenant-Governor Ashley appeared before the joint session and in their presence took the oaths of office. At 4 o'clock of the same day Governor McNair delivered in person his first message. On October 2nd the legislature elected David Barton and Thomas H. Benton Missouri's United States Senators.

Truly had Missouri become a State, but Congress after months of debate and study did not officially recognize this fact and provide for Missouri's formal admission into the Union until a second Missouri Compromise was passed and approved on March 2, 1821. However, Missouri's congressmen and her two United States Senators drew their full pay as representatives of an American commonwealth, altho they did not sit in this Congress until the close of the session.

In pursuance to this act of March 2, 1821, and subsequent official action on the part of Missouri's General Assembly, President James Monroe issued on August 10, 1821, a proclamation which announced that "the admission of the said State of Missouri into this Union is declared to be complete." Missouri, after a year and twenty-one days of statehood *de facto*, had become a state *de jure* in the Union.

Episode Two presents the Boone's Lick Country in Central Missouri. The time is the pioneer days of Missouri.

Prairie schooners filled with trappers and pioneer settlers appear. The immigrant train is attacked by Indians. Among the defenders of the settlers are the famous Missouri scouts and trappers, Kit Carson, Jim Bridger, and Gen. William H. Ashley. Rushing to the relief of the party are twenty settlers from the village, under the leadership of the prominent Missouri pioneers, Daniel Boone, Capt. Sarshall Cooper, and Capt. James Callaway. The Indians are driven off and the immigrants join the settlers. One of the pioneers with a plow and oxen demonstrates the use of the steel plow. A messenger enters on horseback and tells the crowd of the coming of the steamboat.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: The story of the development of pioneer Missouri is a narrative of the white man's struggle with the primeval prairie and forest, the visible and unseen enemies lurking in wilderness and bottoms, and the ever receding but frequently hostile Indian. History and tradition say more of the latter, and the Indian engagement lends itself more easily to dramatizing, altho the chill and the fever, the cholera and plague, the absence of sanitation and medical facilities, and the depredations of varmints and wild animals, were the real enemies of the Missouri pioneer. Combined with these were the most inadequate transportation facilities, except along the rivers. Pioneer life should be commemorated not because it was a Golden Age but because it was an Age of Heroism, filled with sacrifice by woman, man and child. Envy the pioneer not for his freedom to fish and hunt without warden's license, not for his wild turkey bought for "one bit" apiece, not for his wild honey obtained on felling a tree, nor for his cheap land at $1.25 an acre, and his "mast" fed hogs and free grazed cattle, but rather envy the pioneer—the father and the mother of a large family—for his unconquerable spirit and courage to face his enemies and finally overcome the restrictions and handicaps, both mental and physical, imposed on him in his isolated environment. What special good fortune was there in abundance of wild game, if quinine, the principal remedy for chills, was hardly obtainable, and the doctor, frequently untrained, a score of miles or farther distant over almost impassable trails? The very cheapness of foods and grains, which was a blessing in the struggle for survival, was in turn a handicap in selling the surplus to obtain even the most essential conveniences or even necessities. Wild honey was there in abundance, but what profited it the Grand River settlers in north Missouri when after a hundred-mile wagon journey to Glasgow or St. Joseph they received two cents a pound? Hogs at one to two cents a pound were cheap and brought little to the settler, but he found the harness or hammer, brought long distances from the East, high in price. Churches were few and public schools did not appear until the latter '30s. Well may we apotheosize the pioneer for his courage and determination to "carry on."

From these conditions there naturally developed a race of daring men. Some of them will long be remembered, especially for their skill as Indian fighters and trappers. Kit Carson was one. Born in Kentucky, he was reared near that famed settlement in Central Missouri, the town of Franklin. His life was spent on the plains and in the mountains. As a scout few if any excelled or equaled him from the Missouri to the Pacific. Jim Bridger, a native of Virginia, was a similar character, hailing from St. Louis. He ranks as a scout and as an intrepid explorer. He is said to have been the first white man to tell of Great Salt Lake; he early traversed Yellowstone Park, altho it is reported that another Missourian, by the name of Coalter, was the discoverer; and he discovered the famous Bridger Pass in the Rockies. General William H. Ashley, another Virginian by birth and a Missourian by adoption, was also known from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Ashley, while famous as a plainsman, mountaineer, scout and trapper, was also noted for his ability as a business man and politician, and for his culture and refinement as an educated gentleman. He served Missouri as her first lieutenant-governor and later as her congressman for one part term and two full terms. He lies buried today on his farm on Lamine River, Cooper county.

Daniel Boone is in history and story the most typical and the most famous representative of the western American pioneer. He united in his character the best traits of the hunter, scout and settler. Volumes have been written on his life, and each decade brings new ones into being. He will never cease to be an interesting subject for the biographer and historian. Boone was a native of Pennsylvania. He settled early in North Carolina. Being among the earliest white men to scout over Kentucky, he and his family became pioneers in that state. Before the end of the 18th century, thru loss of land and legalized injustice, he came to what is now Missouri and received liberal treatment from the Spanish lieutenant-governor. He became a local judge. He hunted over Missouri as he had over Kentucky. His sons carried forward his fine reputation. They served their state in legislature and camp, and one achieved prominence in the United States Army. Daniel Boone died in 1820, and Boone county was named in his honor.

Captain Sarshall Cooper was another figure in the annals of Central Missouri and Cooper county was named in his honor. He was shot and killed by an Indian at his home in Cooper's Fort in 1814. Capt. James Callaway, a grandson of Daniel Boone, after whom Callaway county was named, was also killed in 1815 by Indians, who ambushed him and his party on Callaway's return to the white settlement on Loutre Island. Dramatic license places all these prominent men in one scene.

Episode Three embraces the years 1817, 1846 and 1860, with scenes laid in St. Louis, Liberty and St. Joseph.

Amid cheers of the crowd, the steamboat "Zebulon M. Pike," the first to reach St. Louis in 1817, reached its destination. The passengers disembark, the negro hands laughing and cheering. Twelve negroes ascend the stage from the front and execute a dance, the spectators clapping hands and cheering. Col. Alexander W. Doniphan and his Missouri troops enter, ensemble, and march away from Liberty on their famous expedition to Santa Fe and old Mexico. A dispatch rider enters on a pony. A man leads on a fresh pony, the saddle and bags are exchanged. The crowd cheers as the pony express rider resumes his journey toward the West.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: Without change of scenery there are pictured in this episode three separate and distinct events of historical importance in the annals of our state. These relate to the arrival in St. Louis of the first steamboat; second, to Missouri's remarkable record in the Mexican War; and third, to the Pony Express which was begun in 1860 with St. Joseph as its eastern terminus. The first and the last event really concerns the great question of transportation. Altho the second is another example of the saying of the late Judge John F. Philips that "*The Missourian is a fighting man*," it will be seen that even Missouri's participation in the Mexican War had some economic relationship with real economic events that had concerned our people.

Transportation is not a problem of modern origin. It has always been one of the most important questions and one of the most pressing for solution in all ages and among all peoples. In economic sequence it follows immediately after production even in the raw-material producing areas of the world, while in the highly industrialized countries such as are found in Europe and in America transportation is essential even for existence itself.

The greatest economic handicap of the Missouri pioneer and the greatest restriction on the development of our territory, was inadequate transportation facilities for both person and product. The Indian path, the blazed trail, and the pioneer post road were impassable at some seasons and were never entirely satisfactory. This is the reason why our early settlements in Missouri were along the rivers. The raft, barge, and the cordelle were used as well as the row-boat. Even these crude crafts were preferred to the wagon in the transportation of heavy loads of freight.

An event of importance, therefore, was the advent of the steamboat in western waters. The "Zebulon M. Pike," usually called the "Pike," was the first steamboat that landed at the St. Louis wharf. The day was August 2, 1817. The boat had made the trip from Louisville, Kentucky, in six weeks. Holiday rejoicings greeted the "Pike's" arrival. "The boat was driven with a low-pressure engine, with a walking-beam, and had but one smokestack. . . . In the encounter with a rapid current the crew reinforced steam with the impulse of their own strength. They used poles and running boards just as in the push-boat navigation of barges." The captain of the boat was Jacob Reed, and the boat was named in honor of General Zebulon M. Pike, the explorer, after whom, also, was named Pike's Peak, Colorado.

From the year of the arrival of the "Pike," steamboat navigation increased rapidly. Soon there were regular schedules. By 1819 the Missouri river was traversed as far as old Franklin, in Howard county. The steamboat to make the first trip was the "Independence," which reached its destination in May, 1819. The "Western Engineer" made the trip up the Missouri as far as the

Platte during the same year. The Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri now became the great arteries of travel and freight transportation for the west. This not only developed the river towns in Missouri but greatly aided in the settlement of the State and in the welfare of its inhabitants.

Two years after the "Independence" arrived in old Franklin, the year 1821, there developed in the same town another transportation system that was to influence our history—The Santa Fe Trail. This was the beginning of a successful overland trade by wagons and pack animals with Santa Fe. Capt. William Becknell, of Franklin, in that year formed his trading company and in August the company left Arrow Rock with wagons loaded with goods for trade with the Mexicans. The expedition was highly successful and it was the beginning of Missouri's profitable trade with the Southwest which brought her not only silver money in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, thereby increasing her prosperity, but also jacks, jennets, and mules to lay the foundations of Missouri's rank in the mule industry. It also familiarized our young men with New Mexico, which in conjunction with our immigrants sent to found Texas, did much to prepare Missourians for hearty co-operation in the Mexican War.

On the outbreak of this struggle, Missourians began enlisting in 1846 from a number of central and western Missouri counties and as far east as St. Louis. These men assembled at Fort Leavenworth (the Pageant assembly scene is Liberty, the home of Doniphan) and became part of the "Army of the West." Col. Alexander W. Doniphan was chosen to command the volunteer mounted regiment consisting of 806 Missourians and 30 officers. The Platte county men were under Capt. William S. Murphy, and the Laclede Rangers of St. Louis were under Capt. Thomas B. Hudson. Of the 1,659 men in the "Army of the West," the Missourians were in such majority that it may be truly said that the expedition was a Missouri enterprise, and well has it been named "Doniphan's Expedition of One Thousand Missourians."

The story of the expedition is classic in history. The following account is from "Missouri's Hall of Fame" by Floyd C. Shoemaker: "It left its base at Fort Leavenworth in August, 1846, crossed the plains of Kansas and Colorado, and the mountains and deserts of New Mexico and northern old Mexico. Its path was contested by bands of Indians, large Mexican armies and by nature's weapons of heat and cold, hunger and thirst. It conquered two powerful tribes of Indians, won two battles against the Mexicans where the Missourians were outnumbered four to one, and subdued several hundred thousand hostile Mexicans. It captured many cities, three capitals, and four Mexican states.

"The route of the Expedition was from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, New Mexico. From Santa Fe, the army went into the mountains and conquered some Indian tribes. The men had received no pay for their services since leaving home and their clothes were in bad condition. Their spirits were high, however, and they were full of fight.

"Leaving Santa Fe in December, 1846, they marched to the Rio Grande River. The cold wind and snow on the desert caused the men to suffer greatly. They had neither winter clothing nor tents. On part of the march they were without water for ninety miles.

"They reached the Brazito river, a small stream, on Christmas day and prepared to camp. Colonel Doniphan sought recreation over a game of cards. He was playing with his officers for a stake. The winner was to have a fine Mexican horse, which had been captured earlier in the day. But the game was not to be finished. A messenger stood before the Colonel:

" 'There is a big cloud of dust to the south, which must be Mexicans approaching,' he said.

" 'Then we must stop the game long enough to whip the Mexicans,' Colonel Doniphan said, rising. 'But remember, I have the biggest score, and we will play it out as soon as the battle is finished.'

"The troops under Colonel Doniphan were soon looking into the fire-spitting muzzles of the enemies' guns. The Missourians did not fire. They waited. It was the order of their commander.

"The fire of the Mexicans grew fiercer. The Missourians only waited the order to fire. At last it was given. The Mexicans had reached within one hundred and fifty yards of the Missourians when they were fired upon. The enemy was checked, the horses reared upon their haunches, and many of the Mexicans fled in a panic. The others were soon defeated by the keen aim of the Missourians. Over fifty Mexicans were killed and one hundred were wounded, while only seven Missourians were injured, none fatally. The victors obtained many spoils in horses, ammunition, cannon, and food. That Christmas night Doniphan's soldiers celebrated their victory, known in history as the battle of Brazito.

"From Brazito, Colonel Doniphan marched to El Paso, which he captured. From there he entered northern Mexico and won against four thousand Mexicans in the Battle of Sacramento. He then captured cities in northern Mexico. His troops, after an overland march of 3,000 miles, the longest in military annals, embarked on ship for New Orleans and came on to St. Louis. At home they were received with dinners and speeches. Missouri was indeed proud of Colonel Doniphan and his One Thousand Missourians."

Famous as was Doniphan the soldier, he was also prominent as an orator, statesman, and citizen. He was one of the most widely known and most highly esteemed public men in Missouri. His tall commanding figure, his gentlemanly bearing, his remarkable flow of oratory, his wonderful ability as a lawyer, his reputation as a citizen of public spirit and tempered convictions, made him one of Missouri's most eminent and beloved sons. He died in Richmond and a monument was erected there in his honor by the State of Missouri.

April 3, 1860, may not mark an important event in American history, but to the newspaper reading public of the day and especially to the citizens of St. Joseph and San Francisco it was a red letter day. After months of planning and preparation there was to be inaugurated at both eastern and western terminals the famous Pony Express. The distance to be covered was nearly 2,000 miles; the time allowed was 10 days. Two hundred miles a day over plains, mountains, deserts and rivers; two hundred miles a day thru regions uninhabited by white man save at isolated posts but peopled by Indian tribes and hunters, many of which were hostile, and the fastest stage coach with armed guards could average only 125 miles in 24 hours! Truly the Pony Express was an American enterprise.

The announcement had been made beforehand, and a fast mail had been dispatched from New York by rail to St. Joseph. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad provided a special engine with a messenger to bring the mail to St. Joseph. A ferryboat was held in readiness to carry the pony and rider across the Missouri. Promptly at 4 p. m., in front of the United States Express office, the rider with the leathern mail pouch strapped to the saddle mounted and rode away. All St. Joseph was there to cheer the rider as he rode on the boat. The whistle sounded and the boat pushed off. The Pony Express was inaugurated from the eastern end. The moment the boat touched the Kansas side, the rider dashed ashore and up the bank. At San Francisco a similar scene took place, the boat going from that city to Sacramento. Promptly at 4 p. m., on April 13th the Pony Express arrived with the western mail at St. Joseph, and promptly at the same hour the eastern mail arrived in San Francisco. Henry Wallace was the first rider to start from the eastern end of the line, and Harry Roff the first from the California end.

At first the stations for changing horses were 25 miles apart. This was later shortened to 10 miles. The time for the entire

2,000 miles was also cut to 8 days, 250 miles a day. When the service was at its best there were 190 stations, 200 station keepers, 80 riders, and between 400 and 500 horses. Two minutes was the maximum time allowed for changing horses. The average distance covered by a rider was 75 miles, but sickness or death frequently made necessary longer rides on the part of those on duty. William F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill," had a section 116 miles long, and on one occasion learning that the rider to succeed him had been killed by the Indians he made a continuous ride of 384 miles—the longest on record of the Pony Express. Another rider, "Pony Bob," made 370 miles thru a hostile Indian country in the mountain region. He was so exhausted that he had to be lifted from the saddle and was unable to walk for several days.

The Pony Express was the forerunner of the telegraph, which stretched across the continent in 1862, in the rapid transmission of letters. The mail was limited to 15 pounds, and letters cost $5 each. Most of the mail consisted of business dispatches and news items from newspapers. The significance of the Pony Express lies not only in the remarkable quickness of dispatch of news, thereby facilitating business, but also in the fact that during the critical days preceding and at the opening of the Civil War, it enabled the National Government to keep in closer touch with the Pacific Coast and especially the State of California.

Episode Four is located at St. Louis and the time is July 4, 1851.

Mayor Luther M. Kennett and Mrs. Kennett of St. Louis, enter in a buggy. Thomas H. Benton is on the platform. Laborers with picks and shovels lay a line of rails in picture. Mayor Kennett with a spade throws the first dirt of the old Pacific Railroad, now the Missouri Pacific. A whistle sounds in the distance and a train appears in the picture. The citizens group and the ballet enters.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: The coming of the railroad to Missouri was the last and greatest economic factor in the development of our natural resources, in the settlement of our state, in the augmenting of our people's prosperity, in the diffusion of the comforts and culture of civilization. The pioneer trail and the country post road were advances but they furnished inadequate transportation; the steamboat marked a great step forward but its field of usefulness was restricted to navigable streams, during certain seasons, to cleared channels. The railroad alone met the inland transportation needs of man. Its coming was an economic revolution; its existence today is an economic necessity.

The Fourth of July, 1851, was a red-letter day in the history of St. Louis and it marks a significant event in the annals of the State. It was ground-breaking day for the first steam railroad out of St. Louis and west of the Mississippi. St. Louis capital, civic spirit, and even mechanical ingenuity, together with state and national aid, had combined to build the Pacific Railroad, today the Missouri Pacific. At sunrise a national salute was fired. Shortly after seven o'clock military and civic bodies assembled. Flags were flying everywhere. The long column marched to the edge of Chouteau's Pond where the exercises were to take place. State and city officials were there, the officers of the new railroad, judges, military companies, the fire department—all St. Louis and a part of Jefferson City. The band played the Grand Pacific Railroad March, composed for the occasion. Thomas Allen, Missouri's foremost railroad advocate and worker, and the president of the new company, made a speech prophetic of the railroad's future. Edward Bates, Missouri's great lawyer and esteemed statesman, was the orator of the day. J. M. Field, Missouri's writer and actor, recited verse for the occasion. Illness had prevented Gover-Austin A. King from being present. To the mayor of St. Louis, Luther M. Kennett, fell the duty of throwing the first dirt.

President Allen presented the spade. Saying he would proceed to make the first cut in the line of the Pacific Railroad, the mayor, with the band playing the Governor's March, led the way to the edge of the pond and began to dig. As the first dirt was thrown the crowd cheered lustily.

One year and five months after this day, on December 1, 1852, the first locomotive whistle sounded at seven o'clock in the morning. The Pacific Railroad was ready to make the first run. The train went to the end of the track, a short distance beyond the Manchester avenue crossing. So was railroad operation begun on a main line in Missouri. A little later the formal opening of the first completed section was celebrated. The distance was five miles. On July 19, 1853, twelve passenger coaches carried 600 guests from St. Louis to Franklin, as it was then called, to celebrate the opening of the first division, thirty-nine miles long. From that time on the completion of each additional division was an event observed and heralded. Owing to financial difficulties, decreased traffic, and the War, progress was slow. It was not until 1865 that the line was completed to Kansas City.

Work on other main lines, which had been chartered, was also begun in the '50s. State bonds were issued and congressional land grants were made to aid construction. The principal early roads were the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the Pacific, the Southwest Branch (Frisco), the North Missouri (Wabash), and the St.

Louis and Iron Mountain. All the roads except the Hannibal and St. Joseph defaulted interest payments. Laws were passed in the '60s foreclosing the State's mortgage and in March, 1868, all were sold. The State's net loss was nearly $25,000,000. Large as was this amount, it was really small in comparison to the benefits the State derived from the railroads. Towns were made overnight that are flourishing today, and hundreds of thousands of acres were opened to cultivation. Without state aid the coming of the railroad would have been delayed. Missouri could hardly have afforded to wait.

The pageant depicts Thomas H. Benton in this episode. This is not historically accurate but it is entirely fitting. Benton had long opposed either the state or nation extending aid for building railroads. At the national railroad convention in St. Louis in 1849, however, he reversed his former attitude. It was there in the old St. Louis courthouse that he delivered his most famous address in which he argued for a transcontinental line from the Atlantic to the Pacific passing thru St. Louis. It was during this address that, assuming his most impressive pose, throwing back his head and stretching out his right arm to indicate the course, he said in deep tones: "There is the East. There is India."

Episode Five, time, 1861-1865; the scene, Missouri. A body of Confederate troops.

A body of Confederate troops under Gen. Sterling Price and Gen. J. O. Shelby advance and open fire upon a village. Union troops under Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Gen. Frank P. Blair emerge from village and a battle ensues. The Spirit of Missouri enters with four attendants and raises wand. The action ceases and the Confederate and Union troops group at front of the stage.

Historical Significance: The Civil War was the most disastrous struggle in both loss of men and property that Missouri has ever engaged in. The states that suffered most and longest in that war were the "Border States." First, their position, lying between the North and the South, secured for them the battlefield; second, their population, divided in sentiment, made possible the most cruel and prolonged kind of warfare; third, these states because of their strategic importance in wealth, population and position, became the "Bone of Contention" for both North and South. Missouri was a Border State, surrounded on one side by slave territory and on three sides by free territory. The struggle was bitterest here.

In area Missouri ranked ahead of all the states east of or bordering on the Mississippi except Minnesota, while among the slave states she was inferior to Texas alone in this respect. Still more important was Missouri's position in population in 1860. In 1820 Missouri ranked 21st in population; in 1860 she had risen to 8th. Her 10,000 slaves of 1820 had increased to 115,000 and her white population from 56,000 to 1,063,000. Among the fifteen slave states, including Delaware, Missouri ranked first in her white population, and in her total population she was surpassed only by Virginia. But what was equally as important was her fighting population—the males between 18 and 45 years of age. In this respect Missouri easily led all her sister Southern states, having 232,781 white males between those ages, or more than Virginia—her nearest competitor—and Florida and Delaware combined. While Missouri ranked first in white population among the slave states, she held only eleventh place in the number of slaves. Of her total population of 1,182,012, only 9¾ per cent were slaves. On the other hand, of Missouri's native white population, which was 86½ per cent of the total whites, over one-half were native Missourians and over three-fourths were of Southern birth, i. e., born in a slave state, principally in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. It is evident, therefore, from these brief statements that Missouri was a prize worth having, that her position gave her prominence, and that her population would be divided. Statistics also make this clear.

From 1861 to 1865 were fought on Missouri soil, 1,162 battles, engagements and skirmishes—11 per cent of the total combats of the Civil War and more than occurred in any state excepting Virginia and Tennessee. She knows the toll of war in men and money. From 1861 to 1865 of every eight men of the 109,000 she sent into the Union army, only seven returned—her proportionate loss in the Southern battalions was probably greater. But her memory of war has never made her fear war when it came. Failure has always met the militarist junker in Missouri in peaceful times—the State cannot be stampeded—but the brand of treason is stamped on the brow of the pacifist who preaches peace in Missouri when men's lives are needed to defend country and ideals. No state was more divided in sentiment on the great national issues than was Missouri in 1860. She ranked eleventh in her slave population. Still the records show that Missouri shared with New York first rank in furnishing the largest number of cavalry regiments in the Union cause (32); they show that Missouri took first rank in the number of infantry regiments(266), infantry battalions (40), and infantry companies (25); and that she also took first rank in the total number of military organizations in service (447). She ranked only eighth in population in 1860, but in the regular Union army alone she ranked seventh, had in service at her own expense tens of thousands of Union men in her state and Enrolled Militia, and also maintained the large quota of nearly 40,000 men in the Southern field.

The narrative of the Civil War in Missouri fills volumes. Battles, engagements, skirmishes, banditry, guerrilla warfare, pillage, robbery, theft and murder made the state a seething scene of war. The battle of Wilson's Creek, Westport, Lexington, Rolla, Glasgow, Kirksville; and raids of Shelby and Price; the Palmyra and Centralia Massacres—these are some of the more widely known phases of the great struggle waged between the Union and Confederate forces, between Missourian and Missourian, between neighbor and neighbor, even between brother and brother. Truly Missouri drank the bitterest dregs of war.

Among the leaders of prominence here mentioned in the pageant, were the two Confederates, General Sterling Price and General J. O. Shelby, and the two Union commanders, General Nathaniel Lyon and General Frank P. Blair. The high character of these merits a word. General Price was one of Missouri's most beloved public men. A native of Virginia, he became a Missourian by adoption. He served Missouri in the Mexican War, and later became Governor of the State. On the outbreak of the Civil War he was placed in command of the State troops and from that time to the end of the war was the military leader of the Confederates in Missouri. General J. O. Shelby was a Kentuckian by birth. He was the greatest cavalry leader produced by the Confederacy in the West. His Missouri troops were famous for their fighting ability and their daring. After the war, Shelby and a considerable number of his men made their famed military expedition to old Mexico. They all later returned to Missouri and re-entered civil life, highly respected by both former friend and foe. General Frank P. Blair was also a Kentuckian, being a cousin of Shelby. He settled in St. Louis and his ability as a politician was soon recognized. Unlike Shelby, he espoused the cause of the Union. Perhaps more than any other man, excepting possibly Lyon, he was the greatest force in keeping Missouri in the Union. He served his nation on the platform and in the camp. He volunteered and rose to high military rank. After the war he advocated amnesty toward his former foe and showed the same undaunted courage in peace as he had in war. General Nathaniel Lyon was not in any sense a Missourian, but he played such an important part in Missouri, as the United States military leader of the Union forces, that his work is inseparably linked with the State. He knew what he wanted and was absolutely without fear in obtaining his objective. He ordered the attack on Camp Jackson in St. Louis and obtained control of the United States Arsenal. At every point he defeated the early moves of the State authorities and quickly followed up each advantage. He gave his foes no time to plan or execute. Finally at the battle of Wilson's Creek he lost his life. The work of Lyon and Blair was the greatest work done in Missouri in the cause of the Union.

The Third Period, "Achievement," deals with "Today in Missouri." The Spirit of Missouri is on the throne with the attendant representatives of the counties grouped in front. Coronation of the Pageant Queen takes place. The scenes are symbolic and dramatic during three episodes.

Spirits enter dancing. Then come fairies strewing flowers. Agricola and her ten attendants appear, representing the agricultural interests of Missouri. They dance to the throne and spread their offerings. Metalla and her ten attendants then enter, representing the mineral resources of the State. They spread their offerings before the throne. Scholastica and her attendants enter, representing the educational and cultural developments of Missouri. Industria and her ten works appear last, representing the commercial interests.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: This episode is a dramatic representation of Missouri's material and intellectual development during her century of statehood. Agriculture came first and is still first in the lives of our people. Mining has held high rank also. One of Missouri's earliest assets was her lead. This, together with her zinc, barytes, coal, clay products, stone, marble and gravel, constitutes a very important source of wealth to the State. Schools are as necessary to a modern state as material resources. Missouri's development in the field of public school education came late, altho her advancement in private schools and colleges began early and was rapid. It is appropriate that industry, representing commerce and factories, should appear last. This is a natural economic transition. Missouri today is making rapid strides in the varied field of industry. Her cities reflect this development.

Episode Four brings Missouri to the World War.

Bulletins are displayed announcing the United States' declaration of war against Germany. Newsboys with extras appear. Firing of distant guns is heard. Provost Marshal Enoch H. Crowder enters. The crowd gathers around him. Crowder disappears in one direction and the young men march off in another.

General John J. Pershing enters with staff. Dispatches are coming and going. The sound of battle is heard. A company marches past in background. A crash of falling shell is heard. Darkness.

Soldiers, returning from war, march in followed by nurses. A crowd of citizens bearing wreaths assemble from sides. Generals Pershing and Crowder, Governor Gardner, state officials, citizens and soldiers gather around the statue of a soldier suddenly revealed in the background. Wreaths are placed at the foot of the statue.

Historical Significance: In this episode an attempt is made to depict Missouri's part in the World War. First is presented the call to arms; second, the conflict; and third,Missouri's commemoration and memorial.

Thru such native sons as Pershing and Crowder, Missouri early attracted the attention of the Nation in the World War. Thru her patriotic response in men and money, she upheld that prominence. And thru her present memorial measures and buildings she has expressed the gratitude of a grateful people.

Missouri made a record to be envied by any commonwealth during the great struggle. Her contributions to the Red Cross and voluntary organizations gave her high rank. Her purchases of Liberty Bonds were made without stint and were never below the quotas requested. Her farmers, merchants and manufacturers "carried on" without ceasing. Her Council of Defense and her Food Administration, under the direction of Dr. F. B. Mumford, ranked among the best and highest in the country. She sent 138,310 sons to defend her honor on the field of war and their record in the 35th, 42nd, and 89th divisions will live as long as history is read by our people.

It was in commemorative memorial honor of these 138,310 Missouri heroes and of their 10,000 comrades whose names appeared on the casualty lists, that the State of Missouri in 1919 passed public acts, which became the law of the land, by way of expressing gratitude. These acts related to soldiers' and sailors' employment, county and city memorial buildings and monuments, a memorial monument to be erected in France, and the publication of the records of Missouri units in the War.

The example set by the Missouri State Government has been followed by Missouri counties, cities and institutions. As an example of note, there is today being erected in Rockport, Missouri, a $50,000 Memorial Building in honor of the soldier boys of Atchison county. The money was raised by popular subscription. Rockport has a population of only 1,150.

Episode Five brings the Pageant of Missouri to a fitting conclusion.

Enter National Guard, Gen. John J. Pershing, Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Governor Arthur M. Hyde and Ex-Governor Frederick D. Gardner. Then Confederate and Federal troops advance and halt in the rear, followed by pioneers, British, American and French troops, Indians, and all the principal characters of the Pageant. After an en masse movement, a large American flag descends. The returned troops from the World War enter, and the band plays the Star-Spangled Banner.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: This episode is the dramatic grand finale of the pageant. Missouri, the Center State, has passed her first century of statehood. Her progress has been beyond even the dreams of her founders. Truly Missouri has built well on the foundation laid by her forty-one "Fathers of the State." A "Hall of Fame" is hers by right of habitation.

Local commemoration of Missouri's achievements have taken on varied forms. Eighteen daily and fifty-six weekly newspapers of Missouri have published centennial editions of from sixteen to thirty-two pages. They gave not only historical articles on the State but many columns of county and community history. At Kansas City, spurred by pride in the latest chapter of Missouri history, the part taken in the World War, a canvass of ten days ended in subscriptions of $2,500,000 by 100,000 subscribers for the erection of a memorial building to be located on a commanding site overlooking the new Union station. Alumni and students of the University of Missouri made the centennial year memorable by a movement to add to the group a stone structure to cost $500,000.

St. Louis chose historic Veiled Prophet week for a series of celebrations unique but characteristic of a community which has won nation-wide fame for parade and spectacle. A pageant recalling Lafayette's visit, a Lafayette ball in costume, an all-day demonstration of the civic activities, an advertising and trade-mark parade with a mask trade-mark ball, a community sing led by a chorus of 1,200, centennial sermons on Sunday, a drama, "Missouri," telling the fascinating story of Missouri's Struggle for Statehood one hundred years ago,—these were some of the interesting features of St. Louis' ten days' celebration of the Centennial.

Concluding his book of the pageant at Sedalia, Mr. Shoemaker said;

"How great the contrast is between Missouri of 1821, with her 70,000 Missourians, and the Missouri of 1921, with her three and a half million souls! A commonwealth of cities and cultivated fields are ours; a few struggling towns and isolated farms were our forefathers'. A public school system with its university keystone is ours; a few private tutors and schools were theirs. A transportation system of railroads and autos are ours; cumbersome wagons were theirs. We have all the wealth known to man; they had little of worldly goods, no conveniences, and few comforts. We have machinery to perform our tasks; they had no substitute for labor. We have everything; they had little save their heroic, indomitable spirit. But, of all the heritage left us during this century of material development, the greatest is that spirit—the soul itself of the pioneer of 1821 and of the modern citizen of 1921. The same will-to-do is ours. The same God guides our destiny. As in their power was the building of your and our Missouri of today, so in our power is the erection of a progressive commonwealth for our posterity a century hence."

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI.

By Wiley Britton.

FIRST ARTICLE.

INTRODUCTION.

The life of a people is more or less correlated with their physical environment. It has therefore seemed needful to give a brief introductory account of the physical environment of the Southwest Missouri people up to the great event of the Civil War, after which there were radical changes.

This region to one who was a part of it, did not impress him as particularly interesting until after middle life, when, on comparing it with other sections of the country whose physical aspects had been noted, it seemed to possess material of unusual interest.

Having spent so much of my life in traveling over this region, it has appeared to me that I have had special facilities for producing a work of this kind, facilities not likely possessed by any one else now living. In reflecting over the matter I have been impressed that it is a duty that I owe to those who are to come after us, as well as those who have passed away, that I should leave this record of the physical aspects of that region and of the social, religious and political life of the people.

This region, which we have called the "Border" in describing the great conflict that took place over it, has since become the heart and center of the Great Republic, not only geographically, but also in material resources and industrial activity.

CHAPTER I.

MINERAL WEALTH AND MINING.

The pioneers of the Ozark region of south and southwest Missouri did not fully realize that they were making their new homes in the midst of the richest lead and zinc section in the world. These minerals have been found in nearly all counties of south and southwest Missouri, but the oldest and best-paying mines were developed in southwest Missouri, and at the beginning of the Civil War the mining industry in Newton and Jasper counties had become quite important. Large quantities of pig lead were hauled by teams to Osceola, on the Osage River, the nearest point from whence the lead could be shipped by steamboat to St. Louis.

In the early fifties the Cedar Creek mines, three miles west of us, the Granby mines six miles east of us, and the Center Creek mines fifteen miles north, were opened and attracted a few miners from Wisconsin and northern Illinois. From that time on up to the war, the mining industry gradually increased in interest and importance. When the war commenced, Granby had become a town of five or six thousand people; had several smelters, and was the center for the mining industry for all that section.

After the battle of Wilson Creek near Springfield in August, 1861, and the retirement of the Federal army to Rolla, the Confederate forces occupied Granby until they were driven out of Missouri in February, 1862, by General Curtis, and during their occupation operated the mines and smelters and furnished the lead for making the small arms ammunition for a large part of the Southern army.

There had been prospecting for lead all over that section prior to the war, but in most cases only small quantities of the ore were found; only the surface of the wealth below had been scratched. In the vicinity of a mining camp the surface of the country was dug up into holes, or shafts, of varying depths. In the course of a few years one might notice around every mining camp a great many abandoned shafts, that stood as silent monuments of discouragement and disappointed hopes of the miners.

The opening of the lead mines before the war in that section started new life for quite a radius around them, for the mining population had to be supported and supplied with the products of the farm and timbers and lumber for carrying on mining operations, all of which tended to increase the transactions between the consuming and producing classes.

Nearly all the experienced miners in the early development of mining came there from mining sections; but it was not long until a good many men who lived there were employed in various ways in mining operations. It was an interesting sight to witness hundreds of men, scattered over an area of a mile or so, busily employed in all stages of the work of sinking shafts; some just beginning the work of digging and throwing out the dirt and gravel around their holes, while others were engaged in sinking deeper their shafts and using windlasses and tubs let down by ropes to take out the dirt and rock drawn to the surface and emptied by the men turning the crank of the windlass.

With the progress of the work and depth of the shaft, the dirt and rock thrown out around it increased in size. Later when elaborate machinery, operated by steam power, was introduced in mining, there were steam lifters to hoist the ore and rock out of the shaft, with mills to crush the ore out of the rock, and then by a process of running water, separate the ore from the rock, until piles of ground rock were sometimes thirty to forty feet high and covered more than an acre of ground.

From this small beginning of two-man power in mining, the mining industry has had a wonderful development in southwest Missouri, from which have sprung numerous cities, among them Joplin with a population of upwards of forty thousand, and with a market for zinc that fixes the price of the ore for the world.

In the early mining of that section, what was known to the miner as "jack," blackjack, a zinc blend, was thrown out of the shaft as waste; but since the war, with some slight treatment, it has become the basis of the zinc industry and the miners have prospected for it and mined it as eagerly as for lead. When the mining industry started up after the war, the heaps of jack or zinc blend that had been thrown out around the old shafts as waste were worked over and the zinc secured with good profit to the miners. With the development of electrical power in every department of life, zinc has become an indispensable factor, so that we hear much more about the price of zinc in that section than about the price of lead.

Our pioneers were not the first miners in south and southwest Missouri, as we know from abundant evidence in several counties in the Ozark region, particularly in Polk and St. Clair counties. By whom these mines were operated, whether by Spaniards or by some of the native races of this country, and the ore they mined, has not been definitely determined as far as known to the writer; none of the tools they used in mining have been found and preserved.

Twelve miles east of Bolivar in Polk county, and two or three miles east of the Pomme de Terre River, there are many filled ancient shafts with heaps of dirt and rock around them, covering an area of several acres, but eroded by weathering and time. Inquiries made of old men who had lived near these old mines all their lives, said that they appeared ancient when they were boys, and that their fathers had never heard by tradition or otherwise, when or by whom they were worked.

These old mines extend from near Goodson in a northwest direction about forty miles into St. Clair county, but time and erosion have leveled the heaps of dirt and rock around the shafts to such extent that they are not always easily noticeable. As far as known in the neighborhood of the old mines, no systematic investigation of the old shafts, or of the dirt and rock thrown out around them, to determine the nature of the ore the miners were seeking, has been made by experts. There have been no lead mines opened nearer than ten to fifteen miles of the ancient mines since our pioneers settled in that section; nor have any deposits of lead or silver been found in the vicinity of them in digging wells or in making excavations.

A tradition has prevailed since the early settling of the country by the whites that the Indians and Spaniards had left concealed in one or more caves in Stone or Taney county, a large treasure of silver, which has caused several adventurous persons from time to time to search the caves of those counties for the hidden treasure, but always without success.

While we knew that Missouri was a Spanish possession before selling it to France, we had not been impressed that a Spanish colony in this region had ever attained a population large enough to account for the working of these old mines; besides, no remnant of a Spanish population had survived when our pioneers first came into the country; nor are the names of the streams of Spanish origin, but of French.

About midway between Neosho and Seneca in Newton county, a rich bed of tripoli has been found and worked for many years, the fragments being crushed and ground up like emery for polishing metals, while the larger pieces are cut and shaped for making water filters of all sizes and shipped from Neosho to different parts of the country. It is asserted by those familiar with the working of this mineral, that no substance has been found that is as suitable and satisfactory for water filters, and the mining and manufacturing of it for this purpose, has become an important industry in that locality.

As there is no other deposit of tripoli in the State, and very few in this country, and as the demand for it must gradually increase, this will naturally increase the output of a mineral, which, when first discovered, was regarded with little interest and value, for no one then knew the uses for which it could be applied.

There had been but little more than a geological reconnoissance of the State before the war, and the pioneers had no ideas of the possibilities of the mineral wealth they had just commenced to develop and which was bound to be developed, as population increased.

Lead and zinc and tripoli were not the only mineral productions mined in that section; but bituminous coal was mined in small quantities up to the war for blacksmithing purposes, and has since become a great industry. We called this bituminous coal, used by the blacksmith, "stone coal," and it was probably first noticed in some of the western counties projecting from the banks of streams that had cut through strata of coal near the surface.

Jack or zinc was not the only by-product of early lead mining that was thrown out as waste and afterwards became of great economic value; but the great heaps of crushed rock from mills around the shafts, which were formerly waste, is now used for different purposes in the economic development of the country. It is extensively used for railway ballast and is frequently shipped several hundred miles from the Joplin district, and it is also shipped to distant points to mix with cement. This Joplin gravel, as this crushed rock is called, is used more extensively than the gravel from the gravel beds of streams in south and southwest Missouri, because it is more accessible to transportation.

Nearly all the creeks and rivers in that section have low banks, rarely exceeding ten feet in height, and on the opposite side of the bank of each stream the ground in many places slopes off gradually from the water's edge to the level of the bottom land. But in every stream there are places where the water flows between banks on each side for considerable distances, in each instance, however, ending in shallows where the water spreads without having any well-defined channel.

In all these gravel beds there are great quantities of gravel and rock which have been washed up during freshets. Besides the great quantities of gravel and rock on these shallows, there are also large amounts on the sloping sides of the stream opposite the bank.

There are many places on the Roubidoux and Piney rivers in Pulaski county, and on Sinking River and on Seven Points River in Shannon, Howell, and Oregon counties, where the water of these streams runs under the gravel beds for miles, coming out again as beautiful, clear, limpid streams.

This gravel is far superior to the crushed rock of the Joplin district and with the increasing interest in improving the public highways is bound to come into larger use, and to have a monetary value probably not dreamed of at present. The present difficulties of transportation and loading will be overcome, for tramways can be put down at small cost, connecting with nearest railway stations, and steam shovels can be used in scooping up the gravel.

With increasing population, lumber is getting scarcer and more costly, and as cement is coming into more extensive use, the gravel from these streams will probably be used with it in building dwellings for the people.

Water-worn gravel beds have been found on high ground distant from any stream, and this has in every instance given the highest satisfaction.

CHAPTER II.

SUBTERRANEAN RIVERS AND CAVES.

We believe that some features of the Ozark region of Missouri are unsurpassed in beauty and interest.

This region embraces nearly all that part of the State south of the Osage River, and south of the Missouri River below the mouth of the Osage, with the headwaters of the streams radiating from a watershed east and southeast of Springfield for a distance of perhaps seventy-five miles, and from an altitude of about fourteen hundred to nearly eighteen hundred feet. The prairie region may be said to commence at Springfield and extends to the western boundary; but east, south and north of the city, except some prairies in Polk and Hickory counties, had growing over it different varieties of trees, mainly black oak, white oak, post oak, blackjack, walnut, elm, and in the southern and southeastern parts, great pine forests until cut off by lumbermen.

In driving over this region from Springfield northeast to Rolla and southeast to West Plains, and beyond, one is impressed with the great number of sink-holes met with on the high table-lands, of all sizes and depths, generally bowl-shaped from erosion, and from fifty feet in diameter and a yard in depth, to several hundred yards in diameter and of unknown depth. A few of the sinkholes observed have level bottoms of an acre or so in area, with large trees growing on them, the tops of which were on a level with the surrounding terrene. Most of the sink-holes had drains at the bottom of

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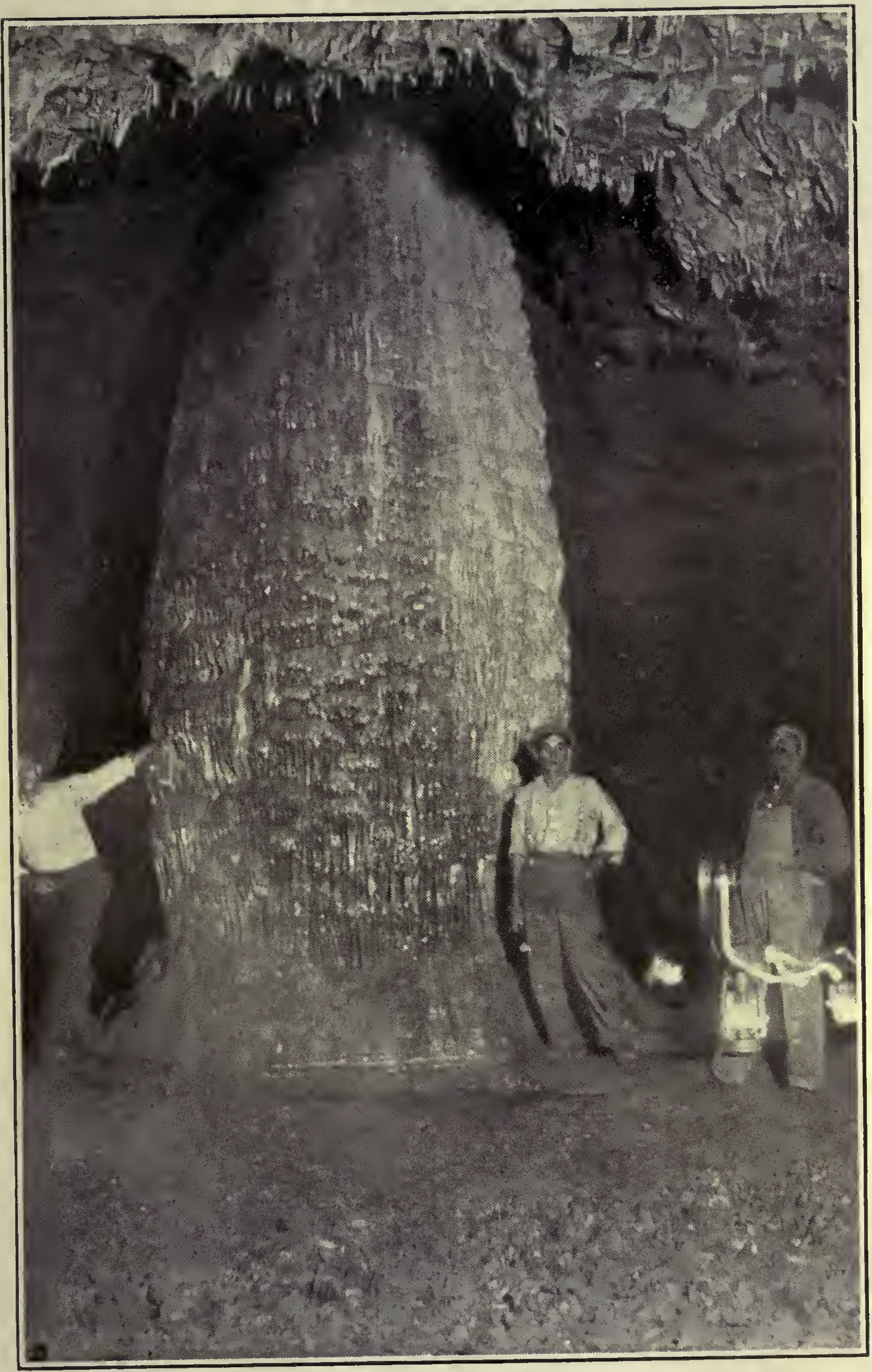


Stalagmite in River Cave, Hahatonka Park.
(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)

the bowls that drained off the water flowing into them from the surrounding surface into underground streams.

On the level tableland that had no perceptible slope, the sink-holes were the mediums of carrying off the surface water of heavy rains. The area of the surface drained around gradually increased, in some cases showing a perceptible slope towards it. Heavy rains around a sink-hole would cause such a rapid flow of water into it as to fill it up and sometimes the outlet was not large enough to allow the water to escape as fast as it ran it, and then the hole filled and was called a pond and was useful for stock water.

In some cases springs developed in the basins and kept them filled with clear cold water. Such was the noted camping place, "Pond Springs," fifteen miles southwest of Springfield, known before the war to freighters and stock men.

One of the most noted sink-holes in the Ozark region is called the "Devil's Den," and is about twenty miles southeast of Springfield. It is a deep chasm with precipitous sides from the surface of the ground to the water's edge, as much as fifty feet below, and across the water is probably about one hundred yards. This miniature lake has an unknown depth, soundings having been made without finding bottom. Those who live near it believe that it is connected with an underground river, for they assert that cedar logs have been cast up from below, and that cedar is not known to grow within many miles of the place.

There is another chasm containing water, but not of such wild and rugged character, about twenty miles southeast of West Plains, that unquestionably connects with an underground river, for several years ago several beer kegs were thrown into it and came out at Mammoth Springs that flows out of the side of a hill in Arkansas near the State line, some forty miles southeast of West Plains, and is known as Spring River.

Roaring River in Barry county emerges from a bluff about ten miles southeast of Cassville, and continues its course into White River, but its underground course it not known to have been touched by any surface opening.

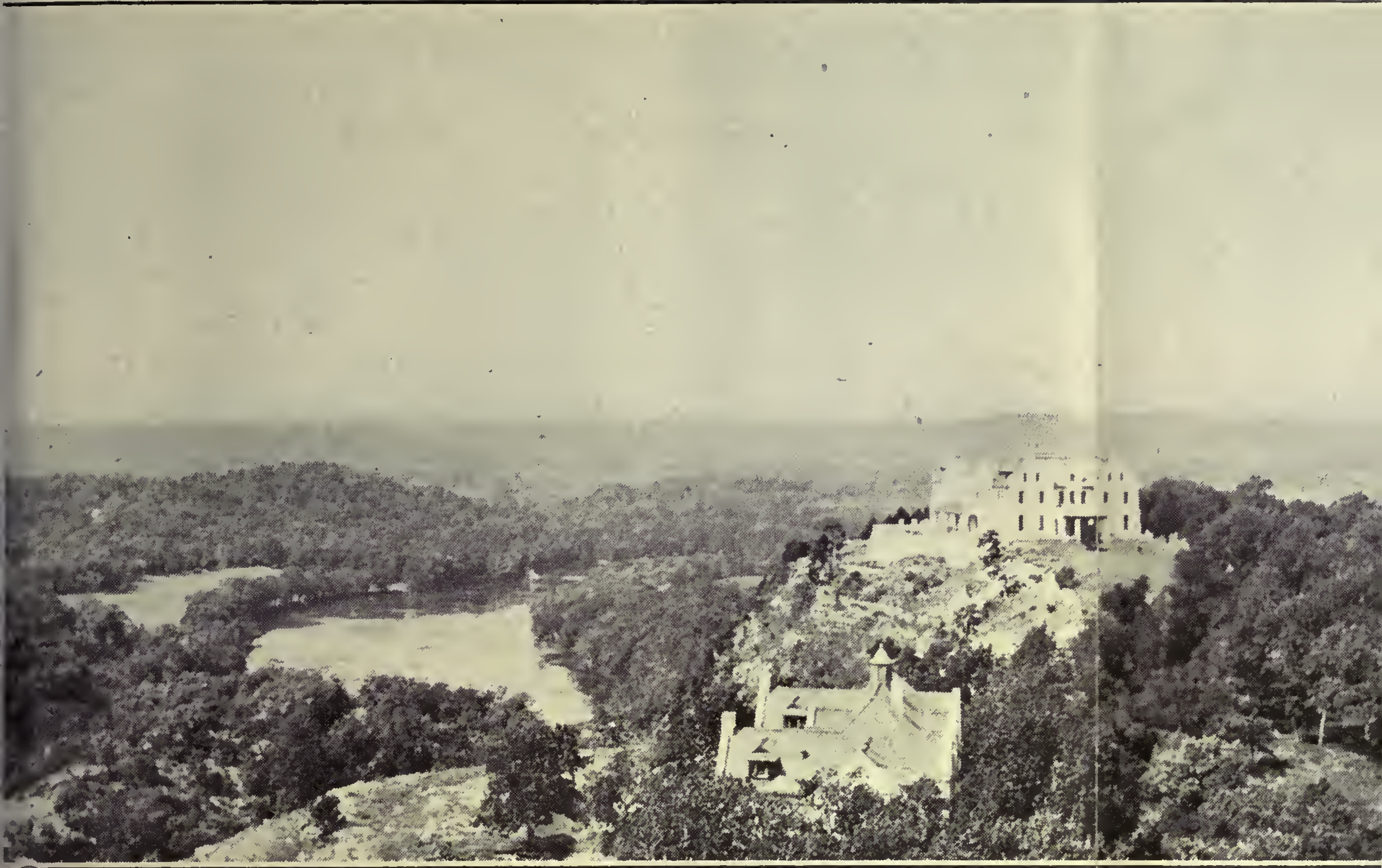
Hahatonka Spring in Camden county, one of the largest in the Ozark region, emerges from a precipitous bluff nearly two hundred feet in height above the water, and empties into the Niangua River about a mile below. The volume of water issuing from the bluff of the great spring would come up to the sides of a horse, say three feet, and was from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet wide in the stream to its junction with the Niangua River; but its flow or velocity coming out of the bluff was rather slow, probably three or four miles an hour; it was as clear as a crystal, showing that its flow was not as rapid as some other large springs.

There are other great springs of the Ozark region almost rivaling Hahatonka and the Mammoth Spring, Arkansas, and they are generally well down on the slopes of the Ozark uplift or mountain, showing that the elevated region is traversed with underground streams and rivers which have never been explored.

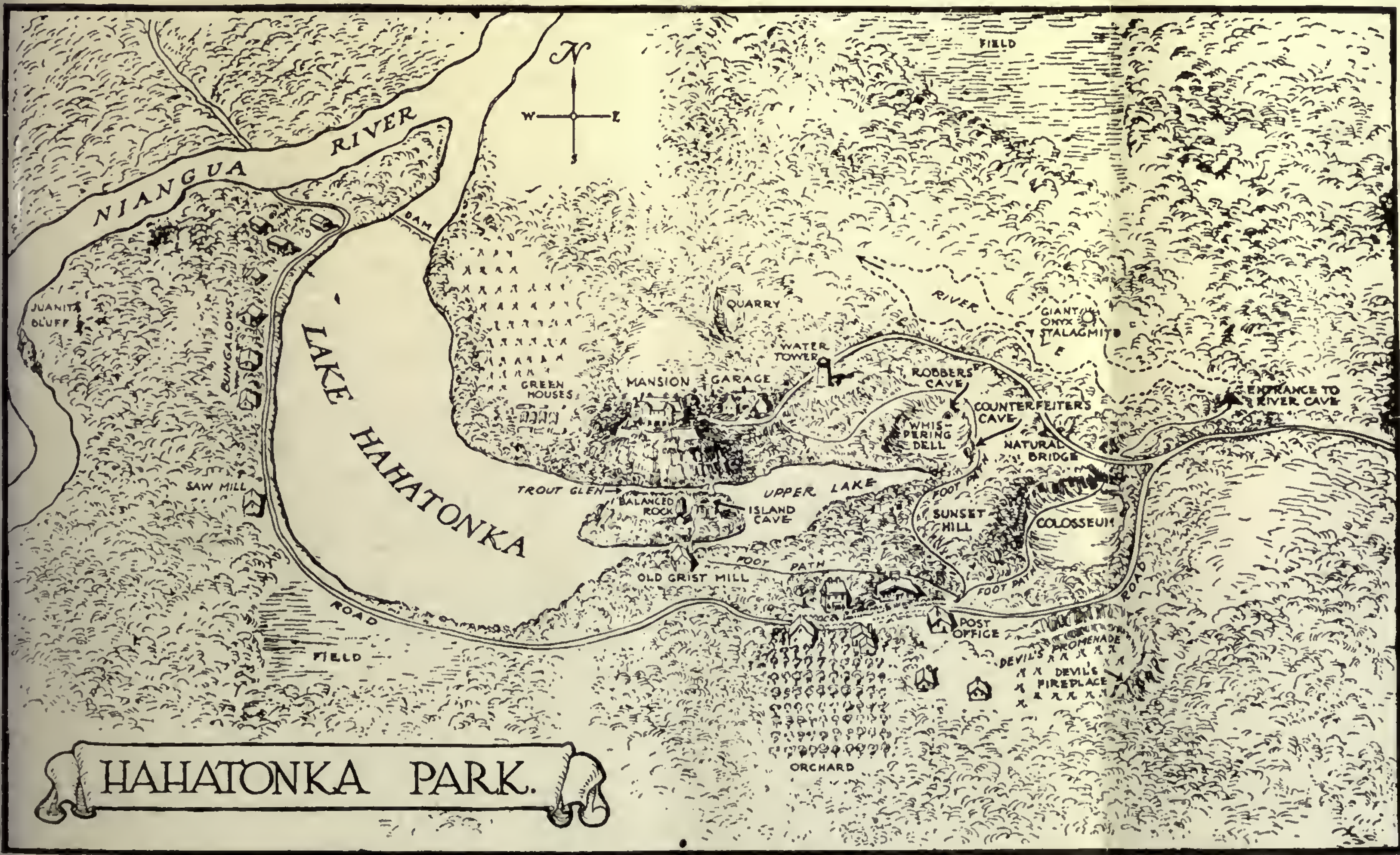
There has not been a sufficient number of borings in that section to give us much information about the underground streams; but several borings made by the railway company at Springfield and Monett for water for their engines and shops, struck streams of considerable volume at depths of a few hundred feet.

Another feature of this Ozark region is the numerous caves found in different parts of it, some of them of great interest on account of the beautiful stalactites hanging from their roofs, and the great stalacmitic formations of their floors.

When we take into account the great length of some of the stalactites, measuring perhaps in some instances upwards of twenty feet, and the great thickness of the stalacmitic formations, of nearly as many feet, and the extreme slowness of their growth, we are impressed with the great length of time that has elapsed since the process commenced. In England and Continental Europe inscriptions found on stalactites and stalacmites, made nearly three hundred years ago, and over which stalactite and stalacmitic matter has been deposited



View of Castle and Grounds, Hahatonka Park.
(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)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BUNGALOWS
LAKE HAHATONKA
SAW MILL
ROAD
FIELD
GREEN HOUSES
MANSION
GARAGE
QUARRY
WATER TOWER
RIVER
GIANT ONYX STALAGMITE
ROBBERS CAVE
COUNTERFEITERS CAVE
WHISPERING DELL
NATURAL BRIDGE
ENTRANCE TO RIVER CAVE
TROUT GLEN
BALANCED ROCK
ISLAND CAVE
UPPER LAKE
FOOT PATH
SUNSET HILL
COLOSSEUM
OLD GRIST MILL
POST OFFICE
DEVIL'S PROMENADE
DEVIL'S FIREPLACE
ORCHARD
FIELD
HAHATONKA PARK.

Map of Hahatonka Region.
(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)

indicated that their growth has not been as much as an inch in a century.

While no systematic investigations have been made of the caves of this region, there have been some reconnoissances with interesting results, showing that some of the caves examined contained animal forms, some mummified, of species long since extinct.

One of the most interesting caves of this region is the Marvel Cave about forty miles south of Springfield, ten miles north of White River, near the Wilderness Road in Stone county. It is near the summit of the high tableland of the Ozark Mountain and the terrene immediately south of it slopes off rapidly into the steep hollow of Roark Creek, one or two miles distant.

It is a deep chasm in the ground and in some respects resembles the "Devil's Den" at the opening except that it has no water in sight. Its walls or sides are so precipitous that one cannot safely descend without a ladder or rope, and looking down into its dark depths gives it a dismal appearance.

Some years ago some newspaper men from St. Louis were let down and made quite an extensive exploration of this wonderful cave, and with photographic apparatus took a good many views of different parts of its interior, giving names to some of them, as the "Throne Room." In this reconnoissance or exploration made by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, the newspaper men found in different parts of the cave, stalactites of indescribable beauty, the bones of animals of several species, and some mummified animals in a good state of preservation, but of species no longer existing in that section.

It is very likely that the caves of the Ozark region of Missouri, on account of its gentle uplift, will afford a more productive field of research in regard to per-historic man in this country, than any other section.

We have in the arrow-heads, spear-heads and other implements and tools and pottery from pre-historic mounds from every section of the country, evidence of the kinds of lives led by the Indians, and perhaps of the pre-historic races that were here before them; but we have no evidence as far as the writer knows, of cave inhabitants, such as cavern researches have shown in many parts of Europe.

It is generally supposed that the cave men and animals lived in a cold climate in pre-glacial times, and as we know that the ice sheet extended to the Ozark region, the severe cold as it advanced south must have forced men, if any existed, and the larger animals into the caves or to migrate south if it was practicable. Such superficial investigations as have been made in the caves of that region would not likely determine whether they had been inhabited by men and animals during the cold period of the glacial epoch; so that it will require much digging and the careful examination of the flora and fauna of many caves to give us information on that point.

This Ozark region is almost certain to furnish a rich field for cavern researches in the future, which will throw light on the early history of man on this continent. Some of these caves were unquestionably used by the Indians in the winter season, for near the entrance of them bowl-shaped mortars have been found cut into solid limestone and polished for braying or pounding certain foods until broken down for use.

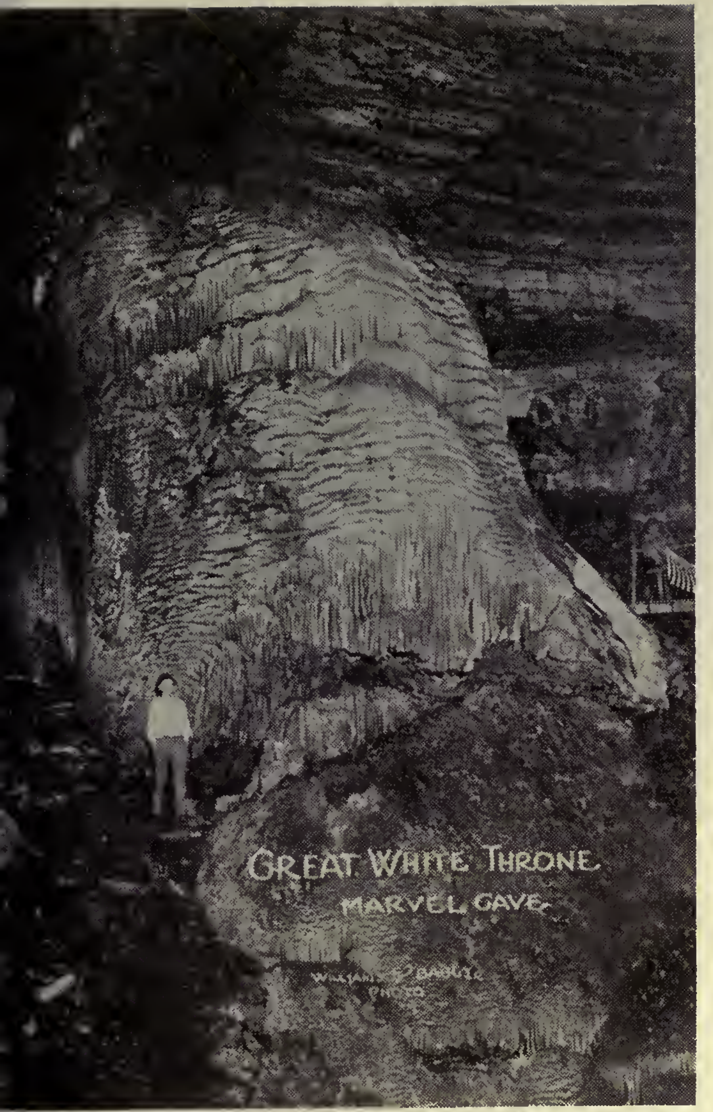
Another cave, the Lincoln Cave, seven miles northwest of Springfield, is of such interest that it has been visited by many excursionists, for it is easily accessible; extends back under the hill probably a thousand yards; has many spacious apartments and niches, and in its remote depths a beautiful stream of clear water about ten feet deep flows through it.

CHAPTER III.

WATER POWER AND MILLS.

On all the perennial streams of south and southwest Missouri, there is almost inexhaustible water power, and water power mills for grinding corn meal, making flour and carding wool rolls were early in use by the pioneers.

In the early settling of the country the mills were few in number and often ten to fifteen miles apart. But as popula-


GREAT WHITE THRONE
MARVEL CAVE
PHOTO

Stalagmite 40 Feet High in Marvel Cave.
(Courtesy Mo. Pac. Ry. Co.)

Stalagmite Resembling a Turkey in Marvel Cave.
(Courtesy Mo. Pac. Ry. Co.)

tion increased the number of mills increased until nearly every neighborhood could be accommodated. In the mills on the smaller streams, they had millstones for grinding only corn into meal, the wheat for making into flour being taken to mills having bolting machinery attached.

On the small streams where the small mills were built, the working power was secured by damming the stream some distance above the mill and conveying the water in troughs to the top of the driving wheel, which had boxes or buckets fastened to the spokes radiating from the axis which were filled by the water pouring over the wheel and turning it by the weight of the water, each box or bucket being emptied when the revolution of the wheel brought it directly under the wheel. This slow process in grinding meal was not very satisfactory, but when kept steadily going would do a good deal of work in a day and meet the demands of customers in the neighborhood.

On the larger streams like Shoal River, Spring River, Big Indian Creek, and Cowskin or Elk River, larger mills were put up with more alaborate machinery for making flour, and sometimes there was power enough derived from the driving wheel to run the machinery of a sawmill or carding mill. These larger mills were run by a working power caused by the turning of an undershot wheel, a wheel whose axis had radiating from it spokes, on the distal parts of which were fastened paddles or broad boards to catch the force of the water issuing from the sluice.

But to get this concentrated body of water with such strong pushing force as was required, preparatory work had to be done; a dam had to be constructed across the stream perhaps half a mile or more above the mill, and a race or short canal cut and the water turned into it, that it might flow with a descending velocity until it struck the paddles of the driving or undershot wheel.

When the mill was not running the water in the race was held back by a sluice, and when it was desired to start it up the sluice gate was opened. We called the water above the dam the mill pond, for it backed up sometimes a mile or so and had scarcely any current; but when the stream was high from heavy rains, the water not needed in the race flowed over the dam, and when it was low, nearly all the water was turned into the race.

There are many fine water-power sites on all the streams of that section, suitable not only for mills but also for other manufacturing purposes, and they must assume greater importance in the future when our people will see the necessity of conserving the resources which nature has put into our hands. The streams of this western slope of the Ozark region are peculiarly adapted to milling and manufacturing purposes, for they are perennial and of medium velocity in their descent.

There are two water-power sites which deserve mention; they are the Shoals and Grand Falls, eight and twelve miles northwest of us on Shoal River, now in the suburbs of the city of Joplin. At the Shoals the water of the stream has cut a gorge through strata of solid rock, about two hundred feet wide at the water's edge, which descends at the rate of perhaps fifty feet in half a mile over boulders of all sizes.

The roaring of the water pouring through the gorge and over the Shoals on still evenings is often heard several miles distant, and naturally attracted the attention of the early settlers to the locality, not only on account of the picturesqueness of it, but as a suitable place for a water-power mill site.

Here the mill was erected on the bank of the stream near the head of the shoal and the necessary force of the water secured without the cost and trouble of making a dam and cutting a race.

This place, too, was recognized as suitable for a mill site and excellent grist, flouring and carding mills were put up there many years before the war, and had customers sometimes from a distance of twenty-five miles or more, even the Cherokee, Seneca and Quapaw Indians coming there from the Indian Territory, to have their corn and wheat made into meal and flour, and their wool carded into rolls.

Since the industry of that section has made Joplin a city, the value and importance of Grand Falls have been utilized;

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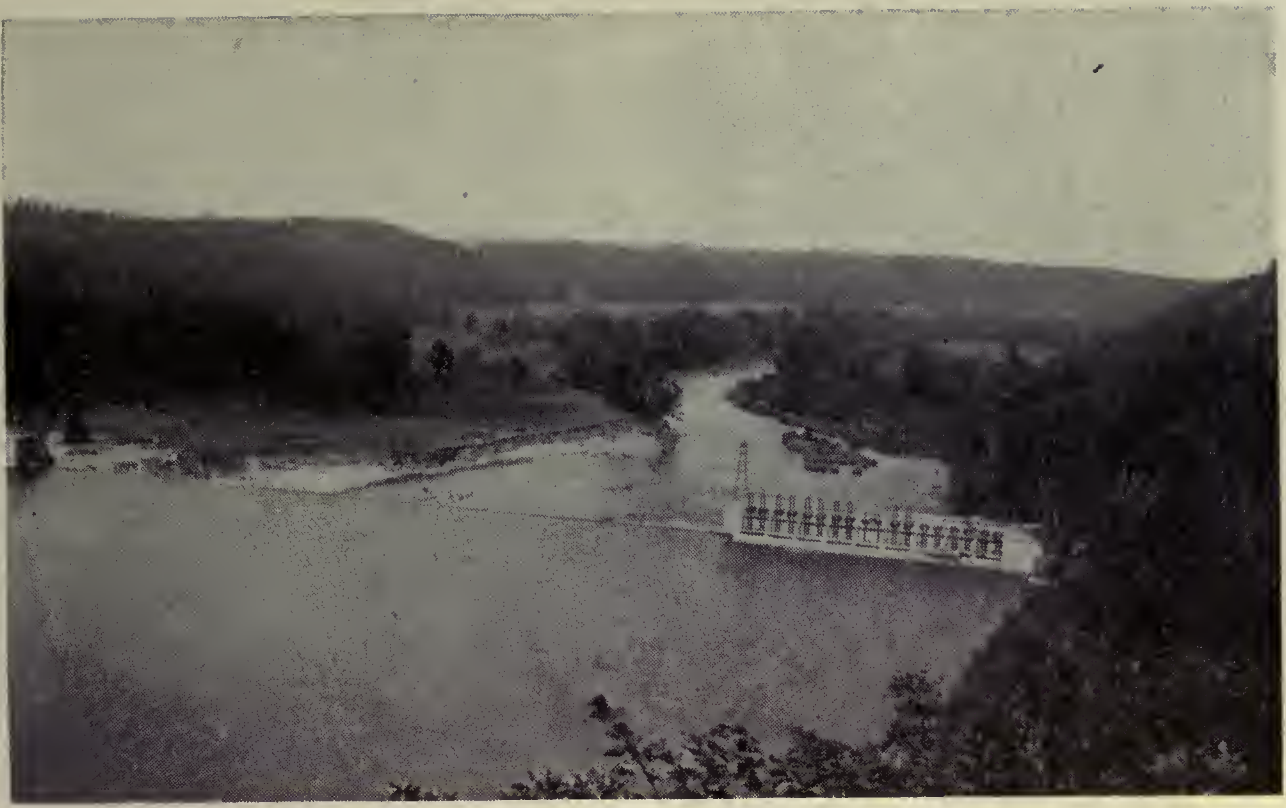

The Dam Across White River at Powersite, Mo., Forming Lake Taneycomo.
(Courtesy Mo. Pac. Ry. Co.)

The White River Country near Hollister and Branson, Mo.
(Courtesy Mo. Pac. Ry. Co.)

a dam has been built upon the ledge of rock, giving the water pouring over it a fall of about twenty-six feet, which has increased the power proportionately for use in manufacturing of electricity.

The power derived from these falls and the Shoals is probably worth to that section annually upwards of a million dollars, and as the stream rarely gets very low in the summer, dams could be made every three or four miles above the Shoals that would furnish power for doing a large part of the work in the territory drained by it, thus enabling the people to economize in the use of coal.

In the counties of western Missouri north of Jasper county the streams are not perennial, or rarely so; the terrene is generally flat; the streams are sluggish and flow in deep, narrow channels, the distance from bank to bank in some of them being not much greater than their depth.

These streams are not as much fed by living springs, but by the rains falling on the surface in the immediate vicinity and dry up nearly every summer, or become so low that the best of them do not afford water enough to run a mill. There were mills on nearly all these streams until the introduction of steam-power mills, and they could supply their patrons with flour and meal the greater part of the year except during the dry season.

On account of the high banks of the streams the water held by the dam is turned aside into a sluice and opened to start the mill or the revolutions of the big wheel, making it unnecessary to have a race.

The mill was a place where the men of the neighborhood met and exchanged views on domestic, religious and political subjects. While each had to wait his turn, this did not mean that every time he took his grain to mill he waited for it to be ground, for in most cases he had it measured and exchanged it for the amount of meal it would make after taking out the toll.

This did not necessarily consume much time, and yet it might take several hours when the miller had a rush of customers and was obliged to measure the grain and take out the toll of each and give him his proper amount of meal or flour.

It sometimes happened in dry seasons that the small streams did not afford water enough to run the mills on them, and then the people of the neighborhood were obliged to take their grain to the larger mills at a distance. If a farmer had to take his grain twenty to twenty-five miles to mill, he generally took a cart or wagon load at a time, and as the miller did not always have enough meal or flour on hand to exchange for that amount of grain, the customer might have to wait two or three days for his grist.

Nearly everybody living within two or three miles of the mill, took their grain in a sack that held two bushels, which was thrown across the back of a horse with the rider sitting on it. Any one having time to spend a few hours at the mill on almost any day in the year except Sunday and on all the converging roads, might have seen men and boys wending their way leisurely to mill, each sitting on his sack of grain thrown across his horse, and departing from the mill in a similar manner. A few people used ox-carts, which meant slow movement over the rough roads of the early days of that section. But the movements of the people were gauged by the ox-carts in nearly everything, for life was then less strenuous than later.

While it was difficult for the early pioneers to raise many sheep on account of the depredations of wolves, yet nearly every family raised a few head, more for their wool than for their flesh. Every family had to have wool for making their clothing, stockings and bed covering, and looked after their sheep as one of the most important factors of domestic economy, keeping them in pens during the winter to protect them from wolves.

After shearing the sheep in the spring, the wool was washed and dried and put away in large sacks, and carded by hand-cards into rolls, by the mothers and daughters as opportunity afforded, and laid away for spinning into thread for the loom. Practically all the pioneer women carded their wool into rolls with hand-cards; but gradually water-power and

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Rapids in Hahatonka Park Stream.
(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)

Old Grist Mill, Hahatonka Park.
(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)

horse-power carding machines came into use, which made a great saving in time and labor.

But as the carding machines were not always convenient to the families of some neighborhoods, quite a number of women adhered to the use of the hand-cards up to the war, using them with great skill and dexterity in carding rolls for the spinning-wheel.

CHAPTER IV.

PASSING OF THE PASSENGER PIGEON.

From my earliest recollection up to the Civil War, nearly every year there were immense flocks of wild pigeons, known as the Passenger Pigeon, that visited our section in the autumn and spring, to feed on the mast or crops of acorns.

Of acorn-producing trees there were the white oak, post oak, black oak, blackjack, and burr oaks in the creek and river bottoms. Many people allowed their hogs to fatten on this mast. Indeed, there were many families, particularly those who raised only small patches of corn, that depended almost entirely on mast-fed hogs for their pork and bacon.

In good weather in the late autumn, flocks of wild pigeons were seen passing over us, all flying in the same direction from or to their roosts in the forests. As the season advanced the flocks increased in size, until late in the afternoons they covered the visible horizon for an hour or so at a time, obscuring the light of the sun like a heavy cloud passing over its face.

On the advent of cold weather, the pigeons disappeared, going south as far as we could make out, and were not seen again until the next spring.

In the forenoon and on up to the middle of the afternoon, any one going through the forests saw them everywhere feeding on the mast, but nearly always in constant motion. In feeding, flocks of hundreds and thousands were frequently seen at intervals to dive down to the ground with a buzzing roar to pick up acorns, and remaining on the ground only a moment, they arose to continue the process. They did, however, at times alight on the ground to rest and feed, perhaps, for on coming near them they became frightened and the flock arose with a roar.

We have heard it stated that in the open country in some parts of Iowa that great flocks of pigeons alighted long enough in the fields to scratch up and take away every grain of wheat in the autumn; but in our section there was no complaint of this.

They usually came in such large flocks that they soon devoured the mast and then disappeared until the next spring, when they returned and finished that which had fallen during the winter, and disappeared again as flocks; but as the mating and nesting season came on later in the spring they were seen in pairs.

The female was not quite as large as the male, with some slight difference in coloring about the neck and breast. She laid two eggs in her nest and sat on them several weeks until the young birds were hatched, after which she and her mate fed them with worms and insects. The young birds grew very rapidly for a week or so; they became very fat and clumsy and looked to be nearly as large as the parent birds; but their feathers were not so well developed. They were much sought in the late spring for food, and nearly everybody in that section could testify as to the delicious meat of the squab. Overgrown, fat young persons, clumsy and awkward, were spoken of as squabby, a term suggested from the uncouth appearance of the young pigeon.

In the breaks and rocks and woods of the most inaccessible parts of that region, we did not hear of the nesting and nidification of large numbers of the wild pigeon. A few wild pigeons might have been seen in the unfrequented woods almost any time of the year, except during the cold months of winter; but it was the general belief that those nesting and raising their young in our section, were birds left behind for some cause or other.

Their flights always seemed very rapid, and it has been estimated at a mile a minute; but the flights of the immense flocks seemed to be just a rush forward without any indication of a definite goal, or the following of a leader, as was always observed in the flights of wild geese and ducks in their migrations. Their flights were always in two lines, V-chaped, with the leader at the apex of the V, and when he honked the others in the lines responded at intervals until they were beyond hearing.

There were pigeon roosts in our county and in other parts of south Missouri, some of them a mile or so in length and breadth, where they roosted every year for several years and dropped their excreta in places to a depth of two or three feet. A road passing near their roost was known as the "Pigeon Roost Road." They roosted in such great numbers on the limbs of trees that many limbs were broken off by their weight. In their flights to their roosts of evenings they generally flew low, and men having rifles or shot-guns, by firing into the flock, were almost certain to bring down several birds; but it was at the roost that the slaughter was greatest, for men and their families drove there at night and, taking clubs and sticks, killed them by hundreds. As the meat of the pigeon was considered almost as delicious as that of quail, one can hardly see why more people did not avail themselves of the opportunity of visiting the pigeon roosts for the purpose of replenishing their larders.

Attempts have been made to determine the number of pigeons, during the flights of some of the immense flocks, passing a given point at a given time. We know the length of a pigeon from the beak to the end of the tail feathers to be about sixteen inches, and the distance from tip to tip of the wings when spread in flight to be at least sixteen inches. In some of the flights they appeared in the distance as bands across the horizon, followed at intervals of a minute or so by other bands, the ends of which seemed to touch low down on the visible horizon; but when the flocks approached over head, they seemed a seething mass of birds in every direction as far as the eye could see, in such depth one above the other, to obscure the light of the sun like a cloud, the flight sometimes consuming as much as an hour or so.

Let us take a cross-section of a flock, say two hundred yards from front to rear, and twenty-five yards in depth, that is, one pigeon above another, and length of front a mile, and allowing one subic yard for each bird, would give us 3,800,000 birds passing the cross-section in a minute, or 528 millions in an hour.

For upwards of twenty years following 1883, I traveled as a representative of the Government investigating claims growing out of the war, over Southern Missouri, Northern Arkansas and West Tennessee, a timbered country, and I was struck with the absence of the wild or rock pigeon in all that region, and inquired of different persons about it; but no one remembered having seen a single individual of the species for several years past, although having up to a few years prior to my inquiry, seen immense flocks of them every spring and autumn. They had disappeared from all that region as completely as if the earth had swallowed them up, and also from other parts of the country as far as my knowledge extends, with no indication of ever returning again.

In conversation with one man on the subject he stated that in the late seventies he saw an account in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* where the wild pigeons of this region were of a sudden seized with an impulse for migration, and rose in great flocks and took their flight in a south and southeast direction, and continued it until they fell upon the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and South Atlantic, and perished by millions.*

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*Mr. E. D. Love of Kansas City, Kansas, who lived in Kankakee county, Illinois, prior to 1880, states that he had seen during his residence in that State on several occasions, immense flocks of wild pigeons in the autumn and spring seasons of the year; that in the late seventies he saw an account in some newspaper, perhaps the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, where great flocks of wild pigeons in attempting to fly across the ocean, fell upon the waters and perished; that this printed account of their fate was between 1872 and 1880; that he had not seen a wild pigeon in all that region since he saw the published account of their migration, whereas prior to that time he had seen the sky darkened by the immense flocks in their flight.

Mr. Charles Veatch of the Kansas City Book Exchange, an amateur naturalist and collector of insects, has furnished me with a pamphlet, being a reprint from the Smithsonian Institution's Report of 1911, containing an account by Peter Kalm (1759), and John James Audubon, (1831), giving the description, habits and migrations of the Passenger Pigeon, and of the great

The impulse that seized the rock or passenger pigeon to migrate as a race to an unknown region from whence they never returned is a mystery of animal instinct and behavior not yet explained, assuming that the purported account of their migration is true.

While the mast-bearing forests of that region had been somewhat depleted by denuding parts for cultivation in the opening up of homesteads by settlers, and by the increasing use of timber for industrial purposes, it is an unquestioned fact that there were up to the time of the migration, millions of acres of untouched forests that would have furnished mast for large numbers for many years to come. It is therefore probable that some other cause than that of scarcity of mast-food must be sought to explain the race migration of the wild pigeon into a region from whence they never returned.

On coming into that region every autumn and spring, no one seems to have paid any attention and made record of the direction from which they came, or on leaving the direction they were flying, for they were never noticed flying high, as if flying from one part of the country to another.

In the autumn and spring everybody observed flocks of wild geese, brant, cranes, and sometimes wild ducks; in autumn flying south in echelon formation, and in the spring flying north in the same formation. Nearly all in their periodical flights alighted in our meadows, ponds and fields, to feed and rest for a few days. But these species were water-fowl and we understood had their breeding places among the reeds and marches of northern lakes, while the wild pigeon

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numbers of this species that visited at intervals the Eastern and Southeastern States prior to the times of their observations. Mr. Kalm states that "About a week or a little later subsequent to the disappearance of this enormous multitude of pigeons, from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, a sea captain by the name of Amies, who had just arrived at Philadelphia, and after him several other seafaring men, stated that they had found localities out at sea where the water, to an extent of over 3 French miles, was entirely covered by dead pigeons of this species. It was conjectured that the pigeons, whether owing to a storm, mist, or snowfall, had been carried away to sea, and then on account of darkness of the following night, or from fatigue, had alighted on the water in that place and manner and met their fate. It is said that from that date no such tremendous numbers of this species of pigeon had been seen in Pennsylvania."

was strictly a land bird, and would naturally have its home in a thickly-wooded region.

We knew that the buffalo migrated north in the spring and south in the autumn; but we heard nothing about the migrations of any wild animals of our section; and yet in the early part of one winter when I was about ten years of age I saw a migration of red squirrels, or fox squirrels, as we called them. The squirrels, of which there were probably a hundred seen in a short space of time, were running along on the rail fences and on the ground, traveling south, like the wild geese.

CHAPTER V.

DEER AND WILD TURKEYS.

The early pioneers of the Ozark region nearly all settled along the streams where good water was convenient, so that in the open woodlands there were herds of deer and flocks of wild turkeys.

The pioneer nearly always knew the haunts of deer and turkeys in his neighborhood, and when the sporting spirit seized him, took his gun, and went out and stalked his game or concealed himself near the spot where it would probably pass or approach. In hearing men tell of their hunting stories we frequently heard the expression, "The proudest day of my life was when I shot my first buck," a feat that nearly every boy hoped to accomplish before growing to manhood.

The sense of smell of the deer was acute, and if the hunter desired to get near his game for a good shot, he approached it from the leeward side, for it was asserted by old hunters that a deer would scent a man half a mile to the windward.

When in the woodlands the ground was covered with snow, the hunter could approach near a deer by screening himself behind a bright red mantle or covering so as to conceal the movements of his hands holding his gun, while the attention of the deer was fixed on the red as if fascinated.

Another way of hunting deer was by salting a spot on the ground and establishing what was called a "deer lick," which, when found by a deer, brought others there until it was known by them for several miles around.

A man informed the writer that he and another man had shot and killed more than fifty deer in a year from a platform they had erected in the forks of a tree within easy firing range of the lick. It seems that a deer never looks up or scents trouble from above the level of its horizon, for it has always been in the habit of looking for its enemies on the surface of the ground.

With the native races of this country, as well as with the white man, the deer has always been considered the most desirable of wild game, both for the delicious flavor of its flesh for food, and its skin for making into clothing.

In the early settling of the country it was not an unusual thing for men looking after their stock on the range to see as many as a dozen or so deer in a herd in the woodlands skirting the prairies; but the number seen in herds diminished as the land was taken up for cultivation.

Antlers are found only on the heads of the stags, which they shed every year, and have doubtless developed in the course of time in the struggles between the males for the domination of the herd. But there are instances where the antlers have been a distinct disadvantage to the stag in conflict, for I saw in Thayer, Missouri, two skulls of stags with the antlers to them and interlocked, showing that in the struggle between them their antlers became interlocked so firmly that they could not be released, causing the death of both combatants on the ground where they fought.

There was a good deal of the hunting or sporting spirit among the pioneers, and there were some families in every neighborhood that kept a pack of deer or fox hounds for hunting. When the hounds were on the scent of a deer the hunters stationed themselves at a point near which the deer would likely pass, and got a shot at it.

Wolves and foxes were also hunted with hounds. They preyed upon the farmer's flocks of sheep and on his pigs and geese and chickens and there was a bounty of one dollar paid by the State for each wolf scalp, making some inducement to trap and kill wolves.

Nearly everybody of that day was familiar with the buckskin pants and coat of the hunter, generally trimmed along the seams with beads, and this style of dress of the woodsman was in evidence up to the war, for we had with us what were known as the "Buckskin Scouts," who were familiar with the trails thru the most unfrequented parts of that country, and were sometimes of great service to the army.

With the increase of settlements, deer and wild turkeys gradually decreased up to the war, but by the third year of the war, hunting having almost entirely ceased, they had noticeably increased, for the soldiers as they marched through the country, frequently saw herds of deer and flocks of wild turkeys.

Sometimes people had success in trapping wild turkeys by building a covered rail pen in the woods they frequented and digging a trench from the outside a foot or so wide and deep and sloping to the surface at both ends, one end entering the pen. By scattering grains of corn about the entrance of the trench and along it until it entered the trench, the turkeys on finding the corn continued picking it up until it took them into the pen.

After a severe winter we always noticed that quail were scarcer the following summer; and thus we are impressed that nature nearly always intervenes when necessary to check over-population of a species. In many cases during severe winters the quail around a farm, and sometimes wild turkeys, came in and fed with the chickens in the yard, or about the barn, picking up grain.

The conservation of birds and animals considered useful to man, is a problem that may require further legislation, for it may be important to know how far the hawk tribe, which preys on birds and small animals, should be exterminated, how far it is useful in destroying birds and animals that are not useful.

There is a very complete web of relations between man and the lower animals, and even insects, which should be understood before undertaking the wholesale destruction of a species.

It does not make so much difference about the preservation of the wild turkey, for we have the domestic turkey, but if it proves impracticable to domesticate the deer, it should be preserved and allowed to multiply in our National and other parks as far as desirable.

CHAPTER VI.

DOMESTIC AND WILD BEES.

Up to the early fifties, before the introduction of sorghum cane, the families in the country of the Ozark region used very little saccharine matter for sweetening except honey, so that nearly all kept a few hives of bees, housed in bee-gums.

In some dictionaries bee-gum is defined as a gum tree in which bees live, but we did not use the word bee-gum in that sense at all. A bee-gum, as we used the word, meant a section sawed out of a hollow tree about three feet in length and a foot or more in diameter set upon a smooth foundation of wood, the upper end covered sloping with eaves of two or three inches to shed the rain; and around the lower end there were several openings or doors about an inch in height and width to allow the bees to pass out and in. Where it was not convenient to secure the section of a hollow tree to hive the bees in, a box was used.

Holes were bored through the four sides of the box or bee-gum, through which wooden rods passed, crossing each other in the center and on which the bees made their comb.

When the bees of a hive swarmed in the summer, there was great interest taken by the owner, and measures at once adopted for hiving them to prevent them from escaping. If there was a cow-bell on the place, the vigorous ringing of it tended to settle the swarm on some object until the queen could be found and placed in the bee-gum, when the swarm immediately followed her.

There was an abundance of different kinds of wild flowers from which the bees made honey, and their hives were well stored with it except when the season was unusually dry. Any one dealing with bees found that like human communities, they had their lean years as well as fat years, and the intelligent humane owner respected their honey-making capacity during the lean years, or he would starve his hive in the winter and lose it.

When there was reason to believe that a gum was filled to its capacity with honey, preparations were made for taking out at night as much of the rich comb as desired.

In the operation of taking out the comb it was usually the practice to carefully remove the top of the hive and then by a slow-burning torch of rags fastened around a stick let the smoke from it force the bees into the lower part of the hive without injuring them.

It was noted some people were much more successful in handling bees than others without getting stung, and it seemed that if certain persons came around the hive, or when taking out honey, the bees were aroused to anger and in a fighting mood at once.

A breakfast of corn bread with proper shortening, light biscuit or hot cakes spread with fresh sweet butter and honey and eaten with rich cream milk would likely be relished by those who have been brought up in the most cultured centers of our country. And yet such was the family menu, when they wished it, of the people who did not boast of wealth or culture, and who, with the simple means at hand, were always striving to better their condition by honesty, industry and generous acts towards each other.

But delicious and appetizing as such a meal or breakfast was, we crave variety in food, and to meet this demand there were, in the hilly and rougher parts of the Ozark region, hard maple trees in considerable numbers, from which some families made maple sugar in quantities greater than they required and exchanged the excess for honey with families who produced more than they needed.

As the maple trees were restricted to the rougher parts of that region, the maple sugar or syrup that could be spared by the producers did not generally get much beyond the neighborhood of production.

There were many swarms of bees from the hives of owners that escaped unobserved and settled in the woods or forests until the queens found new homes for them in the trunks of hollow trees and led them there. From these escaping swarms there came to be in the wooded part of that country quite a number of wild bees, which brought into existence the bee hunter, who sometimes neglected every other businest during the greater part of the year for the lure of bee hunting.

A bee tree when found and the honey taken out, rarely yielded more honey than an average hive, and probably did not exchange for more than three or four bushels of corn meal and a couple of hams or sides of bacon. But the bee hunter was frequently a hunter of other wild game, such as wild turkeys, deer, pelt-producing animals of the woods and streams, took in fishing, and by assisting his neighbors in times of need, as in harvesting and gathering their crops, managed to eke out a scanty living for his family.

It would hardly be fair to call our hunters lazy, for it often required a greater expenditure of energy to tramp all day in search of game for food than the energy expended by the farmer in following his plough all day in tending his crop.

In his plan of hunting bees the bee hunter put out sweetening that attracted them to the spot, and when they were filled and took their flight, watched them start and as far as he could follow them by his eye in their course to their home, or as they "made a bee line" for the tree that housed the swarm.

By following the course of the bee from the lure or bait, and by examining the trunk of every tree for bees flying or swarming around the entrance to their hive, he was almost certain to find it in his search of a mile or so, and when found, marked the place so that he could return to it when he was ready to cut down the tree and secure the honey.

As honey was not suitable for all kinds of sweetening in the domestic economy of the home, the introduction and cultivation of sorghum cane by the farmer came to fill a distinct need in that respect. There was no one so poor but that he could raise the fraction of an acre of sorghum cane, from which could be pressed out in the wooden mill made for the purpose, enough of the sweet juice from the stalks to make from one-half to a barrel of sorghum syrup, probably enough to last a family for a year. In a few years after its introduction, nearly every farmer was raising sorghum, and it has gradually become an important item of the family menu.

CHAPTER VII.

WINTER AND SPRING ON THE FARM.

On the farm every season had its particular kind of work; there was no season of idleness.

In the long winter evenings after the supper was over the children of the family sat about the blazing hard-wood fire in front of the open fire-place, cracking and eating nuts, which had lately been gathered and stored away for winter, until each had become satisfied, and retired for the night.

In getting up wood for winter we always had some large logs for back-logs. A part of the wood we used as fuel was green hickory, and as the lengths were gradually consumed, a sweet substance oozed out of the unburnt ends, which we called "hickory goody," and which every child in that section sought eagerly with a spoon or knife and ate with a keen relish, for the flavor was certainly as fine as that of maple sugar.

But while the children were thus employed chatting and gossiping about childish affairs, the mother was never idle, but busy knitting stockings, or mending clothing, or carding rolls and spinning them into thread. Other evenings of the winter were passed by the children gossiping about the events of their daily lives; about the trapping of birds, quails or rabbits; or perhaps of noting a wolf track in the snow. It was not an unusual thing for a wolf to get into a sheep pen at night and kill several, or carry off one or more pigs from the bed of a sow in the woods near the house. In all the depredations of wolves on flocks of sheep, we never heard of them devouring any part of the carcass; but they just seemed satisfied to suck the blood from the animal, and a hungry wolf might kill half a dozen head of sheep in a single night.

With the woods resounding nearly every day with the yelping or barking of hounds on the scent of foxes, deer, or wolves, or the treeing of coons, there was always something of interest to the children to talk about. But every day during the winter the boys of the family large enough to work were busy in the morning making fires and feeding and watering the stock; gathering corn in the field and hauling and cribbing it, and husking the corn and hauling the stalks to the feeding place for the cattle.

When this work did not consume all their time, there was generally a piece of ground to be cleared for planting in corn the next spring. There were not many days too cold for work in the clearing, for the workers could warm themselves before big brush fires.

There was hardly any of the men or boys living in the country at that time accustomed to wearing undergarments or overcoats during the winter months, even when the temperature touched zero or below, and as judged by later requirements, they were not clad in clothing warm enough for health and comfort. In the severest weather they stayed in-doors and close around their homes and were not exposed long at a time to the biting cold.

But even in stormy, rainy weather, work was found for the boys in husking or shucking corn in the cribs which were covered with boards, and in cutting fire wood.

It was not the custom then in that section to husk the corn as it was pulled from the stalk in the field, a practice that has come into use on many farms since the war, but in ante-bellum times it was pulled from the stalk with the shucks on and thrown into a wagon and hauled up and cribbed.

In the new method of gathering corn the corn husker has a husking peg attached to a leather band fastened around his right hand so that he can manipulate it with his thumb and fingers. An ear of corn on the stalk is seized with the left hand and then stuck with the point of the husking peg in the right hand at the point where the shuck is attached to the cob, and in an instant in one time two motions, detached and thrown into the wagon, leaving the shuck on the stalk for provender.

This method of gathering corn has advantages over the old in that it saves handling the corn two or three times, besides leaving the shuck on the stalk for the stock to feed on in the winter.

Some champion corn huskers have made remarkable records by this method of gathering corn, in some instances having records of upwards of one hundred bushels in a day of about eight hours.

When the old system of cribbing corn with the shucks on prevailed, there were corn-shucking parties in nearly every neighborhood during the winter, at which the young people in particular were invited, and at which a good dinner was always served. These parties generally ended with a dance and music, but if the master of the house was too strict in his religious views to allow dancing, some other form of amusement and entertainment was arranged. There was in every neighborhood a fiddler and he was much in demand in the winter season when dancing parties mostly prevailed.

The winter having passed, and with it the season of social entertainments among the neighbors, the spring opened with new duties. About the first of March ploughing was commenced. In those days most of the ploughing and hauling of timber was done with a pair of oxen, and in many instances oxen were used in tending the crops of corn. In breaking up new ground two pairs of oxen were used with a heavier plow than was used with one pair. In breaking fresh open land that had wild grass on it forming a sod, we planted what we called sod corn; that is, when the plough cut a furrow four or five inches deep by ten to twelve inches wide, throwing the ribbon-like layer of sod on the right side of the furrow, the corn planter came along dropping grains of corn in it a few inches apart, and in the next round of the plough it cut a strip of sod, and throwing it over to the right, covered up the corn, and it generally came up without being disturbed by the moles, as the plantings were in the fields which had been cultivated for years.

If the season was favorable the sod corn crop made a fair yield; but as the stalks were smaller and the blades kept green longer, the crop was usually cut and shocked for feed for stock. There was always more or less preparation of the cleared land for planting in corn, for there was generally some difficulty in ploughing it on account of stumps.

As the days lengthened, very little time was lost in fair weather from ploughing and breaking up the corn stalks in the field and burning them and making ready for sowing oats and planting corn. In that section oats were usually sown the latter part of March, and corn planted any time from the first of April to the latter part of May, and in some instances as late as in the first week of June.

Nearly every spring the farmers had trouble with moles finding and eating the grains of corn which had been planted, making it necessary to replant two or three times to secure a good stand. The ground was laid off in check rows so that the corn could be ploughed both ways, and a mole would sometimes strike a row and follow it, taking every grain of corn in the hills.

In a couple of weeks after planting the corn it was up a few inches and large enough to plow with a shovel plow or cultivator. From this time on up to the laying by of the corn about the first of July, it was a struggle between the farmer and the weeds, but the farmer, if he was industrious and there was not too much wet weather, was certain to come out the victor.

Probably there are very few men who have not traveled rather extensively over the country and come in contact with the farm population, realize that the greater part of the work on the farm is done by boys from ten to sixteen or seventeen years of age. It was often the ambition of many boys to be large enough and able to follow the plough like a man, but in most cases that ambition in a few years is fully satisfied.

It was the custom to give the corn three or four ploughings before laying it by, leaving it about as high as a man's shoulders, and if possible clean of weeds and grass. After the first or second ploughing when the corn was about knee high, we used a mould-board plough drawn by two horses, which threw the soil up against the hills which were at the intersection of the check rows, and which made ridges along the corn row.

In a few weeks after the corn crop was laid by we knew we should have sweet delicious roasting ears as a part of the dinner menu, always a welcome change at that season when strawberries, raspberries and blackberries had disappeared from the table.

We barely had the corn crop out of the way when the wheat harvest was coming on, which had to be attended to promptly to prevent the loss of grain by the wheat becoming too ripe and falling down and too much tangled to cut with a scythe. The farmer who had too large a crop to handle with his own help, generally engaged in advance the required number of cradlers and binders to assist him in cutting, binding and shocking his wheat. Later, when the reaper and binder came into use, which was only a few years prior to the war, in our section farmers, excepting those having small crops of wheat, generally arranged to have their crops cut and bound with the new machine.

But whether the crop was harvested by the hired help of cradlers and binders, or by the reaper and binder, it was an event that called for a good dinner at the farm house, the most prominent feature of which was an abundance of fried chicken and stewed chicken and dumplings, berries of the season, honey, milk and butter, bread and strong coffee with rich cream turning it to a golden color.

When neither thirst nor hunger remained unsatisfied, each of the guests rose from the table, sought a shade and rested for an hour, and then resumed their work in the field and continued it until the wheat crop was cut, bound and put up in shocks. It was the custom of the time, of which no one thought it an impropriety, for the master of the farm to provide on such occasions, a jug of pure whiskey for his harvest help, a failure to do so bringing upon him the unfavorable comment of stinginess. No one thought of indulging to excess, and the men were generally modest in their demands for it, partaking of small quantities of an ounce or so at intervals of three or four times a day; but all seemed to regard it as a necessary stimulant in their work, and aiding them in doing it with cheerfulness and bouyancy. Even men who would go to town to get drunk, rarely allowed themselves to drink to excess in the harvest field, and men who were known to use liquor too freely, or to go on sprees now and then, often made good harvest hands.

In those ante-bellum times there was a small distillery in nearly every neighborhood, and whiskey was cheap, compared to what it was after the war, when the Government put an Internal Revenue Tax on it. Prior to imposing the tax on it, it was selling for forty to fifty cents a gallon. In the southern border slave states the custom of many families of sending some one to the distillery for a jug of whiskey was so universal that it was woven into the chorus of a minstrel song, "Little Brown Jug don't bother me," and was so catchy that for several years many people might be heard humming it.

When wheat was cut with the scythe and cradle and laid in swathes, as we called it, there was always some man in the neighborhood who had the reputation of being the fastest cradler in it, and was in much demand when harvest commenced, and was generally paid half a dollar or more per day more than the average hand, for he would cut from an acre to an acre and a half more wheat per day than his competitors.

From an acre and a half to two acres was an average day's work for a man cutting wheat with a scythe and cradle, for it was hard work, tiring mostly the arms and shoulders in swinging the scythe and cradle hour after hour on a warm day.

After the wheat was cut and shocked it was generally allowed to stand in the shock a week or so, when it was hauled by the farmer to a convenient place and stacked. It was always desirable to get the shocks out of the field and the wheat stacked as early as practicable, for if wet weather should set in and last for several days, the two or three sheaves spread out and thrown over the top of the shock to shed the rain, would begin to mould and rot, causing some loss of grain; besides there would be a loss from birds and crows feeding on the grain.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUMMER AND AUTUMN ON THE FARM.

When the other crops which came after the wheat harvest were out of the way arrangements were made for tramping out the wheat.

A smooth piece of ground near the stacks was cleaned and tamped down, with a small platform in the center, and around this the sheaves of wheat were placed, with the heads of grain up, and then the horses were ready to enter. Some farmers had a better arrangement than this; they had a space between two cribs all under one roof and was much better than that out in the open method, for it secured the grain cleaner. The ring of sheaves was wide enough to allow two or three horses to go around abreast, a boy rider leading one or two, and as many horses in twos and threes as the farmer had to spare.

When the heads of the sheaves had the wheat thoroughly tramped out, the crushed straw was removed and the wheat and chaff gathered up ready for the fanning mill. Usually there were several trampings, the process always requiring clear, dry weather.

Separating the wheat from the chaff in the fanning mill was a tedious process and many a boy could have testified to getting dreadfully tired in his arms from turning the crank of the mill in blowing out the chaff.

Where only small crops of an acre or so were raised it was not unusual to see the wheat beaten out with a flail, and the wheat cleaned by putting it and the chaff in a sieve or basket and having a man, while holding the sieve at an elevation as high as his head, gradually empty the wheat and chaff during a strong breeze so that the wheat would fall on a sheet, the chaff being blown away. This primitive process of cleaning wheat was not much used in our section.

A few years before the war a horse-power threshing machine came into use and rapidly superseded the process of tramping and cleaning with the fanning mill. The threshing machines of that day, with their cumbersome attachments, would appear at the present time quite ancient.

About the time of the introduction of the threshing machine, the reaper and mower came into use, the reaper for cutting wheat and oats and laying the grain in swathes or in heaps convenient for binding; and the mower was the same machine with an attachment for lowering the scythe, for cutting timothy or wild grass.

In those days we did not have the reaper and binder combined as now; there were several hands following the reaper and picked up the grain as it fell from it and bound it into bundles, and others came along and made it into a shock.

Nearly all cut with a reaper in a short time after the machine was introduced. When first introduced, one machine could do the cutting of the wheat and oats for quite a neighborhood. In a few years a good many farmers owned their reapers and mowers, which enabled them to raise larger crops of wheat, oats and hay.

With the threshing of the wheat, and the stacking of the oats and hay, the work of the summer was about completed, giving the farmer and his children a breathing spell from their strenuous labors during the season. The season was now at hand of watermelons, muskmelons, peaches, wild plums, and wild grapes, and grown folk and young were delighted to enjoy the delicious fruits and melons.

At that time nearly every family had a small orchard of peach, apple or pear trees, and raised enough of this fruit to last during the season; in many instances part of this fruit was cut and dried and kept in dry places for winter. We had early and late varieties of each, apples and peaches.

There were some seasons of very great waste of these fruits, particularly seasons when the yield was large. But generally most of this fruit was saved in some form or other. There was very little market for it except for winter apples or late varieties that were picked and stored away in outdoor cellars.

If a family could not use all the apples which had been thus stored, there were sometimes demands among the neighbors for them during the winter and spring at forty to fifty cents a bushel. We did not then have apple buyers coming around early every autumn, as was later the custom. The soil and climate of that region was well adapted to growing many varieties of fruits and berries, but there was no market for them.

One frequently saw in the county towns during the season of the ripening of a fruit, wagon loads brought in by farmers and sold around the courthouse square at ten cents a bushel, or even given away if it happened that there were several loads in town at the same time.

Many families cut and dried such parts of their peach and apple crops as were not required for present use, always selecting the soundest fruit for that purpose. After cutting up the fruit it was spread out on boards or sheets in the warm sun to dry. Some families, however, dried their fruit by kilns. It was a kind of furnace made of two walls and covered with thin slabs of limestone, and one end had a low chimney to make a draft and allow the smoke to escape, and the other end was open for putting in wood and keeping up a fire.

A slow, hot fire heated the top or roof of the kiln on which the fruit was placed, and dried it slowly or rapidly as was desired, and when under cover could be used any kind of weather.

With a kiln of this kind several changes of fruit could be dried in a day and stored in sacks in a dry place and held for use or sale. This work of cutting and drying the fruit every year was always done by the mother and her children, and was an important item in the economy of the home. But only a part of the apples was cut up and dried for future use, the remainder, and perhaps the larger part, being culled over and the soundest ones laid aside for winter, and those with bruises for passing through the cider press. Nearly every farmer who had an orchard had a cider press, and if he did not have one he could haul his apples to his near neighbor who had one and have a barrel of cider made for a small toll of a few gallons.

To many persons there was not a more delicious beverage than good sweet cider, and some kept it after it commenced to get hard and have an edge on it; but as it never produced intoxication it never had a ban on it. In some respects it was like honey; that is, it cloyed and satiated the appetite after one had taken a couple of glasses at intervals of several minutes.

No one made a specialty of fruit farms in that region, as in later years where there are fruit farms of two, three and four thousand acres each. In that same region of south and southwest Missouri where we had a dozen or so apple, peach and pear trees in ante-bellum days, there are now many fruit farms running into thousands of acres.

The latter part of August or early part of September, we commenced preparing for sowing fall wheat, by ploughing and turning under the wheat and oat stubble and grasses, which were considered by some farmers as good fertilizers to the soil. This work was usually done by the plowman driving a pair of oxen, horses or mules, and if he turned over as much as two acres a day, he was kept quite busy. When oxen were used they were generally turned out of nights with bells on to graze on the wild grass, and sometimes were difficult to find the next morning by keeping very quiet, having laid down to rest the latter part of the night in a secluded spot. They were accused by the children of playing hookie or hiding out to keep from work the next day.

We did not then have the wheat or corn drill, and in a month or six weeks after the ground had been ploughed, the wheat was sown and harrowed in, a task of working in the dust and dirt that no boy coveted.

Even at that time most farmers in our section believed that rotation of crops was beneficial to the land, and when practicable, sowed their wheat between the corn rows and covered it with a shovel plough. Even with the disadvantages of getting a good stand of wheat by this method of sowing, it was the general verdict of the farmers that the crops thus sown made as good, and frequently better yields of wheat than that sown on the stubble land.

There was always this trouble about the crops that had been sown between the corn rows: the corn stalks had to be cut near the ground with a hoe during the freezing weather of winter or the dry weather of spring, when the stalks were brittle, so as not to obstruct the scythe and cradle, and later the reaper, when the crop was ripe for cutting. In some instances the farmer with a pair of horses and a wooden roller went over the corn stalks breaking them down smooth on the ground.

A farmer of those days may not have known much about agronomy, or the science of agriculture, or of the bacteria of the soil, parasites that affected and weakened it; but he had a lot of hard sense gained by observation at first hand; for example, that succession of crops, as crops of wheat grown on the same land of a field for several years in succession, tended to weaken the soil and cause the crop each succeeding year to become less vigorous and the yield less and less per acre.

In all that region prior to the war the farmers lost hundreds of head of cattle; in some instances almost entire herds being wiped out, involving losses of many thousands of dollars, by what was known as Texas fever, sometimes called Spanish fever. It was known by the farmers of our section that when a herd had been driven from Texas, and passed through south Missouri to the markets further north, that the native cattle grazing on or passing over the trail of the foreign herd, even a month or so after, were infected with the Texas fever, nearly all the cases of which proved fatal.

The herds from the south were healthy and immune from the disease, and our native cattle were healthy until they passed over or grazed on that fatal trail.

Here was a mysterious disease causing the annual loss of thousands of head of cattle, that went on an unsolved problem year after year until many years after the war, when, after investigations by many workers, it was found that the disease was caused by a tick that had been brought by the foreign cattle. It was also found that the disease was not transferred directly by the tick which had fed upon an infected animal, but from the young ticks which were hatched from it eggs.

Now the problem was to destroy the ticks on the infected cattle, and for that purpose dipping tanks were provided at certain railroad stations on roads over which cattle were shipped from the proscribed territory.

There had been trouble for many years in south Missouri and south Kansas between the citizens and drovers who attempted to drive their herds of cattle from the proscribed or infected territory through these states to northern markets, and in some cases there were regular battles between the citizens and drivers of the herds, in which there was frequently loss of life and destruction of entire herds.

The matter became of such serious import that legislation was enacted in both states prohibiting the driving of herds of cattle from the proscribed region through any part of the territory of the commonwealths subject to the disease.

We had such an abundance of wild grass in that section that the farmer allowed his stock to graze in the open woods or on the prairies, so that we were not required to think much about fall pastures.

The timothy meadows were small, rarely exceeding ten to twelve acres, and as everybody could have all the prairie hay they wished, by hauling it home, a good many farmers did not raise any timothy. Most of the wild grass suitable for hay was probably at that early day on Government land, but even if it was not, the owner was not likely to object to any one cutting the grass, for in a few weeks it was certain to be burned off during the general prairie fires. It would be only a month or so when shortly after the first frost, the grass would become seared and dry, and liable to be burned off any day, for prairie fires were frequent in the autumn and spring of every year.

To the childish mind there was no grander sight than to witness a prairie fire or woods fire at night, particularly if the grass was long enough to make the flames that leaped eight to ten feet high, and extend as far as the eye could see.

In the early settling of the country the wild grass in some parts grew to the height of a man's head; but gradually, as the population increased, and with it the increase of stock grazing, the grass did not attain such rank growth.

The beef we used was nearly all grass-fed and was of a good quality during the summer and autumn and on up to the time we commenced feeding them corn, hay and fodder after being brought in off the range. There was one feature of stockraising in that section that must have impressed any one who was familiar with better methods, and that was the absence of shelter for cattle in the winter, except that one or two cows might be kept in a shed. But most of the farmers provided stables for their horses and covered inclosures for their sheep and hogs.

It was painful indeed to see a herd of cattle on a bitter cold day covered with ice and snow and shivering in the cold wind. In many cases, however, such conditions were not allowed to exist where farmers had put up stacks of hay or straw, and in severe weather let their cattle in to them to feed. As many cattle as a farmer usually had could have stood around and fed from one or two stacks; but there were nearly always one or two pugnacious animals who were constantly horning those more peaceably disposed. Since that time a good many farmers have taken to dehorning their cattle and raising breeds without horns, and under these conditions a herd will stand around a stack of hay close together feeding.

Later, but before the war, a few farmers moved into the different counties of that section from Iowa and northern

Illinois where the winters were severe, built separate sheds, standing east and west with the north sides and ends closed so as to keep out the cold winds and rains and feeding them there, protected their stock in severe weather.

The early settlers who had been frequently sustaining heavy losses, were gradually awakened to the need of protecting their animals with shelter during the winter months and built sheds for them. We knew about cattle living all winter in the cane brakes on Grand River, Indian Territory, and on the Arkansas River, and as the winters of our section were sometimes so mild that cattle, sheep and hogs lived on the range all winter, some farmers had drifted into the habit of not taking proper measures for protecting their stock with shelter during the hard winter that was certain to come.

In the course of a dozen years, there was a wide variation of temperature and the amount of snow that fell during the winter months, and of rain that fell during the summer months, which many farmers might have observed to their advantage.

It was a custom that prevailed widely, that nearly every farmer who raised corn, in the latter part of summer, while the blades were green on the stalks and the ears had commenced to harden, to strip off the blades and after being properly cured in the sun one or two days, bind them into bundles about the size of sheaves of oats. This stripping the blades off the stalks we called "pulling fodder," and it was a tedious process in which both hands were used nearly at the same time.

The work did not require close attention, but close application, and two or three persons frequently worked along together, stripping off the blades and gossiping about matters of common interest. When the blades had been dried and cured, the binders came along and gathered up the handfuls of fodder between the stalks and bound them into bundles, which were carried to the ends of the corn rows to be hauled away in wagons to be stacked or placed in the barn loft. As the bundles were bound with a few blades of fodder, we did not commence the work of binding until the evening dew had softened the dry, brittle blades sufficiently to hold without breaking when the ends had been brought together and twisted and turned under, forming a kind of knot. The odor of the dried fodder we bound during the evenings of the harvest moon was like an exquisite bouquet.

This blade fodder was intended mostly for the work horses; we cut and put up in shocks what we called corn fodder for feeding our cattle in the winter, the stalks being cut with the green blades and corn on them. We used in cutting and putting up this corn fodder a corn knife somewhat like a sword bayonet, and every soldier boy from the farm would have declared that the sword bayonet would have made a good corn knife, and after the war many sword bayonets were used for corn knives, having been purchased for a few cents at some of the Government sales of public property at the close of the war.

The stalks and fodder on them were well cured in the shock, and as the stalk retained the sweetness in the greater part of it, they made excellent feed for cattle in the winter.

Before hauling up this shock fodder, as it was called, for feed, the corn was pulled off it and shucked. In some instances the farmer cut off the stalks with the green blades on them above the ears and shocked them, which made a saving in time when it came to hauling up the shocks for feed in the winter.

The nights were now longer than the days; the evenings were cooler and a little fire in the fire-place was comfortable; the children over ten years of age had started to school, and the wise men of the neighborhood prophesied from the goose-bone, the thickness of the furs on the animals, or the thickness of the corn shucks on the ears, whether the approaching winter would be mild or severe.

Frost had come following a storm and a cold blast from the north, biting the pumpkin and sweet potato vines, turning them black and causing them to fall flat on the ground. All weeds and tender grasses, pokes and elders along the fences, were bitten and the leaves turned black, and the leaves of the forest trees were turned every conceivable color of the spectrum, golden, yellow and russet, giving the landscape a beauty no artist could describe. And with all this wealth of color and beauty, the air was bracing, giving life a buoyancy that had long been in abeyance from the oppressive heat of the summer.

Closely following the storm and the first cold blasts from the north, the migrations of many varieties of birds, wild geese, crane and wild ducks were observed. These migrations sometimes lasted several weeks, and on passing through the woods and thickets one might see dozens of several varieties of birds, to find on passing through the same woods and thickets on another day, that they had all left.

Wild ducks were frequently there nearly all winter, alighting in the fields, and on the ponds and still waters of the creeks, and were hunted by sportsmen, who brought many to their homes and to the markets in town. We also had the prairie chicken, which, like the quail, was not migratory, but nested and raised its young in the wild prairie grass of that section, and was next in importance to the wild turkey, as a wild game of the feathered tribe. This was the season when the prairie chicken commenced to appear in flocks of hundreds about the corn fields. They were caught by the farmers in traps, sometimes by dozens, and used as a part of the food menu, their meat almost rivaling that of the quail, with us the most delicious of all birds.

When spring came the prairie chickens separated into small groups, and later into pairs, and it was interesting to watch them during the courting season, when a group of half a dozen might be seen from early morning, on a bare gopher mound, performing many amusing antics. We could sometimes get close to them and then one would see two or three males, but one at a time, strutting and dragging his wings on the ground making a kind of low drumming sound, which we supposed was made with the wing feathers, somewhat after the fashion of the bow of a fiddle drawn over the strings.

It was a handsome fowl, speckled, brown plumage, mottled with darker shades to match the different shades of dry grass, and its form and color were probably elements of attractiveness to the female as well as its strutting movements and the sounds produced by its wings.

The prairie chicken, so abundant in western Missouri and eastern Kansas up to the war, after that period gradually disappeared from that region almost entirely.

Most of the month of October was generally good weather, with bright, pleasant days extending through November, when grown folks and young liked to wander in the woods, gathering nuts, wild grapes, paw-paws and persimmons.

These wild nuts and fruits were abundant nearly every year and made a wholesome variation in the family menu of those who liked it, and a pleasant pastime in gathering them. The paw-paws and persimmons might be eaten any time after a heavy frost and freezing, and they were considered delicious to the taste by some and indifferent to others; but they could not be kept for future use more than a few weeks.

When undisturbed by birds or 'possums, persimmons did not fall off the tree for a month or more, after the leaves had fallen, but paw-paws being much heavier, might be shaken off by the wind in a much less time. We often found the paw-paw trees in small groves and scattered singly, mingled with the shrubs and trees along the streams, while the persimmon trees were found in small groves and singly in open spaces, sometimes along the fences and on ground inclined to dampness. Both of these fruits were probably used as food by the native races of this country, and are doubtless susceptible of improvement like other fruits that have been domesticated; but as yet no well-defined efforts have been made in that direction.

There has been a gradual decrease in hickory nuts, walnuts and hazlenuts, due to the increasing cultivation of the land on which they grew, except in the case of walnut, which has decreased in stumpage on account of the increasing demand for it for manufacturing into sewing machines, fine office furniture and gunstocks.

We had no better use for this valuable timber up to the war, than gathering the walnuts from the bearing trees, and cutting them down and into lengths for splitting into rails for fences, and hauling a few logs to the sawmill to be sawed into lumber for flooring and other purposes. In many instances large trees were cut down and split into rails, that later would have been worth a hundred dollars for shipment to foreign countries. Even walnut stumps and the main roots, have been eagerly bought up and sawed into pieces suitable for inlaying and trimming of fine furniture and tables and sewing machines, the pieces when highly finished being known as "curly walnut."

MISSOURIANS ABROAD—NO. 9.

GLENN FRANK.

By George F. Thomson.

In the spring of 1919 I stopped off for a day in Boston on my way home from overseas, and went first to No. 24 Milk Street, where before the war I had been an office companion of Glenn Frank. The elevator man said Mr. Frank had moved away, but he didn't know where he had gone. Then I walked down to Edward A. Filene's office, and inquired there.

"Yes, Mr. Frank has left Boston," I was told. "He has gone to New York to become an associate editor of *The Century*. A big chance and doubtless he will become editor very soon."

I agreed that the latter prophecy would come true, and it has. On May 1 of this year Glenn Frank, late of Greentop, Missouri, later of Chicago, and latest of Boston and New York, assumed the direction of one of the oldest and most distinguished monthly magazines in America. On that day he stepped into the rich editorial heritage of Dr. J. G. Holland, co-founder and first editor, of Richardson Watson Gilder, and of Robert Underwood Johnson, our recent ambassador to Italy. A worthy company, and thrice worthy successor!

To begin at the beginning (and there's little better place), Glenn Frank was born in Queen City, Missouri, October 1, 1887, the son of Gordon and Nancy Elizabeth (Hombs) Frank. Two brothers, William and Claude, both of whom now live in Kirksville, had appeared on the scene earlier, so the Frank parents had plenty to do to keep peace and plenty in the family. This they did with great success.

Mr. Frank, senior, was a school-teacher and served for forty years without missing a single term, a record which will challenge comparison, not only in Missouri, but in many

GLENN FRANK.

States. He was also commissioner of schools for Schuyler County for a number of years.

It is interesting to note that for several generations the male members of the Frank family have been school-teachers. Glenn's brothers both served an apprenticeship in the schools, but left the classroom to become a lawyer and a merchant, respectively. Glenn says he substituted for his father in the district school at Maple Grove, Missouri, one day and got woefully "stuck" trying to solve a problem in mathematics. Quite likely his failure here meant his success later, for if he had made an acceptable instructor, he might easily have followed the well-worn path of his family, a noble and unselfish service, but hardly one of the scope he now occupies.

Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Frank are now enjoying a care-free and comfortable time in Greentop, where they are domiciled in a handsome and well-appointed bungalow, designed by their son, Glenn, and built by imported labor from Kirksville after the Greentop carpenters had refused to put on clapboards in a new style.

Glenn Frank did his college preparatory work at Kirksville State Normal school, under that dynamic schoolman, Dr. John R. Kirk, and then entered Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois. He was graduated from there in 1912 with the degree of bachelor of arts. During summer vacations he lectured on different Chautauqua circuits, improving his finances and reputation as a public speaker all the while. In college he was a good student and an active participant in college affairs. In his senior year he edited *The Northwestern Magazine*, took the chief oratorical prizes, and was one of the student speakers at commencement exercises. It may be inserted here that last June, only nine years after graduation, he was asked again to be *the* commencement speaker, and his Alma Mater honored him with the degree of master of arts.

On the day of his graduation President Abram W. Harris invited Mr. Frank to become his assistant, and devote his time to the editing of *The Alumni Journal* and the organization of the alumni body of the university. For four years

Mr. Frank did this, lecturing all the while on important public problems and taking a keen and active interest in the affairs of the city of Chicago. His several trips with trade tours of the Chicago Association of Commerce, until he finally became its chief spokesman, brought him into contact with Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant, and in 1916 Mr. Frank came to Boston and New York, where in association with Mr. Filene he identified himself very promptly with a number of public enterprises, the chief being the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the League to Enforce Peace. He was a member of the group, headed by William Howard Taft, that drafted a covenant for the League of Nations, which was considered in Paris. During the busy months of the war he was engaged in speaking and writing, and in 1918, in collaboration with Lothrop Stoddard, he brought out "The Stakes of the War," a profound study of underlying causes of the war and a detailed presentation of the facts involved in the racial and territorial problems that would be involved in the settlement of peace. Mr. Frank has also written "The Politics of Industry," and has published various studies on the economic phases of the peace in *The Century Magazine*. He is now conducting a regular department in the magazine under the title of "The Tide of Affairs," and here are to be found some of the most incisive and illuminating comments between the brown covers of *The Century*.

To turn back to a more personal phase, let me record that on June 2, 1917, Mr. Frank married Mary Smith, daughter of the late Ambrose Henry Flood Smith of St. Louis. The ceremony was performed by the senior bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rt. Rev. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle. Mr. and Mrs. Frank have resided both in Boston and in New York, and now are at home at 235 West 75th Street, New York. Mr. Frank is head of *The Century* editorial offices, but at home his supremacy is disputed by Glenn Frank, Jr., whose one regret, as he adds years to his youthful wisdom, is that he was not born in Missouri. The State, however, will doubtless be pleased to claim him as a godson, and transmit to him those qualities of generosity, kindly outlook on life, and a rich sense of humor that are so often found in the sons of Missouri, and are combined in such abundance in the subject of this meagre sketch, Glenn Frank.

THE MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD DEBT.

By E. M. Violette.

THIRD ARTICLE.

SETTLEMENT OF THE DEBT (CONCLUDED).

MACON COUNTY.

In Macon County the resistance to the settlement of her indebtedness was more bitter and prolonged than that in Knox County. As a result it was not until 1911, nearly twenty years after Knox County gave up the struggle, that the people of Macon County were induced to yield in their opposition and adopt a plan for settling their debt.

Macon County began very early to put obstacles in the way of the bondholders. Her first move was to resist their efforts to compel the Macon County court to levy a special tax, in addition to the one of 1/20 of 1% provided for by the charter of the railroad company, in order that there might be adequate funds for the liquidation of the bonds as they fell due. Aull and Pollard, it will be recalled, instituted suit in the Macon County circuit court to that end in 1871, but they were defeated not only in that court but also in the Supreme Court of Missouri. The county therefore won in the first round with the bondholders.

The second effort at resistance on the part of the county was in connection with the Watkins case. Watkins, it will also be recalled, tried to get the Macon County court to issue him a warrant in January, 1878, on the common fund of the county in behalf of the judgment that had been given in the Macon County circuit court on his bonds. On being refused he applied for a writ of mandamus against the county court, but failed in both the Macon County circuit court and the Supreme Court of Missouri, notwithstanding the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the famous Johnston case from Clark County which made the common fund of the county liable for the payment of the bonds in so far as the tax of 1/20 of 1% was insufficient.

It is not known what further steps Watkins took in the prosecution of his claims. But in a short time three other bondholders, Stratton, Huidekoper and Huidekoper, instituted suits in the United States Circuit Court against Macon County and obtained judgments, Stratton being awarded $2,210, Alfred Huidekoper, $6,642, and Fred Huidekoper, $17,774.[213] They then applied to the Macon County court on April 9, 1878, for warrants on the common fund of the county in satisfaction of their judgments. They were refused.[214] With this refusal the authorities of Macon County made it clear that they had fully decided that they would not pay for her bonds.

The next move was made by Alfred Huidekoper. In October, 1878, he instituted suit in the United States Circuit Court for a mandamus to compel the Macon County court to levy a special tax in addition to the 1/20 of 1% to meet her bonds. This question had been fought out in the state courts of Missouri in the Aull and Pollard case, but it had not been dealt with in the federal courts. Huidekoper therefore decided to see what would be the attitude of these courts on this point. The United States Circuit Court declined to grant him the writ of mandamus prayed for.[215] He then appealed to the United States Supreme Court. In the March term, 1879, that court sustained the circuit court on the ground that every purchaser of a municipal bond is chargeable with the notice of the statute under which it was issued, and that if the municipality had no power either by express grant or by implication to raise money by taxation to pay the bonds, then the bondholder could not require. The court further said that it had no power to mandamus a municipal corporation to levy a tax which the law does not authorize, and that a judgment does not give a creditor any right to levy taxes which he did not have before the judgment.[216] In this decision the Supreme Court of the United States put itself in full accord with the one rendered by the Supreme Court of Missouri in the Aull and Pollard case. Thereafter there was no hope for the bondholder to get a special tax in addition to the 1/20 of 1% for the payment of his bonds.

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[213] *Macon County Records, G, 52.*

[214] *Ibid., G, 52.*

[215] *99 U. S. Reports, 389. Macon County Times, Nov. 13, 1885.*

Stratton and the Huidekopers then asked the United States Supreme Court for peremptory mandamuses against the Macon County court ordering it to issue to them warrants on the general or common fund of the county for the full amounts of their judgments. The request was granted at once,[217] and on August 28, 1879, the Macon County court complied as ordered.[218]

Now that the highest court of the realm had decided that the general fund of the county was subject to the liquidation of the judgments of the bondholders and had moreover forced the issuing of warrants on that fund, the Macon County court raised the question as to whether the special tax of 1/20 of 1% should continue to be levied. Accordingly they submitted the question to Judge Andrew Ellison, judge of the Macon County circuit court, on May 10, 1879,[219] and in due time he replied that the county court should continue to make the levy just as it had done before.[220] This levy continued to be made every year thereafter until the debt was compromised in 1911.

Under the circumstances that have just been related the first definite efforts were made towards getting the Macon County railroad debt compromised. The county court seems to have taken the lead in the matter. In March, 1878, it asked the voters to meet at their usual polling places on

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[216] *99 U. S. Reports, 589-591. Edina Sentinel, May 29, 1879.*

[217] *99 U. S. Reports, 592.*

[218] *Macon County Records, G, 346-349.* On Sept. 4, 1879, these same men demanded of the county court that warrants be granted them on the Mississippi railroad fund in lieu of the warrants that had been issued to them on the general fund on August 28, and the court complied. As to why this request was made, it is not clear. See *Macon County Records, G, 366.*

[219] *Macon County Records, G, 307-308.*

[220] *Ibid., G, 381.*

June 1 and express themselves on the proposition as to whether the county should compromise and take up her Missouri and Mississippi railroad debt upon the lowest terms possible, provided that the same could be done thru the issuing of 6% 20-year bonds and the creation of a new debt in lieu thereof, not exceeding $175,000. The court expressly declared that it had no authority to order an election and hence had no money with which to pay the expenses that would be incurred in holding one. But the court desired to know the sentiments of the people and it therefore appealed to the citizens to respond to the call and express themselves. At the time the amount of the outstanding bonded indebtedness was $428,035, of which $316,400 represented the principal and $111,635 the interest. Of the principal, $65,900 was past due and $18,500 was to fall due in 1879.[221] One can see from this statement that the proposition was for a 25-cent compromise.

Later the court, realizing that the proposition would be defeated, withdrew it and asked the voters to indicate on their ballots at what per cent they would favor compromising the debt.[222]

It is doubtful as to whether this election was ever held. No returns are mentioned in either the county papers or the county court records.

In the next year, however, a proposition was actually voted on by the people. A petition signed by fifty citizens was filed with the county court asking for the submission of a proposition to compromise the debt at the rate of 20 cents on the dollar. The county court complied and set the date of the election on November 28, 1879.[223] It was noted by the county court at the time that the balance unpaid amounted to $312,650 and that the accrued interest amounted to $172,073, making a total of $484,723, and that if this proposition carried the whole debt would be canceled for $96,944.[224]

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[221] *Macon County Records, G, 45-46. Macon County Republican, March 21, 1879.*

[222] *Macon County Records, G, 86-88.*

[223] *Ibid., G, 381-383.*

[224] *Ibid., G, 381-383.*

The proposition failed to carry by an overwhelming majority, only 128 votes being cast for it and 1,278 against.[225] Doubtless many people in Macon County felt about the matter as one man did who was reported as having said: "I would like to help hang every Macon County bondholder, and while we have the ropes handy I would not object to swinging up a few of the fellows who are in favor of compromising with them." [226] Many years elapsed before any sort of a proposition to compromise was submitted to the people again.

The temper of the county court with reference to the bondholders was exhibited in an incident arising out of another judgment that Alfred Huidekoper obtained for $28,032 in the United States Circuit Court. He presented his judgment to the Macon County court on March 3, 1880, and asked for a warrant on the common fund, but was given one on the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad fund instead.[227] It was not until Huidekoper got a writ of mandamus from the United States Circuit Court that he could get the county court to issue him a warrant on the common fund of the county.[228] Evidently the county court knew that it would have to issue the warrant on the common fund ultimately and refused to do so at first just to tantalize and annoy the bondholder. The inadequacy of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad fund to meet Huidekoper's judgment may be seen from the report of the county treasurer of Macon County for 1879. During that year he received $3,308.03 in that fund and expended $2,505.86, leaving a balance of only $800.17.

During the next four years other bondholders brought suits against the county in the United States Circuit Court and, of course, obtained judgments. The year 1884 was marked by the issuance of a large number of warrants on the common fund in compliance with writs of mandamus from the United States Circuit Court. Twelve warrants amounting over $150,000 were issued in April of that year.[229] The largest was "warrant number two" and was issued to Alfred Huidekoper.[230] We shall hear a great deal about this particular warrant later.

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[225] *Macon Times-Democrat, Dec. 29, 1904.* The county records do not contain any record of the vote.

[226] *Macon Republican, Jan. 12, 1888.*

[227] *Macon County Records, G, 460-461.*

[228] *Ibid., G, 480.*

A new turn was given to the situation in 1887 when Huidekoper undertook to force the treasurer of Macon County to pay him what he claimed as his pro rata share of the surplus in the general fund of the treasury.[231] It appears that at that time there was a little over $14,000 surplus in that fund. There were also outstanding warrants against that fund held by bondholders amounting to $187,000. These warrants had been registered as required by law when their payment had been refused on account of the lack of funds. All of them had been registered at the same time in 1884 except one for $7,000 which had been registered at an earlier date. According to law such warrants were to be paid in the order of their registration. The county treasurer had, therefore, taken the attitude that since warrants to the amount of $180,000 had been registered at one time, he could not pay any one of them until there had accumulated in the county treasury a sum sufficient to pay them all at once. To this Huidekoper took exception and sought to get relief thru the courts.

Moreover, it appears that the county court had been levying only thirty cents on the $100 for general revenue purposes instead of fifty cents as the law permitted it to do. The court had justified itself in this matter on the ground that the townships of the county were levying twenty cents and that the money thus realized from the township levy was for county purposes. To this procedure Huidekoper took exception and asked that the county court be compelled to make the full levy of fifty cents so that more money would come into the general fund of the county.[232]

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[229] *Ibid., H, 620.*

[230] The warrants were issued as follows: to Alfred Huidekoper, $35,667; to John H. Daniels, $14,447; to W. P. Smith, $15,786; to Alexander H. Meade, $12,520; to Isaac Thrasher, $23,549; to Thomas W. White, $3,914; to George F. Hicks, $3,868; to Charles W. Jocelyn, $3,190; to May L. Smith, $8,531 and $4,687; to Robert E. Day, $22,096; and to J. H. Andrews, $3,935.

[231] *75 Federal Reports, 259.*

The United States Circuit Court rendered a decision in favor of Huidekoper[233] and ordered the county treasurer to pay him his pro rata share of the surplus in the general fund of the county treasury and to do so again whenever a reasonable amount had accumulated there. It also ordered the county court to make a full levy of fifty cents on the $100, dismissing as invalid the plea of the county that the township levy of twenty cents was really for county purposes and that, therefore, the county was actually levying fifty cents. This decision was affirmed in the United States Supreme Court on March 17, 1890.[234] How the first part of the decision was evaded will be brought out later.

Meanwhile another effort was made to foil the bondholders thru what was known as the Hudson-Trammel case. On April 20, 1886, a man by the name of Hudson presented to Trammel, the county treasurer, a warrant for $10 drawn upon the contingent fund of the county which, according to the law of 1879,[235] was one of the five divisions into which the general fund of the county had been divided. He was refused payment by the treasurer on the ground that the money available in the treasury should be applied first on the warrants of the bondholders that had been issued and registreed prior to the issuance of his warrant. This was in keeping with the decisions of the United States courts. Hudson claimed, however, that warrants like his for the ordinary expenses of the county should take precedents of the warrants of the bondholders, else there would be nothing left in the treasury to maintain the county government. He, therefore, brought suit in the Macon County circuit court and obtained a mandamus against the county treasurer ordering the payment of his warrant. The treasurer appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri. That court, at the October term, 1891, reversed the decision of the Macon County circuit court. In its decision the Supreme Court of Missouri, however, took occasion to repeat what it had said in former decisions that the only fund applicable to the payment of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad bonds was the one raised by the levy of 1/20 of 1%, but that since the United States Supreme Court had taken a contrary view there was nothing else to do but submit to the opinion of that court.[236]

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[232] *Ibid., 259.*

[233] *Ibid., 259-260. Macon Republican, Apr. 28, 1897.*

[234] *124 U. S. Reports, 322-337.*

[235] *Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1879, 6818-6820.*

By this time the question of compromising the debt had been taken up again in the county and some agitation was being carried on. For several years after the failure to carry a compromise proposition in 1879, the subject appears to have been dropped completely. But in 1883 suggestions began to appear in the newspapers to the effect that it would be well for the county to compromise her indebtedness,[237] and in 1884 the *Macon Republican* ran a series of articles for some months in which the history of the indebtedness was reviewed in detail and arguments in favor of compromise were alaborately set forth.[238] Several articles also appeared in 1885 in the same paper.[239] But all this agitation seemed to have had little or no effect upon the people. There was the same defiance of spirit towards the bondholders and the same suspicion towards those who advocated compromise as there had been in earlier times. Anyone who favored compromise and worked for it was likely to be suspected of having some of the bonds in his possession and to be held, therefore, in high contempt. It is too much to say that the decision in the Huidekoper case in 1887 and the subsequent affirmance of that decision by the United States Supreme Court in 1890 changed the situation very much, but it is safe to say that these actions gave those who dared to favor compromising the debt an opportunity to push their views somewhat more effectively. The editors of the *Macon Republican* took advantage of the situation and in a lengthy article urged the people to agree to some sort of a compromise proposition and thus rid the county of her great incubus.[240]

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[236] *106 Mo. Reports, 510-521.*

[237] Files of *Macon Republican* and *LaPlata Home Press* for 1883.

[238] *Macon Republican, Apr. 17, 24, May 8, Aug. 7 and Sept. 4, 1884.*

[239] *Ibid., Sept. 3, 17, 24, Oct. 11, 25, 1885.*

At least enough sentiment had been aroused in the matter to induce the county court to call a county convention to discuss the situation. The court asked the people to meet in township meetings and elect two delegates from each township to attend this convention. Seventeen of the twenty-four townships were represented when the convention convened on Novemner 7, 1887. A great deal of debating was indulged in, several persons speaking in favor of compromising. The convention, however, decided not to undertake a compromise effort but to instruct the county court to employ competent counsel to assist in the defense of the cases then pending and in suits that might yet be brought.[241] In taking this action the meeting showed very plainly that as yet the people were not in any notion of giving up the fight with the bondholders.

It was not until 1894 that it was deemed advisable to submit a proposition to the people. In that year it will be recalled, Knox County had carried a compromise proposition, thus leaving Macon County as the only county that had not yet settled her Missouri and Mississippi Railroad indebtedness. Special efforts were, therefore, put forth by the bondholders themselves to interest the people of Macon County in effecting a settlement. Representatives of the bondholders began to visit the county and hold interviews with the people. Among these men were D. A. Kinder of Litchfield, Illinois, and General John B. Henderson of Washington, D. C. Henderson dropped remarks around rather freely about the bondholders being willing to settle at 58¾ cents on the dollar.[242] Finally, the county court, in response to a petition from 215 resident taxpayers of the county, called a special election on December 15, 1894, for the purpose of having the people vote on the proposition to compromise the debt at 59¾ cents on the dollar, payable in new Macon County bonds running for twenty years at 5%.[243] The indebtedness at that time amounted to $1,100,000. If compromised at the rate proposed, it would be reduced to less than $600,000.

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[240] *Ibid., June 2, 1887.*

[241] *Ibid., Oct. 6 and Nov. 10, 1887.*

[242] *Ibid., Oct. 5, 1894.*

A great deal of opposition to the proposition developed. The county court led off in this opposition by writing a letter to the public giving their reasons for their attitude.[244] Even the *Macon Republican*, which had been strongly advocating a compromise, came out against this proposition.[245] The *Macon Democrat* was also vigorously opposed to it.[246] The efforts on the part of the bondholders thru their representatives to work up sentiment in the county in favor of the compromise was very offensive to the people and operated powerfully against the proposition.[247] The proposition was, therefore, defeated almost unanimously, only 67 votes being cast for it and 5,020 against.[248]

Evidently the people of Macon County were as yet in no mood to consider any scheme to compromise, and several years passed before any one undertook to raise the question again. In 1900 an effort was made by the Hudson-Gary Land Company of Macon to get the matter again before the people, and on September 3 they presented to the county court for its consideration a plan which they had worked out. They proposed to procure the legal discharge of Macon County for further liability on all Missouri and Mississippi Railroad bond judgments and warrants outstanding for $275,000. As the total railroad indebtedness of the county at that time was $1,500,000, this proposition was to compromise at 18 cents on the dollar.[249] The county court, reflecting the sentiment of the majority of the people, refused to have anything to do with the proposition.[250]

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[243] *Ibid., Nov. 16, 1894. Macon County Records, L, 590.*
[244] *Macon Republican, Nov. 16, 1894.*
[245] *Ibid., Nov. 23 and 30, 1894.*
[246] *Macon Democrat, Nov. 30, 1894.*
[247] *Ibid., Dec. 7, 1894.*
[248] *Macon County Records, L, 638. Macon Republican, Dec. 21, 1894.*
[249] *Macon Republican, Sept. 7, 1900.*
[250] *Ibid., Dec. 21, 1900, and Dec. 10, 1904.*

Meanwhile the bondholders made a move to procure relief by way of congressional legislation. A bill was introduced into the lower house of Congress by Representative Pearce of St. Louis which provided that whenever any money judgment rendered by any court of the United States against any municipal corporation should remain unsatisfied for three years, or whenever a peremptory writ of mandamus issued for the purpose of securing the payment of such judgment by the collection of a tax or otherwise should remain unenforced for one year after the service of the writ, the court should appoint a commissioner to assess, levy and collect a tax to pay the debt, and that the tax should be levied and collected on and from persons and property within the territorial limits of the corporation pursuant to the laws of the state concerning taxation.[251]

In December, 1900, John H. Overall and Thomas K. Skinker of St. Louis appeared before the house committee on the judiciary in behalf of the bondholders and argued for the passage of the bill.[252] The bill was never reported from the committee, however, altho it appeared to the representatives of the bondholders that a majority of the committee seemed favorable.[253] The bill was introduced a second time into the House, but it never got any further than the committee stage.[254]

This move on the part of the bondholders to procure legislative intervention on the part of Congress alarmed some people very much, as they felt that this might be the very means of obtaining for the bondholders complete satisfaction of all their claims. Robert H. Kern of St. Louis, but formerly of Macon, at once wrote a strong letter to the editor of the *Macon Republican* urging the people of Macon County to use all the means to prevent the passage of the bill and at the same time advising the people to compromise with the bondholders while there was yet time.[255] As the bill did not get beyond the committee stage in Congress, the people of Macon County did not appear to worry very much over the matter.

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[251] *Macon Republican, Dec. 21, 1900.*

[252] *Ibid., Dec. 21, 1900.*

[253] From a conversation with Mr. Skinker on June 7, 1920.

[254] *Ibid.*

[255] *Macon Republican, Dec. 28, 1900.*

Four years later, however, the county court decided that it would be well to give some consideration to the Hudson-Gary plan that had been submitted to it in 1900. It therefore called a special session of the county court for November 29, 1904, and invited all persons interested in compromising the bonded indebtedness of the county to attend.[256] When the special session convened a petition signed by 500 resident taxpayers of the county was presented to the court asking that a proposition be submitted to the voters on December 30, 1904, providing for the compromise of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad debt at 18 cents on the dollar under the following terms and conditions:[257]

1) If the people should vote to compromise, then the county court should call a mass meeting of the citizens of the county at the courthouse and this meeting should select a committee of three to seven men who favored the compromise to assist the county court in carrying out the proposition. This committee of citizens should continue until the final settlement of the debt.

2) No compromise should be entered into by the county court and the committee of citizens with any bondholder for any part of the debt of the county until an amount equal to 90 per cent of all the debt of the county should have been deposited with the Mercantile Trust Company of St. Louis with a contract to settle under the terms of the compromise proposition.

3) Unless the entire amount of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad debt be deposited, the county court and the committee were to leave unpaid at least $100,000 of the 90 per cent deposited, this amount to be placed in escrow in a Macon bank.

4) As long as any part of the debt remains unpaid, the levy of 1–20 of 1 per cent should continue to be levied and collected.

5) No part of the Missouri and Missippi Railroad debt should ever be settled at more than 18 cents on the dollar and no part should ever be settled at that rate as long as over 1 per cent of the debt due on December 31, 1904, stood out unsettled.

6) The debt was to be compromised by issuing new Macon County bonds running for twenty years at 4 per cent interest. The

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[256] *Macon County Records, Q, 258.*

[257] *Macon County Records, Q, 260-268.*

interest on the old debt was to be computed up to December 31, 1904.

7) All claims not filed with the Mercantile Trust Company within six months should be debarred from receiving any interest after December 31, 1904, in any further settlement.

Those who favored this plan for compromising the debt, which was far better than any former proposition, formed an organization for the purpose of carrying on a campaign of education among the people.[258] They realized that the prejudice and misunderstanding of many years would have to be overcome if the plan was carried, and they made every effort to accomplish that end. Mass meetings were held in all parts of the county at which the speakers urged the people to vote for the compromise proposition[259] and numerous articles appeared in the newspapers of the county to the same effect.[260] The leaders of those favoring the compromise were Theodore Gary, who had originated the plan and who acted as chairman of the executive committee during the campaign,[261] and the lawyers of Macon, Ben Ely Guthrie, B. R. Dysart, R. G. Mitchell, John A. White, Ben Franklin, S. G. Brock, and Web W. Rubey, some of whom had been bitter opponents of the plan to compromise in 1894. These lawyers came out in an address to the people urging them to vote for the proposed compromise. In that address they said:[262]

"It is our judgment that it will be for the best interests of the county to adopt the compromise on the M. and M. debt. We offer no reasons or arguments for this opinion. The county has already paid out in fees to lawyers in the litigation caused by this debt at least $20,000 and in court costs at least as much more.

"If this debt is not now compromised and new suits are brought, as we have good reason to believe will be, the county will have to pay large additional fees to attorneys. We have no contract or agreement of any kind with any bondholder or his representative or with any one else whereby we are to receive nor do we expect to receive any compensation for giving you this advice or for favoring the compromise. We therefore think you should credit us with giving you an honest, unselfish advice as your fellow citizens when we advise you to vote for the compromise."

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[258] *Macon Republican, Dec. 10, 1904.*

[259] *Ibid., Dec. 10 and 17, 1904. Macon Times-Democrat, Nov. 23 and Dec. 15 and 22, 1904.*

[260] The files of the *Macon Republican* and the *Macon Times-Democrat* for *November and December, 1904.*

[261] *Macon Republican, Nov. 26, 1904.*

[262] *Macon Times-Democrat, Dec. 8, 1904. Macon Republican, Dec. 17, 1904.*

Judge N. M. Shelton of the Macon County circuit court also came out strongly for the compromise.[263] Ed McKee was also prominent among the supporters.[264] The *Macon Republican* and the *Macon Times-Democrat* were vigorous in their support of the compromise, each one devoting many columns to the matter. The *Times-Democrat* published half page editorials on the front page in three issues during the month of December urging the people to vote for the proposition.[265]

The opposition, however, was not without strong and active leaders who used every means to keep the proposition from being carried. Probably the most active and effective of these leaders was N. M. Moody, the county clerk. He not only wrote numerous articles for the newspapers[266] but he was active on the streets and in all other public places in denouncing the plan. Dr. J. T. Morris, Joseph Park, W. H. Sears, James Sparrow and John M. London were also alert in their opposition.[267] They had much to say about Gary making a pile of money out of the compromise proposition if it carried and they took that as an additional reason for opposing the proposition.[268]

An effort was made to effect an organization to fight the proposition. On December 12 some of the citizens of Macon who were thus disposed met at the courthouse to decide what would be best to do. They concluded to call a mass meeting of those who were like minded with them on December 20 to devise ways and means of getting before the people the facts pertaining to the matter. A committee, composed of Joseph Park, W. H. Sears, B. F. Stone, R. W. Barrow, James D. Sparrow and R. S. Matthews was appointed to make a brief of the legal status of the indebtedness and the litigation concerning the same, and another committee composed of Paul J. Burton, Charles Soldon, B. F. Stone, N. M. Moody, T. E. Wisdom and James G. Howe, was appointed to gather the facts as to the amount of the indebtedness outstanding, the amount outlawed by the statute of limitations, the names of the holders of the outlawed bonds, and various other matters pertaining to the proposition.[269] It is not known whether the meeting scheduled for December 20 was ever held or not as no account of it appeared in the newspapers, but the first of the two committees mentioned above prepared an extensive protest against the proposition[270] and published it in a sheet that was scattered widecast thruout the county. This sheet contained other articles against the proposition, among which was the famous "M. and M. Catechism" purporting to be what two farmers had to say to each other about the compromise.[271] This catechism was full of insinuations about certain advocates of the proposition, but it was so skillfully worded as to protect the writer against a libel suit. A supply of literature opposing the compromise was sent out thru the county superintendent of schools to the teachers with the request that it be distributed to the patrons thru the school children.[272] The *LaPlata Home Press*, while it did not express itself openly and published contributed articles on both sides, was thought to be against the proposition.[273]

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[263] *Macon Times-Democrat, Dec. 15, 1904. Macon Republican, Dec. 17, 1904.*

[264] *Macon Times Democrat, Dec. 8 and 22, 1904.*

[265] *Macon Times-Democrat* files for *Dec. 1904.*

[266] *Macon Times-Democrat, Dec. 1, 1904. Macon Republican, Nov. 3, 1904.*

[267] *Macon Times-Democrat, Dec. 8 and 22, 1904. LaPlata Home Press, Dec. 22, 1904.*

[268] *Macon Times-Democrat, Dec. 8, 1904.* Gary was reported as having said publicly that he expected the bondholders to pay him 5% of the amount of the compromise if it carried, but that he had no contract with them to that effect. See *Macon Times-Democrat, Dec. 8, 1904.*

One of the points raised by the opposition was the unlikelihood of the promoters of the compromise ever being able to get the bondholders to turn in 90% of the total indebtedness to be liquidated at 18 cents, as the compromise proposition provided. That point was met by the emphatic statement that 90% of the debt had already been turned in.[274]

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[269] *LaPlata Home Press, Dec. 15, 1904.*
[270] *Ibid., Dec. 22, 1904.*
[271] *Ibid., Dec. 22, 1904.*
[272] *Macon Republican, Dec. 24, 1904.*
[273] *LaPlta Home Press files for December, 1904.*

The opposition also declared that some Macon County people were holding $100,000 of the surrendered bonds and were planning to make a big margin on them. But Web M. Rubey published a list of the bondholders and showed that not one of them lived in the county.[275]

It was not surprising that the proposition failed to carry. But it was surprising how many votes were cast for it. The returns showed that 2,397 persons voted for it and 2,729 against.[276] The defeat was therefore taken by those favoring the compromise as a real victory. They saw that sentiment in favor of a compromise was growing rapidly. Whereas only 67 votes out of a sum total of 5,087 votes, or only a little over 1%, had been cast in favor of compromising the debt in 1894, 2,397 out of a total of 5,126, or over 46%, had been cast in favor of compromising in 1904. The people of Macon County most assuredly stood in their own light when they rejected this proposition in 1904. The terms offered them then were better than those that had been offered before and they proved to be better than those on which the debt was actually settled in 1911. But the heavy vote in favor of the proposition in 1904, altho insufficient to carry it, was a very encouraging sign. The day was past when it was unsafe for a man to advocate openly the compromising of the debt. It was only a matter of time when the question would be settled.

The bondholders evidently took the results of the election as a good sign also, for in 1908 Huidekoper wrote a letter to Robert Mitchell of Macon, one of the county's attorneys, offering in behalf of the bondholders to compromise on the basis of the same terms as had been submitted in 1904. Mr. Mitchell was at that time in declining health and died shortly after that, and hence nothing was ever done about the matter.[277]

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[274] *Macon Times-Democrat, Nov. 8, 1904. Macon Republican, Dec. 24, 1904.* As a matter of fact, two of the bondholders named Hickman refused to consent to accept the terms of the compromise for the bonds that they held amounting to nearly $100,000, and their refusal had much to do with defeating the proposition, according to Major B. R. Dysart. See *Macon Times-Democrat, June 29, 1911.*

[275] *Macon Republican, Dec. 10, 1904.*

[276] *Macon County Records, Q, 326.*

The final stage in the history of the Macon County bonded indebtedness began with two proceedings instituted in the federal courts in 1909 by Arthur Huidekoper, descendant and assignee of Alfred Huidekoper, to whom, as we have already seen, "warrant number two" had been issued on the general fund of the county in 1884 for over $35,000. Notwithstanding the fact that this warrant had been properly registered and that the original judgment upon which it had been issued had been revived in 1899 and again in 1909, it still remained unpaid. Huidekoper held other judgments against the county running up unto the hundreds of thousands of dollars,[278] but they also had never been paid. Likewise, the other bondholders who had obtained warrants in satisfaction of their judgments in 1884 when Huidekoper had obtained "warrant number two" had fared no better than he. Thru certain methods employed in the administration of the finances of the county, which will be explained shortly, the county treasury had been without funds for many years prior to 1909 with which to pay Huidekoper's warrant or those held by other bondholders.[279] It was therefore for the purpose of procuring the payment of these warrants that Huidekoper instituted these two suits in 1909.

The first of these suits was brought in the United States District Court against the board of equalization of Missouri and the county board of equalization of Macon County for the purpose of compelling these bodies to assess the property of Macon County at its full value according to law. The assessments were running very low in Macon County. The total assessed valuation of the county was only about $10,000,000, which was about one-fourth of the actual valuation.[280] As a result of this low assessment the amount of revenue raised by taxes in Macon County was entirely inadequate to meet the warrants that had been issued to the bondholders, even if this revenue had been turned into the county treasury where the bondholders might have gotten hold of it. The purpose of this suit was, therefore, to compel the state and county authorities to raise the assessed valuation of the property in Macon County and thus bring about an increase in the revenues of the county.

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[277] *LaPlata Home Press, May 4, 1911, supplement.*

[278] The total amount of Huidekoper's judgments against Macon County in January, 1911, according to a letter from his attorneys to the Macon County Court, was $310,438.

[279] Report of the Special Master in Chancery Boulware in the case of Huidekoper vs. Edwards in the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Missouri.

The position taken by the state board of equalization and the Macon County board of equalization thru their attorneys was that the United States District Court had no jurisdiction in the matter, and in August, 1909, Judge Dyer sustained this position and dismissed the suit.[281] An appeal was taken to the United States Circuit Court and there the decision of Judge Dyer was reversed and the case was sent back to the District Court to be tried on its merits.[282] Because of certain developments in connection with the other case, this one was not pushed any further.

The other case was one in equity instituted in the United States Circuit Court against the county court, the county clerk, the treasurer and the banks of Macon County for conspiracy to defraud the bondholders. Realizing that this was a case of more than ordinary character and that it would require searching investigation, the court appointed W. M. Boulware of Palmyra, Missouri, as special master in chancery to take the evidence in the case and to report to the court his findings as to the facts and his conclusions as to the law applicable thereto. Boulware went to Macon in October, 1909, and immediately began his investigations of the matter. A great host of witnesses, including officials of the county, past and present, and many private citizens, was examined.[283] The records of the county were thoroly scrutinized. The evidence in the case when completed filled several bound volumes. The master filed his report with the court in March, 1910.[284]

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[280] *LaPlata Home Press, July 15, 1909.*

[281] *LaPlata Home Press, July 15, 1909.*

[282] Article by Ben Eli Guthrie on the "M. and M. Bonds" in the last *Macon County History.*

The report reviewed at some length "the new and special fiscal scheme that had been devised and inaugurated and for many years persistenly and systematically pursued" by the officials of the county. Under this scheme the county collector collected the county revenues, deposited them in the banks of the county and afterwards paid them out on county warrants presented to him. The warrants thus paid and taken up by the collector were turned over to the treasurer, when settlements were made between these two officers, as having been received by the collector from taxpayers in payment of taxes, and the collector was credited by the treasurer with the warrants thus turned over. Likewise, in his settlement with the county court, the collector was credited with the amount of the warrants, either as cash or as warrants received from taxpayers in payment of their taxes.[285] Under such an administration as this the office of the county treasurer was practically eliminated, and for years not a dollar of the common fund revenue reached the treasury of the county. Moreover, the requirement of the law that warrants which had been registered because of a lack of funds to pay them when they were issued, should be paid in the order of their registration, had also been set aside.[286] The collector accepted, of course, only current warrants and never the warrants of bondholders, and to facilitate this procedure the county court had for years been accustomed to "split up" the warrants and issue a number of small ones from one dollar up on each account allowed.[287]

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[283] Among the witnesses introduced by the bondholders was a man by the name of Diggs who had been sent to Macon by the attorneys of Huidekoper some time before this case had been brought to carry on a quiet investigation concerning the manner in which the county was conducting its finances. He represented himself as an agent for Arkansas land which he wished to trade for M. and M. bonds. He also said he had angora goats to sell and he soon came to be known about town as the "Arkansas land and goat agent." He made the courthouse his headquarters and, of course, soon had complete information as to how the county was conducting its finances. It was not long, however, before his real mission was suspected. He probably did not add anything material to the evidence that the master obtained from county officials and citizens. (From a letter to the author from Charles E. Sears, county clerk of Macon County in 1909.)

[284] *Boulware's Report*, 1-2.

[285] *Boulware's Report*, 16-17.

The reader will recognize the striking similarity between the methods pursued in Macon County and those followed in Knox County when that county was fighting the bondholders. Perhaps the system was somewhat more elaborately worked out in Macon than in Knox, but the principle was the same.

On this point the master concluded that the proceedings of the collector, the treasurer and the county court had been unlawful and had been pursued in concert for the purpose of defrauding the bondholders from collecting their just debts. At the same time he expressed his unwillingness to pass severe criticism upon either the people or their officials. The people, he said, had not understood the nature of the transaction, and believing that the indebtedness had been unjust in its inception, they had resisted its payment for over thirty years and this fiscal scheme had been but a part of their resistance. Altho the scheme was unlawful and wrongful, he would not judge harshly the officers thru whose agency it had been carried forward and executed.[288]

The report also dealt with the practice of the county court in erecting buildings[289] and roads and bridges and keeping them in repair and paying for them out of the general fund of the county instead of levying special taxes for these purposes.[290] The opinion of the master on this point was that the county court had acted illegally in pursuing this practice. He pointed out that the bondholder was entitled to have his indebtedness charged upon the common fund free the abatement of road and bridge expenses, especially since an amendment to the Constitution of Missouri had been adopted in 1908 giving the county courts power to make a special levy for road and bridge purposes. Since the county court possessed this power, it had not authority to pay the expenses of roads and bridges out of the common fund under the claim that such payments were necessary county expenditures. As regards the erection of public buildings, the master held that since the county court was authorized to levy special taxes or issue bonds for such purposes, the expense ought not to be charged against the common fund if it prejudiced the interests of the bondholders.[291]

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[286] *Ibid.*, 17.

[287] *Ibid.*, 6.

[288] *Ibid.*, 21.

[289] In 1908 the county court purchased a lot and constructed thereon a jail building at a cost of $25,000 and paid for the same out of the common funds of the county.

[290] *Boulware's Report*, 32-36.

In conclusion the master pointed out that by all the decisions of the courts, "the bonds constituted an indebtedness of the county and that such indebtedness was payable out of the common revenues of the county," and he expressed the hope that the people of Macon County would not fail to see that the courts would have to enforce the payment of this indebtedness in full. He suggested that the county compromise the indebtedness with the bondholders by issuing funding bonds, and gave it as his opinion that the county could carry a debt of $500,000 or more and scarcely feel the burden.[292]

The court took the report of the master in chancery under advisement and on February 28, 1911, the case was argued in chambers before Judge E. E. Adams of the Circuit Court and Judge D. P. Dyer of the District Court. Apparently these judges were very much impressed with the validity of the conclusions of the master and decided to do all they could consistently to get the parties to the controversy to come to some sort of an agreement rather than render a decision themselves, which they knew would, perforce, be far-reaching and be adverse to the county in practically every particular. They therefore suggested at the conclusion of the arguments that a settlement of the debt would be much more satisfactory to them and to the parties in the controversy and they advised against any further litigation. They therefore asked that the attorneys for both sides meet them in St. Louis on April 10 for a further conference. At that conference the judges again urged that a compromise should be agreed upon. Discovering, however, that the parties were not apparently getting together, they expressed great regret and offered to do all that they could to facilitate a settlement. They suggested that the counsel of the various parties withdraw and enter into a conference with a view of trying to reach some basis of agreement. Nothing came of the conference. When the counsel for both sides appeared before the court again that afternoon and reported their inability to agree, the attorneys for Macon County proposed to submit the entire matter to the judges, pledging that they would recommend whatever award might be made by them to the people of the county and do all they could to get the people to accept this award at a special election. The members of Macon County court were present with the attorneys of the county when this proposition was made and agreed to all that was proposed. The counsel for the bondholders agreed to the proposition and promised to recommend to their clients the acceptance of the award.[293]

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[291] *Ibid.*, 35-36.

[292] *Ibid.*, 49-51.

It was then agreed that the counsel for both sides would again appear before Adams and Dyer in St. Louis on April 22 to submit such data and present such facts as they might deem proper and calculated to assist the judges in arriving at a conclusion and a just basis of settlement. The meeting occurred according to arrangements, and for over an hour the counsel for both sides submitted their final arguments. Tatlow and Mitchell of Springfield represented Huidekoper, and Dysart, Guthrie and Franklin of Macon represented the county. The attorneys for Huidekoper claimed that the total amount of the railroad debt of the county was at that time $2,150,000. Estimating that the real valuation of property in the county was at least $33,000,000, three times its assessed valuation, they figured that the real value of the debt was at least $1,200,000, and they urged the court to make the award at that amount.[294]

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[293] *Macon County Records, T, 150-163.*

The attorneys for the county pleaded for an award not to exceed $500,000. They based their plea upon the following facts: In 1904 the bondholders had agreed to accept 18 cents on the dollar, and furthermore, they had renewed their offers in 1908. Had the proposition been accepted by the people in 1904 the debt would have been settled then for about $300,000. The attorneys for the county contended, therefore, that $300,000 represented what the bondholders conceived was the value of their bonds at that time. Since then something had happened to raise the value of the bonds; that is, the amendment to the state Constitution which authorized county courts to levy an extra 25-cent tax for roads and bridges. As this extra levy, if resorted to, would increase the amount available in the common fund, the value of the bonds would be increased just that much. The attorneys for the county thought that the increase would amount to about seven cents on the dollar and that, therefore, the proper compromise amount would be about 25 cents on the dollar, or about $500,000. They pointed out that Boulware had suggested in his report to the court that $500,000 or thereabouts would be a fair compromise amount, and they advanced that as an argument in their favor. Moreover, they said that the market value of the bonds was not over 25 cents on the dollar.[295]

At the close of the hearing the court adjourned for an hour and when it reconvened that afternoon Judge Adams announced that he and Judge Dyer had decided that the debt should be settled at $750,000, or at about 35 cents on the dollar. This amount was about half way between what the contending parties had asked for.

In making the award Judge Adams said:[296]

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[294] *LaPlata Home Press, May 4, 1911, supplement.*

[295] *Ibid., May 4, 1911, supplement.*

[296] *Macon County Records, T, 150-163.*

"Gentlemen, we have experienced some of the same difficulties over this matter which you gentlemen found. But we have come to the conclusion which we wil lrecommend. In stating it I will merely do so without giving the reasons or the figures which we employed to reach them. We think that the county of Macon ought to pay $750,000 on this obligation. We think that it ought to be paid as of July 1 next. We think that a 5 per cent bond executed as of July 1 would be a bond on which the county might raise the money and probably have a surplus.

"The result of our deliberations that $750,000 is the right sum is based upon the understanding that the debt is $2,150,000. This is about 35 per cent. In coming to this conclusion we don't hesitate to say that we have taken into consideration not merely the justness of the debt, because if that were all it would be 100 cents on the dollar, but we have taken into consideration the fact that Macon County, like all counties, is composed of good citizens and indifferent citizens; those who have regard for the financial welfare and standing of the county and those who do not have.

"We have made this recommendation in the belief that even those who are indifferent in their views of the matter will deem it for the best interests of their county to support a proposition which will relieve them of the debt. We have taken that into consideration and believe it to be a fair subject of consideration."

Judge Dyer said that the bonds should be dated July 1, 1911, and that the election should be held at such a time as in the judgment of the county court and the attorneys would result in a full vote of the people and a full understanding of the matter in hand. He suggested that the election should take place within ninety days.

The award as made by the judges was promptly accepted by the counsel for both sides.[297]

On May 19, 1911, the attorneys for Macon County reported formally to the county court what had been done. By that time the terms of the award of the judges were generally known thruout the county, and active efforts had been made to crystallize sentiment in favor of accepting those terms. As a result a petition bearing the signatures of over 1,600 citizens of the county was submitted to the county court at the same time the attorneys made their report. In this petition the county court was asked to call a special election for the purpose of voting upon the proposition to refund the railroad debt by issuing new bonds for $750,000 in accordance with the award of Judges Adams and Dyer. The court promptly ordered the election to be held on July 11, 1911.[298]

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[297] *Ibid., T, 150-163.*

An active campaign was begun at once for the proposition. For the first time in the history of the efforts to get the debt settled those favoring the compromise took the aggressive and put the opponents on the defensive. The leaders among those favoring the compromise realized that the situation had grown to be desperate. They knew that the last door of hope that the county might in some way avoid paying the debt had been closed against them, and that if this compromise proposition was not accepted by the people the county would be forced to pay the entire debt. A systematic campaign of education was therefore undertaken and arrangements were made for gatherings in every schoolhouse in the county for the purpose of showing the people that it was greatly to their interest to adopt the proposition. Every newspaper in the county except the *Macon Daily Chronicle* advocated its adoption.[299]

One of the agencies that prepared the way for the success of these efforts to compromise was the Macon County Society. This society had been organized in 1908 by John T. Doneghy of Macon. The main purpose of the society was to develop a strong feeling of friendliness between the people of the town of Macon and the other parts of the county, and it was hoped that when this was accomplished the people would be willing to agree upon some plan of getting rid of their railroad debt. The society was not organized as a propaganda institution. It was altogether social. But Mr. Doneghy and others who joined with him in promoting it realized how valuable the spirit of co-operation that it would generate would be in advancing the interests of the county. Once a year the society held a dinner in Macon and within a year or two after it was organized as many as 600 men from all parts of the county were attending these annual dinners.[300] The hope of the founder of the society was fully realized. A "get-together" spirit was quickly developed throughout the county thru this society, and by the time the compromise proposition of 1911 was submitted the county had been keyed up to a higher degree of unity than it had ever been before.

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[298] *Ibid., T, 163-166.*

[299] *LaPlata Home Press, June 29, 1911.* Files of the *Macon Daily Chronicle for June and July, 1911.*

Opposition to the proposition, however, was by no means lacking and the leaders were not inactive. They organized speaking campaigns with John M. London and Joseph Park as the chief speakers.[301] They reprinted in the *Daily Chronicle* hand-bills that had been issued in 1894 against the compromise proposition of that year by men who were prominent advocates of the pending proposition.[302] They also resorted to inuendos about those who favored the compromise and openly charged the county court in unsigned newspaper articles with corruption.

In making charges of corruption against the county court the opponents of the compromise overshot the mark and got themselves into trouble. The county court appealed to Judge N. M. Shelton of the Macon County circuit court to investigate the charges and let the people know the truth about them. Judge Shelton promptly complied and summoned the grand jury and charged them in language that was strong and unmistakably clear to go to the very bottom of the matter and discover who had made the charges and on what grounds they were based. The grand jury did as they were instructed and soon found out from those who had published unsigned articles in the newspapers that they had made the charges without any foundation whatsoever. The findings of the jury were then published broadcast. Judge Shelton kept the grand jury in session during the rest of the campaign for the purpose of investigating any further rumors of like nature that might arise.[303] The promptness and vigor with which he acted in this matter had much to do with breaking down the opposition that was developing in the county against the compromise proposition. Inasmuch as the investigation fully vindicated the county court, no indictments for libel were brought in by the grand jury against those who made and circulated the charges of corruption.

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[300] The Macon County Society continued to hold these annual dinners until 1917 when they were discontinued on account of the war.

[301] *Daily Chronicle, June 29, 1911.*

[302] *Daily Chronicle, June 29, 1911.*

[303] From a letter from Judge Shelton and interviews with Dan R. Hughes and others of Macon.

As a result of the energetic efforts made by the champions of the compromise proposition, it was carried by an overwhelming majority, 3,649 votes being cast for it and only 798 against. Only two precincts voted against it, and, singularly enough, they were in the towns of Macon and Bevier. In two precincts a unanimous vote in favor of the proposition was cast, save one vote in each.[304]

At this point a tabulation of the returns by precincts for the elections of 1894, 1904 and 1911 is given for purposes of comparison.[305]

	1894[306]		*1904*[307]		*1911*[308]	
Precincts	*For*	*Against*	*For*	*Against*	*For*	*Against*
Middle Fork........	2	115	40	99	56	85
Round Grove........	6	157	93	62	113	28
Ten Mile...........	2	173	66	76	145	6
Jackson............	0	140	66	71	118	5
Johnson............	1	63	24	40	60	1
Narrows............	1	192	103	93	135	30
Hudson Tp.........	3	150	65	101	104	47
Macon, First Ward...	3	159	157	79	145	37
Macon, Second Ward.	0	104	89	59	120	17
Macon, Third Ward..	4	152	114	104	73	43

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[304] *Macon County Records, T, 192.*

[305] The election returns for 1879 have not been found and hence cannot be included in this tabulation.

[306] The official returns by precincts for 1894 were not made a matter of record in the county court records. Only the totals were recorded. See *Macon County Records, L, 638.* The returns for 1894 in this tabulation are unofficial and are taken from the *Macon Times, Dec. 21, 1894.* The totals of the official and the unofficial returns differ slightly. In the official returns the total vote stood 67 for and 5020 against, while in the unofficial returns it was 66 for and 4902 against.

[307] *Macon County Records, Q. 326.* The official returns by precincts were not recorded in the records but are to be found in an abstract of the vote on file in the county clerk's office. The unofficial returns given in the *Macon Republican Dec. 31, 1904,* vary considerably from the official returns.

[308] *Macon County Records, T. 192.*

	1894		*1904*		*1911*	
Precints	*For*	*Against*	*For*	*Against*	*For*	*Against*
Macon, Fourth Ward.	3	74	78	70	48	61
Eagle...............	1	118	69	72	115	14
Lyda...............	2	221	90	154	220	12
LaPlata Tp.........	12	314	46	75	137	3
LaPlata, First Ward..	0	0	59	56	136	1
LaPlata, Second Ward	0	0	52	62	123	7
East Chariton.......	3	132	36	104	58	32
West Chariton.......	0	159	38	80	65	17
Keota..............	0	0	90	47	87	14
North Bevier........	3	194	33	69	68	44
Bevier, First Ward...	5	97	41	33	66	20
Bevier, Second Ward.	1	58	32	72	44	60
Bevier, Third Ward..	0	0	4	33	0	0
Liberty.............	1	217	64	103	100	22
Independence.......	1	196	54	93	0	0
Richland...........	2	133	20	97	129	7
Morrow............	0	139	60	37	75	27
Callao..............	1	264	213	52	203	11
East Valley.........	1	165	30	72	50	11
West Valley.........	0	0	23	20	18	16
East Walnut........	1	103	51	60	94	9
West Walnut........	1	76	44	44	59	3
East Easley.........	2	139	39	23	38	12
West Easley........	0	0	38	25	66	4
East Lingo..........	1	230	91	55	125	16
West Lingo.........	0	91	24	69	27	17
Russell.............	3	128	33	68	56	25
White..............	0	141	49	154	146	11
Drake..............	0	108	71	46	95	3
Totals..........	67	5020	2379	2729	3649	798

Within a few days after the election the county court issued 750 new Macon County bonds of $1,000 each as of the date of July 1, 1911. They were sold on August 17 to William R. Compton Bond and Mortgage Company of St. Louis at a premium of $5,858 and accrued interest.[309] According to the terms of the sale the first 150 of these bonds were to mature on July 1, 1916, and thereafter the remaining bonds were to mature in blocks of 40every year for the next five years and in blocks of 50 for the next eight years, the last one maturing in 1929. The privilege, however, was granted the county court to retire the bonds somewhat more rapidly so that the last might be paid off in 1926.[310] The prospects are that the last of the bonds will be paid off in 1926.

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[309] *Macon Republican, Aug. 19, 1911. Macon County Records, T. 251.* As a matter of fact, only 724 bonds were sold to Compton and Co. at a premium of $5,647.

At this point one might expect to find the end of this long-drawn-out story. But three recalcitrant bondholders, John E. Huey, the Chamberlain Estate and S. G. Hickman, refused to accept the terms of the compromise proposition and held out for something better, and their refusal delayed the final consummation of the whole matter for nearly six years. The aggregate amount of the claims of these three bondholders was in 1911 over $73,000. It was not until August, 1916, that John E. Huey and the Chamberlain Estate settled their claims, amounting then to over $53,250 for $42,500; that is, at the rate of 80 cents on the dollar,[311] and it was not until June, 1917, that the third, S. G. Hickman, settled his claim, amounting then to over $41,000, for $38,500, or at the rate of 93 cents on the dollar.[312] With this done, the last of the old Missouri and Mississippi Railroad claims against the county had been met and settled.

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[310] *Macon County Records, T, 251.*

[311] *Ibid., V, 365.*

[312] *Ibid., V. 372-313.*

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

By William G. Bek.

SIXTH ARTICLE.

THE FIRST GERMAN PUBLIC SCHOOL WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

In his later years Frederick Steines wrote: "When I came to St. Louis there were in all eighteen German families and a few unmarried Germans in the city. During the summer of 1834, however, the flood of German immigration began to pour into this new country. So constant was this influx that scarcely a day passed which did not bring its quota of Germans."

He also tells us, that the schools in the new city were very poor, and the Germans, many of whom had had a good education in their home country, saw the absolute necessity of providing suitable instruction for their children. They naturally entertained the wish that the German as well as the English language should be taught. A meeting of representative Germans was called in St. Louis, and the *first* German-English school west of the Mississippi was founded in November, 1836, tho the act of incorporation was not passed till February 6, 1837. Frederick Steines was personally known to a number of Germans in St. Louis, who recognized him as the best prepared German school man in the new state. The following communication was sent him by the secretary of the temporary school organization in November, 1836:

"Mr. Steines:—At a meeting, which was attended by a a large number of Germans, the possibility of establishing an elementary school in this town, the adoption of an appropriate constitution for the government of the same, and the choice of a teacher were discussed. The undersigned school commission was instructed to inform you of the transactions of this meeting, and also of the conditions under which it wishes to intrust the instruction of the German youth to the care of a capable man.

"The assembly was unanimous in the belief that religious instruction for small children is a matter for which the parents alone are responsible and which must be looked after at home; moreover, that the more mature youths should receive this instruction from the clergy; that it was now a question of establishing a school for the whole population of St. Louis, without regard to faith or confession; and since religious instruction might be a cause for many parents to withhold their children from the school, it was decided that religious instruction should be positively excluded from the course of study of the proposed school.

"Altho it was the opinion of the assembly that the English as well as the German languages are of vital importance to the Germans in America, and that the teacher who is to be chosen must be able and willing to impart instruction in both languages, nevertheless, the assembly decided, for pedagogic reasons, that the instruction in the English language should be given only to such pupils who already possess, at least a reading knowledge of their mother tongue. It was also resolved that the instruction in the reading and writing of the German language should always come in the morning hours, while the instruction in the English language should be reserved for the afternoon.

"The prospective teacher must also agree to teach Arithmetic, Geography, and Natural Science, the subjects which, after the language of the country, are of greatest importance. Choice of hours and arrangement of the subjects of instruction are left to the teacher and the school commission, as is also the distribution of the pupils in the various classes, according to their ability and preparation.

"The teacher shall not be obliged to give instruction during more than six recitation hours daily. On the afternoons of Wednesday and Saturdays there shall be no instruction given. At first it was the opinion of the assembly that a definite sum should be raised by subscription to pay for the services of the teacher. The difficulty which this plan encountered and the assurance that Mr. Steines would undertake the instruction under any condition caused the adoption of the resolution, according to which no head of a family should be obliged to pay more than one dollar per month for every child sent to school. The assembly reserved the right, after the organization of the school, to take such measures as would secure a reasonable salary for the teacher.

"A school commission was appointed whose duty it is, in conjunction with the teacher, to see to the execution of the above stipulated resolutions, and this commission also has the power to take the necessary measures regarding regulations and the manner of imparting instruction.

"If you, Mr. Steines, agree with the principles which the assembly adopted and with which you are here acquainted, and if you, in accordance with the above stipulations, undertake the responsible duties of a teacher of the German youth in St. Louis, then it is the wish of all concerned that you come here at once to consult with the undersigned school commission in regard to the execution of our plan. At any rate we look forward to an early reply from you.

"The undersigned assure you that it was the sense of the assembly to support the teacher in the execution of his duties and to make his position as easy as possible.

J. H. Kopf, Pastor.
H. A. Carstens
Dr. Luethy
H. Helgenberg
H. Welker
Theo. Engelmann, Secretary."

St. Louis, November 8, 1836.

To Mr. F. Steines,
Fox Creek Post Office,
St. Louis County, Missouri.

To this communication Mr. Steines made the following reply:

"To the Honorable School Commission of the German Public School in St. Louis,

Gentlemen:—

"On Wednesday last I received number 3 of the Anzeiger des Westens and at the same time your esteemed letter of the eighth instant. I am sorry to state, that for the time being matters of business prevent me from accepting your kind invitation to come to St. Louis at once. It is therefore necessary that I should negotiate with you by letter.

"The recently projected plan of founding a German public school in St. Louis, which is now about to be realized, is a matter of very great value and importance, and the men who have called this institution into existence will receive the approval and esteem of all philanthropic persons, especially of those who have the wellbeing of the Germans in America at heart. My election as teacher of this school is, of course, flattering, and in the event that I should accept the duties, I can assure you that nothing will be nearer my heart than the wish to show myself worthy of the confidence which is placed in me.

"The wish to make the proposed school one which shall be open to Protestants and Catholics alike meets with my hearty approval. It is therefore a matter of course, that I acquiesce most gladly in the resolutions adopted by the School Commission in regard to religious instruction. I do this the more gladly since it has always been my conviction that the teacher does enough if he gives his instruction a religious, moral tendency, leaving all matters of confession and creed to the clergy.

"The wish that instruction should be given in both languages, as well as the arrangement as to the time when this instruction shall be given, meet my approbation completely. One subject I should like to see added to the curriculum, and that is music, since it constitutes one of the chief cultural subjects for our youth. I have no objections to offer in regard to the prescribed number of daily recitation hours.

"Finally, in regard to the honorarium I wish to say, that the assertion that I would be willing to accept the position under any kind of condition is entirely erroneous. On the contrary, I must insist that the annual salary shall amount to the minimum sum of four hundred dollars and this agreement shall be binding for two years. Moreover, I must insist that I shall be provided with a free residence as well as a school house.

"Concerning these points I shall await your answer. If you should acquiesce in my request, I am willing to come to St. Louis without delay, in order to discuss matters further with you. In such an event, will you please name the day and hour of such a meeting?

"I leave it to your judgment as to whether you give publicity to my communication in the German paper of St. Louis.

"Honored sirs, allow me the assurance of sincere esteem with which I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

FREDERICK STEINES."

Tavern Creek,
November 19, 1836.

Further correspondence between Mr. Steines and the officers of the new school is not extant. From Mr. Steines' diary it is known, however, that he made a trip to St. Louis for a personal interview with those interested in the project.

Gustav Koerner,* who mentions the German Public School briefly, says that another meeting was held in December, 1836. At this time forty persons signed the newly adopted constitution and agreed each to $4.00 annually into a reserve fund which was to be used in case the tuition should not be sufficient to pay the teacher's salary. It was also decided to admit the children of poor people free of charge. Theodor Engelmann was chosen secretary of the board of trustees. Presumably the gentlemen who signed the first communication to Mr. Steines served as the board. A fragment of an old record shows that on the 13th of February, 1839, the following were named trustees: Wilhelm Palm, John Weinheimer, John Helgenburg, J. G. Lehmann and B. Blum.

The site of the public school building in which German public instruction was for the first time given west of the Mississippi was at No. 8 South Second Street.*

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*Koerner, *Das deutsche Element*, p. 326.

**Koerner, in *Das deutsche Element*, pages 325-6, tells us, that on the 9th of November, 1835, Dr. Johann Gottfried Buettner, a pastor of a German Evangelical church, issued a public appeal to the Germans in St. Louis, ask-

In his old age Mr. Steines was requested to make out a list of names of those persons who had been actively interested in the new school. The list was evidently made from memory. Unfortunately the first names are left out in a number of instances. The list follows: Captain Karl Neyfeld, Captain Friederich Welker, Feickert, M. Steitz, Theodor Kraft and his brother, Woerner, Helgenberg, Weinheimer, Jesser, H. Speck, Holzwart, Bertelsmann, Fath, Mincke, Niemeier, Pastor Wall, Eckart, Heisterhagen, Bentzen, Lorenz Degenhardt, Doench, Wolff, Hoppe, Katz, Dr. Gempp, Tschirpe, Schoch, Karl Jacoby and his brother, Wohlein, Heinrich Koch, Manck, Dings, Adolph Meier, Karstens, Emil Angelrodt, Eggers, Naegele, Buending, Vogt, Schroer, Maumeier, Weiszenberger, Schreiber, Nordhoff, Dr. Geo. Engelmann, Wilhelm Weber, Dr. Leuthy, Eduard Haren, A. E. Ulrici, Roewer, Mueller, Hinzpeter, Sutter, Theo. Engelmann, Almstedt, Lutz, Fleischmann, the Schoenthaler brothers, Schmitz, Neuer, Heinrich and Alexander Kayser, Blum, Balmer and Weber, Franksen and Wesselhoeft, George Wesselhoeft, Schuster, Heinrichshofen, Konrad Stiessmeier, Arthur and Theo. Ohlshausen, and many others.*

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ing for their support of a school which he had already established. Evidently this was a parochial school. (Dr. Buettner was a scholarly man who was the author of two works dealing with the United States. One consisted of a number of letters, which appeared in two volumes in Dresden in 1845. The other was entitled *Die Vereinigen Staaten von Nordamerika*, two volumes, Hamburg, 1844.)

Koerner also tells us that in 1835 several private schools existed in St. Louis.

Concerning the general interest that was manifested, particularly among the Germans in St. Louis, for the advancement of education and science, the same author speaks of the establishment of the St. Louis German Academy. This was done by act of the Legislature on the 6th of February, 1837. The act of incorporation reads in part as follows: "That H. A. Karstens, John A. Bentzen, George Engelmann, Eli (Emil) Angelrodt, K. Neyfeld, Carl A. Geyer, Dr. Philip A. M. Pulte, Dr. H. W. Gempp (Gamp), Charles Fath, Heinrich G. Fette, F. Holzward, Philip A. Medart, Dr. M. D. Boisslier, H. F. Neumeyer, Wilhelm Weber, J. A. Bindseil, E. F. Hoelzle, A. C. (E.) Ulrici, E(duard) Haren and G. Schulze, be and they are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, to be known by the name of the St. Louis German Academy." It was intended that this should become an institution of higher education, but lacking of funds, the state contributing nothing, the enterprise soon died. It is interesting to note that almost all the men who were interested in this Academy were also supporters of the German Public School.

*See the Appendix for a brief biographic sketch of a number of these men.

On the 6th of February, 1837, Mr. Steines opened his school with fifteen students. The difficulties which he faced were grave and unique. There were absolutely no books or school supplies on hand. Fortunately, Mr. Steines' own library embraced over a thousand volumes. These and the small amount of school supplies which he had brought along for the instruction of his own children were brought into use. For the beginners he made charts which were hung on the wall and from these the children received their first instruction in reading. This proved inadequate, of course so he arranged a small German primer which was printed in St. Louis by Wilhelm Weber. This was the first booklet that came off the press of the Weber Publishing House.* The title page of the primer reads thus: "Erstes Uebungsbuechlein fuer Kinder, welche schnell und gruendlich lesen lernen wollen. Von Friedrich Steines, Lehrer an der deutcshen Volksschule in St. Louis, Missouri. Gedruckt von Wilhelm Weber."

Many of the pupils who came to Mr. Steines were poorly prepared for the grade in which they ought to have been. The influx of new students was rather constant, so that it was almost impossible to have regular classes at all. The number of pupils increased to such an extent that in the second year an additional teacher, Mr. Charles Braches, had to be appointed.

Mr. Steines' salary was $500.00 per year. Contrary to his earlier request a dwelling house was not furnished him by the trustees. The salary of the second teacher amounted to $100.00 per year.

Being an accomplished musician, Mr. Steines took charge of the music in the Heiliger Geist (Holy Spirit) congregation in St. Louis. For this service he received $50.00 per year. Upon the request of the Reverend Wall, pastor of the Heiliger Geist congregation, Steines organized a singing school, and

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*In Koerner's *Das deutsche Element*, p. 332, we read: "In 1838 appeared from the press of the Wilhelm Weber Publishing House the first German book that was printed in St. Louis. It was an abstract of the most important laws of the state of Illinois. According to our information this statement is not correct, since Steine's Primer was printed by the same firm in 1837. A copy of this Primer is among the Steines documents at this time.

the members of this organization assisted in the church services.

During the summer of 1838 Mr. Steines became seriously ill and was sent to the country by his friend Dr. Geo. Engelmann for recovery, and tho he returned in the fall to resume his duties, the plan to leave the city permanently was firmly resolved upon. St. Louis was very unhealthful at this time. Living expenses were high, as is evidenced by the fact that he had to pay $16.00 per month for the use of two small rooms. So it happened that instead of making money, he was losing. At the end of October, 1838, he resigned his position in St. Louis and returned to live in the country to the end of his life.*

Upon his return to the country Mr. Steines bought a farm on Ridenhour Creek, commonly called Fiddle Creek, because the people living here were musically inclined, and at their parties danced to the tune of the violin. This new farm joined that of his father-in-law, Johann Herminghaus, and was five miles from his first farm on Tavern Creek. Here fever and ague again troubled his family, and the result was that Steines entered a tract of government land situated on the divide between the Missouri and the Merrimac rivers. Here Frederick Steines lived the rest of his days and here his surviving children still live. The new farm was called Oakfield, by which appropriate and beautiful name it still is known.

OAKFIELD ACADEMY.

In his letter written at Lindenthal, we read of the school for boys which Mr. Steines' friends urged him to establish on his farm. The first suggestion for the founding of such a

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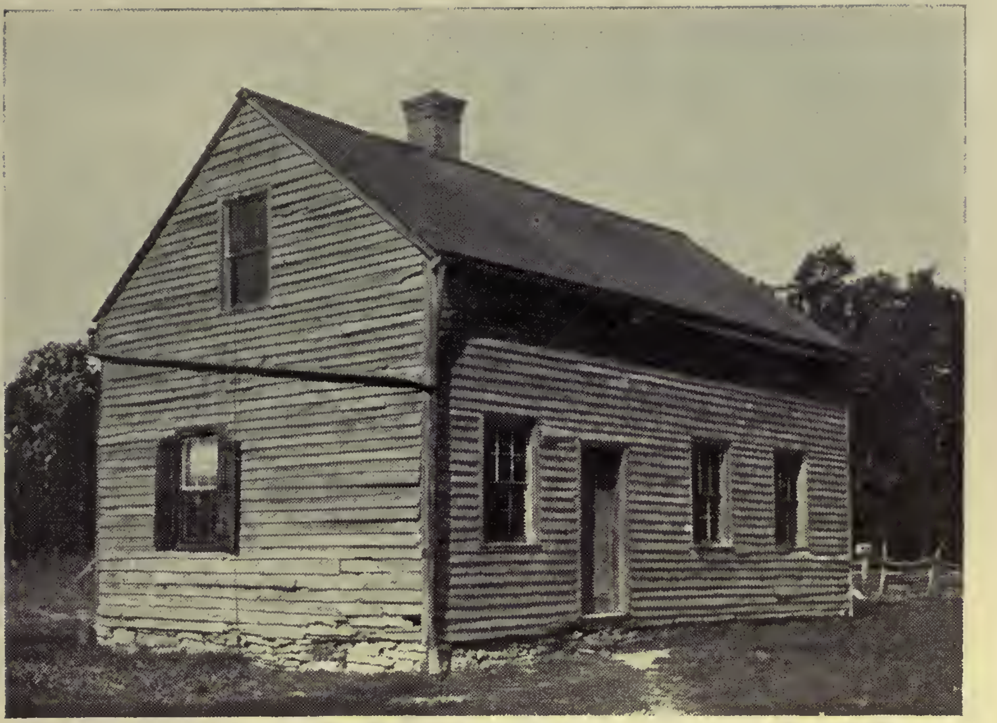
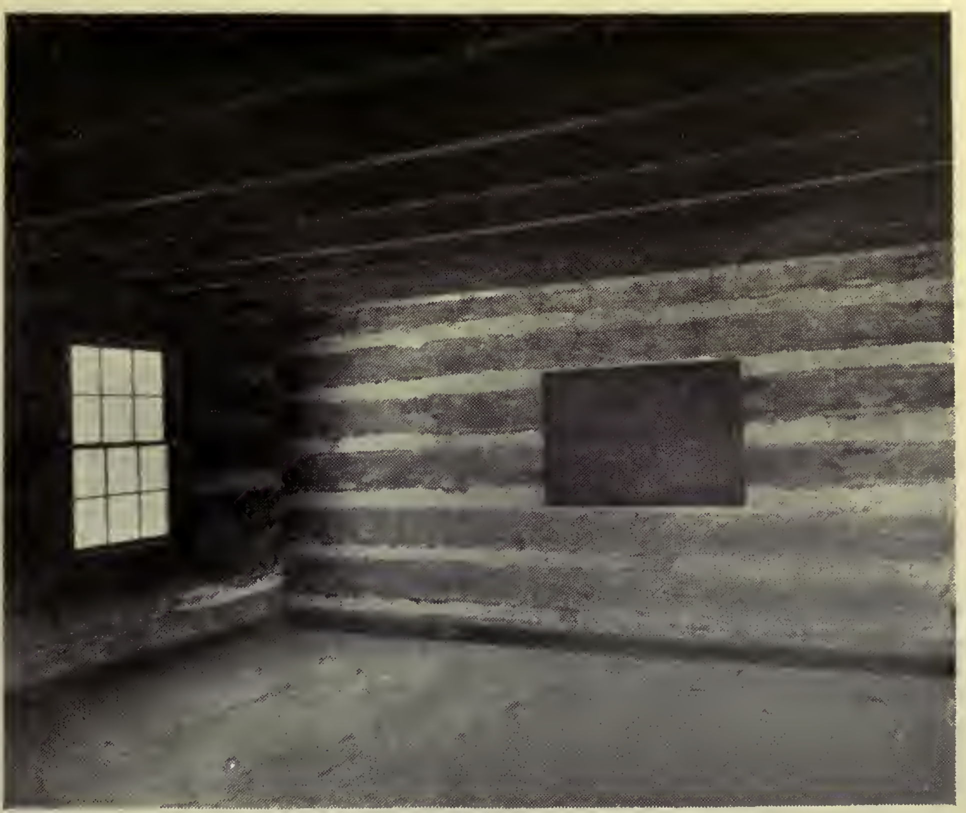
*In passing it may be of interest to know what became of the German Public School. Upon the recommendation of Mr. Steines the Messrs. Henne and Mintrup were appointed to succeed him. When these men resigned after a year Julius Weise became the teacher. After a short time he, too, left, and with his resignation the school ceased to exist. After the school had closed its doors, and even before this time, several private schools were organized, as, for example, those of Poetter and of Werz. Parochial schools also sprang into existence, the one of the Heiliger Geist church, under Christian Hardt, being especially good.



Oakfield Academy seen from the Southeast.



Interior of Oakfield Academy showing the old Blackboard.

school came from Mr. Nordhoff, the father of the well-known writer, Karl Nordhoff. The school was built, and instruction began in 1839, Karl Nordhoff being one of the first students to enter. The new school was called Oakfield Academy and continued in operation till 1869. During the thirty years of its existence a considerable number of young men and boys received instruction there.

On July 2, 1884, former students of Oakfield Academy and other friends assembled at Oakfield to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of Frederick Steines and his party of immigrants in St. Louis. On this occasion there was organized "The Society of Steines' Pupils." At this time a list of those who had attended the Academy was compiled.* The first president of this alumni body was Frederick Ledergerber of St. Louis. The guests presented the aged schoolmaster with a set of Brockhaus' Konversationslexikon and a set of Schiller's works. Addresses were made by Colonel Frederick Ledergerber and Superintendent Louis Soldan, of the public schools of St. Louis, and others, commemorating the achievements of this singularly active man.

THE EPILOGUE.

There were no railroads in Missouri during the early eventful years of Mr. Steines' residence at Oakfield. Travelers of every rank took lodging at his home, for, as a true Missourian, he had the latch-string always on the outside. Concerning one of his guests Mr. Steines told the following story: "One morning, it was on a Sunday, a gentleman on horseback stopped at my gate and called 'Hello.' I went to the gate and he asked me whether he could get feed for his horse and dinner for himself. I told him that the former wish could be complied with at once, but, since it was only ten o'clock, dinner would not be served till later. Thereupon he replied, that that did not make any difference, for he intended to rest for a couple of hours, since his horse was very tired, and he should like to visit with me for a while anyway. I told him to dismount and that I would take his horse to the stable and feed it. He dismounted, and I requested him to go into the house, and to excuse me for a little while, because my hired hand was not at home. He did not go into the house, however, but laid his hand on my shoulder and walked to the barn with me. When I took the saddle off, I noticed that the horse had a very sore back. Then I went to the pond, got some wet clay, tore off some leaves of

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*The list of former students of Oakfield Academy is unfortunately not complete, some of the records having been lost. Nevertheless it is an interesting list and will be found in the appendix of this article. Only the students who boarded at the Academy were formally entered in this list. There were also numerous students from the neighborhood who were known as "day pupils." Mr. E. E. Steines states that more than 500 young men and boys received instruction at this school.

Hour	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
8–9	English: Reading and Translation	German: Reading and Translation	Mathematics	German: Reading and Translation	Reading and Translation	Mathematics
9–10	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics
10–11	General History	Natural History	History of the United States.	General History	Natural History	History of the United States.
11–12	Geography	Geography	Singing and Declamation	Geography	Geography	Singing and Declamation

NOON HOUR

2–3	Penmanship	Penmanship	Nature Study	Penmanship	Penmanship	—
3–4	Dictation Exercises	Drawing	Natural History	Drawing	Dictation Exercises	
4–5	English Rhetoric	English Rhetoric	English Rhetoric	English Rhetoric	English Rhetoric	

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*It is a matter of interest to know what was taught in the small schools that called themselves academies during these days when our school system was in the making. The accompanying is the schedule of Oakfield Academy for the summer term of 1852. To give instruction in so many studies to a relatively unequally prepared student body Mr. Fr. Steines had an assistant teacher.

a jimsonweed and laid in all on the wound, put a rag over it and fastened it with a girth. Then I fed the horse and went back to the house with the gentleman, who again walked at my side, with his hand on my shoulder. I thought to myself, that this was certainly a most confidential and friendly man. We sat down and began to talk. The gentleman was very simply dressed in blue jeans, but his pockets were stuffed full of papers, and from his saddlebag, too, the newspapers protruded on both sides. I took him to be a lawyer from Jefferson City. He had scarcely seated himself, when he took a piece of chewing tobacco out of his vest pocket and began to chew. Presently he directed the conversation to politics, and wished to know what I thought about this or that point. Well, I told my opinion without reserve, and criticised many things, and did not conceal the fact, that I had imagined, while I was still in Germany, that the Americans were quite different from what they actually are. I told him frankly, that the laws were only a farce, and hypocrisy, fraud and deception were the order of the day, and that the majority of office-holders were as bad as they could be. He listened patiently and even said, 'Yes, that's so, you are right.' Then he began to speak of school matters, and stated that he was a great friend of education, that he had taught school himself in Illinois, that he had heard that I had been a school teacher in Germany, and that he had arranged his trip especially in such a manner, that he might spend a little time with me, in order to learn something about the Prussian school system. Then I explained that system to him. Visibly delighted he asked me what I thought about the schools in this country. I told him that, especially in the country regions, I had not found any real schools as yet. Moreover, I said, that the buildings which were called schools here were really only pig pens, and the few teachers, whom I had the opportunity of knowing, were for the most part only vagabonds or drunkards, but if a really capable man was found, it was soon seen, that he used the school only as a means to prepare himself for another profession, that he taught school merely to earn a few dollars in order to train himself to become a physician, a lawyer or something else. I pointed out how impossible it was for such a man to devote himself with his whole soul, mind and heart to the education of the young.

"Many other things were discussed by us. Finally the gentleman declared that it was the highest time he should be on his way, since he had an engagement in Union, the county seat of Franklin County, that evening. It was then four o'clock. He took friendly leave of my wife, and we went to the stable to saddle his horse. He again walked at my side as he had done in the morning.

"Having arrived at the gate, he mounted his horse, took out a notebook and said smiling: 'Now, Mr. Steines, I know your name, Frederick Steines, but please spell it for me—S-t-e-i-n-e-s—I want to write it down correctly.' I spelled my name and he remarked that the diphthong 'ei' was equivalent to English 'i.' Thereupon I became curious too and said: 'Excuse me, sir, what is your name?' He replied: 'Edwards.' I looked at him somewhat astonished and said: 'Edwards? John C. Edwards?' 'Yes, sir; that is my name.' I: 'The Governor of Missouri?' He: 'Yes, sir.' Then I wished to excuse myself for some of my plain utterances, but he interrupted me and assured me that he had had an interesting and delightful interview, and invited me urgently to come to see him in Jefferson City, but not to go to a hotel, but to stay with him as his guest for several days. I promised to do this, but unfortunately was never able to do so.

"When I returned to the house, I said to my wife: 'Well, whom do you think we had for our guest today?' She replied: 'Oh, some lawyer from the backwoods.' 'No,' I replied, 'it was our Governor Edwards.'* We both expressed astonishment that a gentleman of such rank should appear so simple, so plain, so unpretentious and modest. Then we made comparisons between such dignitaries here and in Germany.

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*John Cummings Edwards was born in Kentucky in 1806 and was reared in Rutherford County, Tennessee. He received a good education in Tennessee and was there admitted to the bar. He came to Missouri in 1828. From 1830 to 1837 he was Secretary of State, and at the expiration of his term of office he was a member of the Missouri Legislature for one term. From 1840 to 1844 he represented Missouri in Congress, and from 1844 to 1848 he was Governor of that State. He died in California in 1888.

"Later on, when the legislature convened, I noticed distinctly in the Governor's message, that he had noted well many things we discussed in our conversation."

Mr. Steines led an active life and was always deeply interested in public questions. For seven years he served as Justice of the Peace. The County Court of Franklin appointed him to divide his township into school districts. For five years he taught in the public schools of his county after his academy had closed its doors. When the postoffice was established at Oakfield (largely thru his initiative), he became its first postmaster, which position he held for many years. He was a frequent contributor to the German and English papers in his county as well as in St. Louis. During the Civil War he organized a company of Home Guards, and was chosen its captain. When in 1866 the County Court of Franklin County voted to issue bonds for the construction of a macadamized road from the town of Union to the St. Louis County line, the people of the county doubted the legality of this step on the part of the court. When later on it seemed to the people that the work had been unsatisfactorily done, a number of the residents of the county brought suit against the County Court and others. This famous bond suit was in the courts for a long time, finding its way into the Supreme Court of Missouri, and finally into the Supreme Court of the United States, where a verdict was given for the defendants. In this famous suit Frederick Steines and others were the plaintiffs and the County of Franklin and others the defendants. The old hatred against injustice, alleged or real, which had been one of the causes of his coming to America, involved Mr. Steines in much unpleasant litigation.

On January 1, 1885, the venerable couple, Frederick and Bertha Steines, celebrated their golden wedding at Oakfield.

Frederick Steines' death occured at Oakfield on April 24, 1890, at the age of a little more than 87 years. His kind wife, Bertha Steines, nee Herminghaus, his comfort and joy for more than fifty-five years, died at Oakfield July 22, 1892.

APPENDIX.

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES OF SOME OF FREDERICK STEINES' FELLOW-IMMIGRANTS.

Hermann Steines was born at Kettwig, Germany, June 7, 1809. He was educated as a druggist and physician in Germany. He came to St. Louis in 1833. During his first year of American residence he was assistant to Dr. Craft, a druggist and physician in St. Louis. In 1834 he bought two tracts of land from William Bacon and Parmelia, his wife, on Tavern Creek. In 1836 he married Miss Louise Westholz, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. He farmed, taught school for several years, practiced medicine, was Justice of the Peace for a long time, and served several terms as assessor of St. Louis County. His farm, which contained over three hundred acres, is now in possession of his son, Charles Steines. Hermann Steines died on his farm on Tavern Creek on August 14, 1875.

Peter Steines was born at Kettwig, Germany, May 6, 1805. In Germany he had been a teacher. Almost immediately upon his arrival in St. Louis in 1834 he and his wife became sick of the cholera, of which dreadful disease his wife died, while he recovered. With his parents he moved to a farm near the Tavern Creek. Having been thrown from a horse, he died of his injuries on December 22, less than six months after his arrival in the west.

Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Steines and his wife, Anna Catherine Steines, nee Unterlehberg, were the parents of Frederick, Hermann, and Peter Steines. They came to Missouri in 1834 and settled on a farm of 160 acres at the headwaters of Tavern Creek. In Germany J. F. W. Steines had been a dealer in leather and a manufacturer of boots and shoes in Kettwig. He died on his farm in 1843 and his wife in 1844.

JOHANN HERMINGHAUS was the manager of the estate of a wealthy nobleman in the district of Duesseldorf, Germany. He came to this country with the party conducted by Frederick Steines. As the cholera was raging in St. Louis at the time of his arrival, he went to St. Charles. Soon the cholera appeared there also. His brother-in-law, P. Kirschbaum, died there. Several members of his immediate family also became sick, but finally recovered. Then he moved to Fiddle Creek in Franklin County, Missouri, where he lived on a farm with his son and two stepsons. He died at Oakfield, near Pacific, Missouri, on January 15, 1858, his wife having died on December 6, 1851.

ADOLPH GREEF was born in Kettwig, Germany, February 18, 1807. He was a cousin of Frederick Steines. With Hermann Steines he came to Missouri in 1833, having been sent to look the situation over and to report back to the people at home, as Duden had requested prospective emigrants should do. He bought land on Tavern Creek, but being impecunious he did not settle on his farm at once, but spent the first year in St. Louis, working at his trade as cabinetmaker. When Solingen immigrants arrived in 1834 he went to the country with them. He died on Tavern Creek, April 7, 1883.

GUSTAV HERMINGHAUS, the son of Johann Herminghaus, was born March 5, 1820, in Galkhausen, Germany. He remained on his father's farm in Franklin County till 1854, when he removed to California, where he mined for gold several years, then bought a ranch near Fresno and became wealthy. He died on November 18, 1904.

FREDERICH BRACHES was born in Galkhausen, Rhine-Prussia, April 15, 1807. After his arrival in Missouri in 1834 he lived with his step-father, Johann Herminghaus, on the latter's farm on Fiddle Creek. Then he moved to Barry County, Missouri, where he remained for two years. After his return to Franklin County in 1840, he bought a tract of land on the ridge three miles west of Oakfield, where he established the first nursery for the propagation of fruit trees in Franklin County. This business he conducted till the year 1870. He was also one of the pioneers of grape culture in this section, having begun the same in 1840, and having made wine before this industry had made Hermann, Missouri, famous. In Germany he had been a distiller. He died on his farm near Gray Summit, Missouri, on July 30, 1893.

CHARLES BRACHES was a step-son of Johann Herminghaus, having been born in Galkhausen, Germany, on February 25, 1813. In Germany he had been a teacher. For several years he lived on his step-father's farm. Then he became the assistant teacher under Frederick Steines in the German Public School in St. Louis. From there he went to Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he was an instructor in music in a college for several years. Thence he went to Gonzales, Texas, and engaged in mercantile undertakings. He was elected a member of the Texas legislature when that state separated from Mexico. Later he became a wealthy cotton planter and a raiser of live stock. He died on his ranch near Gonzales, Texas, on July 5, 1889.

FRIEDERICH BRUEGGERHOF, who married a step-daughter of Johann Herminghaus, settled on a farm on Wild Horse Creek, St. Louis County, Missouri. In 1838 he moved to a farm adjoining that of Friederich Braches, where he conducted a tavern for several years. He then removed to St. Louis, where he conducted a hotel for about twenty years. Then he became market-master of the old Central Market, and held this position till his death in 1870.

KARL (CHARLES) PAFFRATH was born in Leichlingen, Rhine-Prussia, July 13, 1810. In Germany he had been a silk-weaver by profession. With others of the Solingen Emigration Society he settled on Tavern Creek in Missouri, but after a few years removed to Fox Creek in St. Louis County, where he had a farm and a grocery store. For many years he conducted a tavern here, and, this being the day before railroads, all traveling thru this region was done on the State Road, and travelers from all over the western and southwestern part of Missouri were entertained by him. He is described as a jovial host, and was familiarly known as Dutch Charlie, and his place was widely known as Dutch Hollow. The last years of his life were spent on a farm near Melrose in St. Louis County, about a mile from his first location. He was engaged in the raising of fruit and the making of wine until his death on March 11, 1895.

Christian Hardt was born March 16, 1804, in Ruenderath, Rhine-Prussia. He finished his education in the Normal School in Elberfeld under the celebrated Johann Friederich Wilberg. For a time he taught in Germany. In 1838 he emigrated to America and soon settled on Tavern Creek. He was the first teacher in the Tavern Creek school. Later he was chosen principal of the parochial school of the Heiliger Geist congregation in St. Louis. In later years he again returned to Tavern Creek, where he continued to teach and farm till about two years before his death, which occurred on January 19, 1886.

J. Wilhelm F. Kochs, an architect by trade, was born at Gelsenkirchen, Germany, April 25, 1805. In 1833 he sailed for America, and worked in St. Louis and Dubuque (now Iowa, but at that time Missouri Territory on the Mississippi), building houses and churches. In 1838 he returned to Germany, where he married Henriette Becker on March 23, 1838. Returning to Missouri, at once, they settled on a farm forty miles west of St. Louis, near the site of St. Albans, a village which the Scotchman, Dr. Kinkaid, had plotted, but which was washed away by the Missouri in 1844. He built the first Tavern Creek schoolhouse. For many years he held a public squireship. He was one of the first to come to the Tavern Creek settlement, and the last of the first settlers to die, his death occurring on October 1, 1898, at an age over 93 years.

His wife, Henriette Kochs, nee Becker, was born near Cologne, Germany, June 1, 1819. She was married at the age of nineteen and became the mother of twelve children, six sons and six daughters. She died December 14, 1900.

Florenz Kochs came with his brother Wilhelm in 1833 and bought a farm in the region where Frederick Steines settled. He died October 12, 1839, and his widow married Christian Hardt, whose biographic sketch appears above.

Francis Becker came with the Kochs brothers in 1833 and settled at the mouth of Tavern Creek on the Missouri river, near the site of St. Albans. He was a carpenter by trade. In Missouri he soon became interested in politics, and for twenty years he was a County Judge of Franklin County, Missouri. He died in 1886.*

A BRIEF SKETCH OF MY INFORMANT— ERNST EDMUND STEINES.

Ernest Edmund Steines was born July 1, 1848, in Oakfield, Missouri. His parents were Frederick Steines and Bertha Steines, nee Herminghaus. He still lives on the place where he was born. For two years he was assistant to his father in the Oakfield German-English Academy. Then he taught for fifteen years in the public schools of his county. At present he is engaged in farming on the old family estate at Oakfield. He is a well-read man and an indefatigable collector. In the building which was once used as the Academy he has a study, stacked with interesting books and papers. To him I am indebted for the generous loan of the interesting and valuable old documents which are contained in the preceding account. To him I wish here publicly to acknowledge my obligation and express my gratitude.

STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED STEINES' OAKFIELD ACADEMY.*

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1839	Charles Nordhoff	St. Louis
	Heino von Raskow	St. Louis
	Philipp Helgenberg	St. Louis
	Henry Weinheimer	St. Louis

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*Other Germans who followed Fr. Steines to the Tavern Creek country, according to Mr. E. E. Steines, are: Wahl, Lenz, Wirtz, Pohling, Halbach, Korff, Kurlbaum, Wengler, Delius, Meyer, Knobel, Merk.

*The list of students who attended Oakfield Academy from 1841 to 1843 cannot be found, but even in this incomplete form this catalog of names representing the sons of pioneer residents in the Missouri Valley is interesting.

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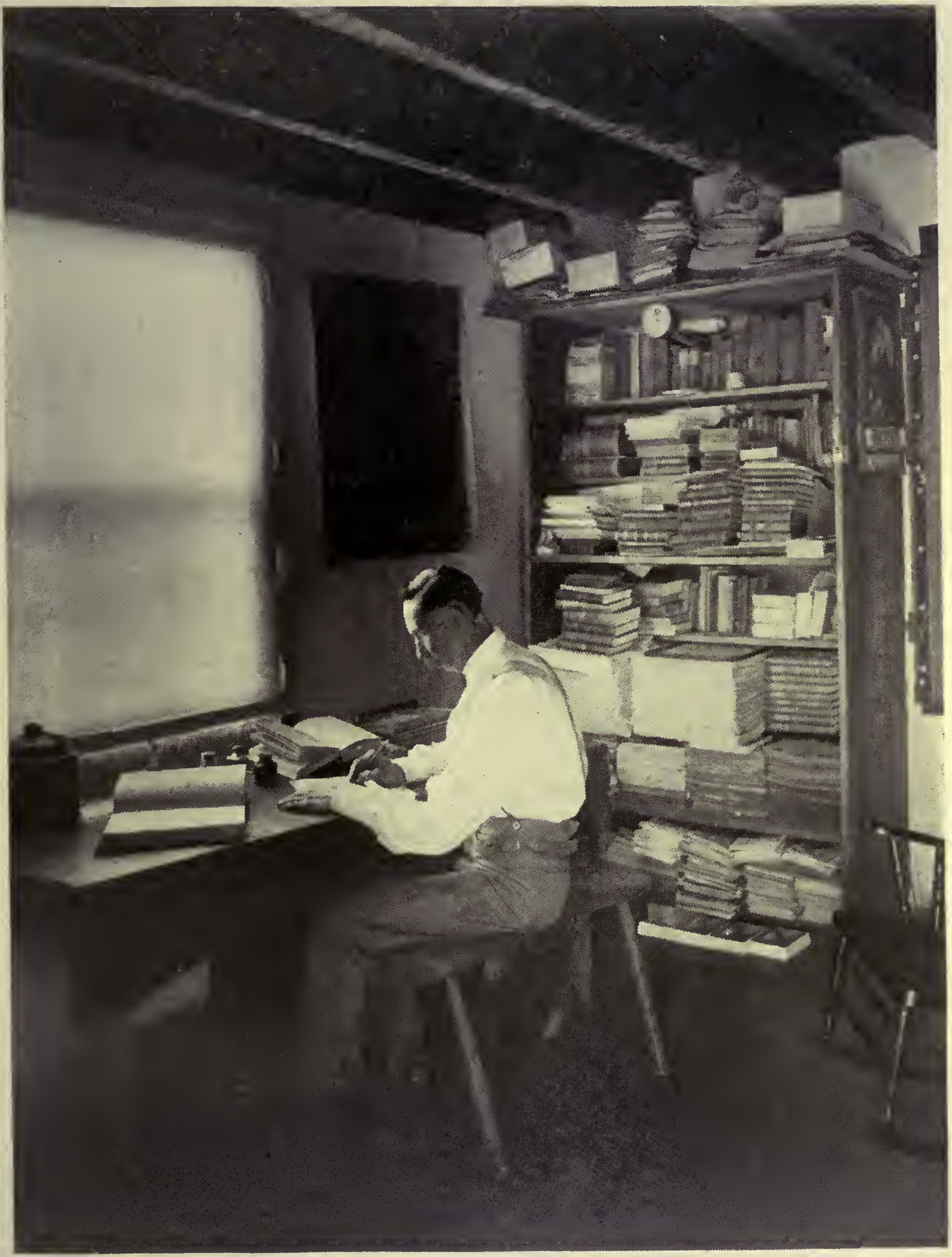

E. E. Steines in his study, a room of the old Oakfield Academy. The bench Mr. Steines is sitting on is one of the old benches used by the students in the early days.

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1840	H. H. Laumeier	St. Louis
	Ernst Kurlbaum	Franklin County
	Charles Kurlbaum	Franklin County
	Otto Steines	Franklin County
1844	Henry C. Gempp	St. Louis
	Edward Haren	St. Louis
	Anton Stiesmeyer	St. Louis
	Hermann Pulte	St. Louis
	Fredrick Huth	St. Louis
	Henry Werner	St. Louis
	Conrad Fath	St. Louis
	John C. Brown	St. Louis
	Francis Gray	Gray Summit
1845	William Gempp	St. Louis
	Charles Jeffries	Union
	Charles Katz	St. Louis
	Matthew W. Jeffries	Gray Summit
	Ferdinand Rohmann	St. Louis
	Andreas Rohmann	St. Louis
	Theodor Steudemann	St. Louis
	Caernar von Richards	St. Louis
	George William King	St. Louis
	Theodor Hildenbrandt	St. Louis
1846	Fred T. Ledergerber	St. Clair Co., Ill.
	Joseph Ledergerber	St. Clair Co., Ill.
	Alfred Beck	Highland, Ill.
	Alexander Beck	Highland, Ill.
	Albert Knecht	St. Louis
	Robert Knecht	St. Louis
	J. Theodor Schulze	St. Louis
	John S. Clayton	Union.
1847	William Dings	St. Louis
	Fred Beck	St. Louis
	Edmund Pignero	St. Louis
	William LeGrand Hall	Union
	August Becker	St. Louis
	William J. Bloomfield	St. Louis
	Gregory Byrne	St. Louis

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1848	Alphons Dupre	St. Louis
	George Martien	St. Louis
	William Martien	St. Louis
	Edward Lowe	St. Louis
	Bernhard Zoller	St. Louis
	George Littleton	St. Louis
	Francis Withinton	Bridgeton
	George Withinton	Bridgeton
	Nicholas Crowder	Franklin County
	Nickolaus Reimbold	Nauvoo, Ill.
	Charles Bergt	St. Louis
	Charles Roff	St. Louis
	William LaBeaume	St. Louis
1849	Jean Ferre	St. Louis
	William Schuette	St. Louis
	William Roff	St. Louis
	Adolph Vitt	Union
	Frederick Blattner	St. Louis
	Charles Zoller	St. Louis
	Louis Fassen	St. Louis
	Frederick Schmidt	St. Louis
	Henry Derby	St. Louis
	George LaBeaume	St. Louis
	William Dunnavant	Jefferson County
	William Dreess	Union
	William Buddecke	St. Louis
	William McAdams	St. Louis
1850	William Meyersick	Union
	William Chiles	St. Louis
	Eugene Papin	St. Louis
	John Forsyth	St. Louis
	Samuel Massey	Franklin County
1851	Christian Kuebler	St. Louis
	Joseph Uhrig	St. Louis
	Francis Klausmann	St. Louis
	Franklin Gempp	St. Louis
	Bartholomaeus Barth	St. Louis
	Adolphus Gratiot	Cheltenham, Mo.
	Charles James	St. Louis
	Rudolph Brueggerhof	St. Louis
	Henry Harrington	St. Louis
	Benjamin Inks	Fox Creek

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1852	Henry Young	Franklin County
	Charles Fritschle	St. Louis
	Jacob Fritschle	St. Louis
	Henry Abend	Belleville, Ill.
	Joseph Abend	Belleville, Ill.
	Thomas Cook	St. Louis
	Isaac Cook	St. Louis
	Charles Kunz	St. Louis
	William Schulze	St. Louis
	Otto Dings	St. Louis
	William Dings	St. Louis
	Jacob Meier	Waterloo, Ill.
	Jacob Ernst Gauen	Waterloo, Ill.
	Christopher Raborg	St. Louis
	William Martien	Fulton
	Frederick Ritter	St. Louis
	Charles Schulte	Melrose
	Frederick W. Steines	Melrose
1853	Alexander Murdock	St. Charles County
	Isaac Daniels	Bellevue
	Frank Raborg	St. Louis
	George Schaffner	St. Louis
	Frederick Meyer	Waterloo, Ill.
	August Hildebrand	St. Louis
	Joseph Meyer	Waterloo, Ill.
	James G. Mackay	Sappington
	Louis Diehl	Belleville, Ill.
	Conrad Diehl	Belleville, Ill.
	William Rubach	Belleville, Ill.
	Zeno Mackay	Sappington
	Browning Fish	St. Louis
	John Fish	St. Louis
	Edward Mueller	St. Louis
	Hugo Schuster	St. Louis
	Thomas Schands	St. Louis
	Joseph Riehl	St. Louis
	George A. Knight	St. Louis
	Fred Mueller	Peoria, Ill.
	William Mueller	Peoria, Ill.
	Richard Bode	St. Louis
	Julius Hauck	Belleville, Ill.
	George Lewis	St. Louis

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1853	Henry Kircher	Belleville, Ill.
	William Maus	Belleville, Ill.
	John Winter	Belleville, Ill.
1854	Joseph Uhrig	St. Louis
	Albert Mayer	St. Louis
	Charles Ketchum	St. Louis
	Evans Walker	Ottawa, Ill.
	Albert Tison	Ellisville
	Emil Huber	Peoria, Ill.
	George Blum	Peoria, Ill.
	William Neumann	St. Louis
	William Roth	Peoria, Ill.
	John Higgins	St. Louis
	George Higgins	St. Louis
	Theodor Kampmann	Quincy, Ill.
	William Nichols	Ballwin
	Daniel Gartside	St. Louis
	Hermann Ruettecke	St. Louis
	Robert Hanna	Manchester
	Peter Rauschkolb	Peoria, Ill.
	William Emerson	St. Louis
	Joseph McEvoy	St. Louis
	Francis Schulze	Howell's Ferry
1855	Philip Hays	St. Louis
	Hermann Kraft	St. Louis
	John Dickey	Ottawa, Ill.
	Charles Dickey	Ottawa, Ill.
	Frederick Peipers	St. Louis
	Paul Peipers	St. Louis
	Robert Peipers	St. Louis
	Charles Hardy	LaSalle, Ill.
	Lewis Beakey	St. Louis
	Henry Arens	Portland
	Hart Norris	Ottawa, Ill.
	Byrney Gooding	LaSalle, Ill.
	Gustav Dugge	Morse's Mills
	Thomas Matthews	St. Louis
	William Matthews	St. Louis
	James Matthews	St. Louis
	Otto Wagener	Millstadt P. O., Ill.
	William McFarran	LaSalle, Ill.
	Julius Guenaudon	St. Louis
	Charles Wolff	St. Louis

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1856	Harvey Matson	Missouritown
	James Haas	St. Louis
	Rudolph Dreyer	St. Louis
	William Riehl	St. Louis
	Rudolph Oehmen	St. Louis
	Henry Dilg	Belleville, Ill.
	William Withinton	Bridgeton
	William Smith	Jonesburg
	Samuel Smith	Jonesburg
	Joseph Mueller	Highland, Ill.
	Gottfried Balmer	St. Louis
	Henry Bernays	St. Louis
1857	Urban Stroh	Waterloo, Ill.
	Phillip Heyl	Hecker P. O., Ill.
	Carl Frick	Waterloo, Ill.
	Henry Erb	Mattice P. O.
	Ernst W. von Schreeb	
	Valentine Hebenstreit	Hecker P. O., Ill.
	Ernst Frick	Waterloo, Ill.
	John Weber	Central P. O.
	Otto A. Wolff	Edwardsville, Ill.
	Charles Vollstadt	St. Louis
	Charles Hagnauer	Highland, Ill.
	Jacob Weber	Highland, Ill.
	Hermann Koechel	
	Hermann Ulrich	Morse's Mills
	George Roemig	Central Station, Ill.
	Charles Eckart	Centerville, Ill.
	Fred Eckart	Centerville, Ill.
	Nelson Kerzinger	St. Louis
	James Wickliff Higbee	Weston
	Robert Hirschberg	St. Louis
	August Bierwirth	Cape Girardeau
	Martin Bierwirth	Cape Girardeau
	Louis Tanzberger	St. Louis
	George Oldendorf	Millstadt, Ill.
	Fred Zanger	Millstadt, Ill.
	John Zanger	Millstadt, Ill.
	Elmore Walker	Ottawa, Ill.
	Henry Theiss	St. Louis
	George Mehl	Mattice P. O.
	John Frick	Prairie du Long, Ill.
	Gustav Kuenzel	Marthasville

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1857	Peter Delor	Mattice P. O.
	Emil Thomas	Mattice P. O.
	John Ettling	Carondelet
1858	Michael Flick	Ottawa, Ill.
	Henry Koenigkraemer	St. Louis
	John Flick	Ottawa, Ill.
	Theodor Lehmberg	Pinkney
	George Henckler	Columbia, Ill.
	Roger Lee	Prairie du Rocher, Ill.
	John Reed	St. Louis
	Bernhard Jaeger	St. Louis
	Henry Reading	Morris, Ill.
	Allen Mallory	Morris, Ill.
	Conrad Lang	Millstadt, Ill.
	Daniel Voepel	St. Louis
	Gustav Kuebler	St. Louis
	Julius Greenhood	St. Louis
	Hermann Richter	Morse's Mills
1859	Theodor Tison	Ellisville
	Charles Dugge	Morse's Mills
	William North	Gray Summit
	Charles Faber	St. Louis
	Joseph Decher	Carondelet
	William Abele	St. Louis
	John Thro	Boonville
	Leopold Brenneisen	Boonville
	Edward Pike	St. Louis
1860	Oberon Kueckelhahn	Boonville
	William Maurice	St. Louis
	George Tscharner	Plumhill, Ill.
	Henry Oeters	St. Louis
	George Andrews	St. Louis
	Frank E. Fowler	St. Louis
	August Theune	Portland
	Charles Boisselier	Bon Homme
1861	John Hemm	Carondelet
	Charles Dreinhoefer	Pond P. O.
	Fred Dreinhoefer	Pond P. O.

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1862	William Mosberger	St. Louis
	James Walker	St. Louis
	Ferdinand Pauls	Allenton
	Charles Gottschalk	St. Louis
	Max Pohle	Cairo, Ill.
	Robert Hull	St. Louis
	George Hull	St. Louis
	Henry Ritter	Edwardsville, Ill.
	Hermann Ritter	Edwardsville, Ill.
1863	John Clark	Sedalia
	Edward Villmer	Ballwin
	Stephen Schreiner	Manchester
	Arthur Mittelberg	St. Louis
	Norman Allen	Pacific
	Nelson Allen	Pacific
	C. B. Hacker	Pacific
	Joseph Bagot	Glencoe
	J. Henry Bagot	Glencoe
	George Martin Armbruster	Edwardsville, Ill.
	John Koenig	Edwardsville, Ill.
	Louis Eulenstein	Pinkney
	Theodor Day	St. Louis
	James Green	St. Louis
	Charles Hardt	Melrose
	Louis Lehmberg	Pinkney
	James Whitsett	Catawissa
1864	Louis Petri	St. Louis
	Julius Boisselier	Augusta
	Benjamin Andrae	Ellisivlle
	George Winter	Belleville, Ill.
	Louis Steller	St. Louis
	Jacob Ambs	St. Louis
	Hermann Oetker	Gray Summit
1865	Alexander Waltenspeil	St. Louis
	Edward Schmidt	St. Louis
	Fred Finger	St. Louis
	William Kaechele	Gasconade City
	John Luecken	Vicksburg, Miss.
	Charles Kuhnen	Highland, Ill.
	Fred Reber	Highland, Ill.

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1865	William Melwin	St. Louis
	Wiley Luster	Owensville
	Ernst Vogelskamp	St. Louis
	Louis Ries	Portland
1866	Perry Richardson	Canaan
	Oscar Fribourg	St. Louis
	Louis Springer	St. Louis
	Anton Gropp	California
	Alfred Richter	Morse's Mills
	James Richter	Morse's Mills
	Joseph Richter	Morse's Mills
	Gustav Richter	Morse's Mills
	Daniel Essen	Pond
	Jacob Schreiner	Manchester
	John Schmidt	Manchester
	Louis Dehn	Morse's Mills
1867	Fred Mittelberg	St. Louis
	Fred E. Niesen	St. Louis
	Constant Kloose	St. Louis
	Frederick Hildenbrand	St. Louis
	William Beinker	Rock Spring
	William Niebrugge	Manchester
	William K. Dependahl	Manchester
	Julius Hundhausen	Gray Summit
	John Bittel	St. Louis
	Joseph Bittel	St. Louis
	Ernst Salzmann	Highland, Ill.
	Joseph Voegele	Highland, Ill.
	Michael Kraemer	Hecker P. O., Ill.
	Charles E. Waldmann	Hecker P. O., Ill.
	Fred Blattner	Highland, Ill.
1868	Louis Tuffly	Highland, Ill.
	Charles Tuffly	Highland, Ill.
	Ernst Sahm	Hilltown
	Alfred Potts	Melrose
	Philipp Sauer	Redbud, Ill.
	Adam Huth	Redbud, Ill.
	Henry Alt	Manchester
	Louis Becker	Melrose
	George Homrighausen	Redbud, Ill.

Year of Entrance	*Name*	*Home Address*
1868	Oliver Brooks	St. Louis
	Charles Suppiger	Highland, Ill.
	Hermann Holzhausen	Portland
	John Leder	Highland, Ill.
	Eugene North	Labadie
	Charles Powell	Labadie
	John Chiles	Gray Summit
	Charles Gartside	St. Louis
	Julius Geilhausen	Peoria, Ill.
	Albert Geilhausen	Peoria, Ill.
	William Geilhausen	Peoria, Ill.
	Fred Geilhausen	Peoria, Ill.
	Henry Reinke	Ballwin
	David Rinderer	Highland, Ill.
	August Pieron	Highland, Ill.
	Emil Hagnauer	Highland, Ill.
	William Frick	Hecker P. O., Ill.
1869*	John Jekel	Redbud, Ill.
	Wright L. Smith	Jonesburg

The roll of students who attended Mr. Steines' school in St. Louis is lost, but in his old days Mr. Steines recalled that following were in attendance:

Gabriel Woerner
Charles Speck
Bernhard Ulrici
Robert Ulrici
Julius Mank
Rudolph Wohlien
——— Niemeier
——— Niemeier
Hermann Carstens
Ferdinand Welcker
Mrs. George F. Dittmann
Mrs. John Bolland
Christiana Mincke
Mathilde Lamp
Elise Brueggehof

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*Oakfield Academy continued to be well attended to the last. In regard to the two students who entered in 1869 it should be said that the first entered on January 1, and the second on April 20. The doors of Oakfield Academy did not open that fall.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO.

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

John N. Edwards.

SIXTH ARTICLE (REPRINT).

CHAPTER XII.

Both by education and temperament there were but few men better fitted to accept the inevitable gracefully than General Shelby. It needed not Depreuil's testimony, nor the immediate confirmation thereof by Jeanningros, to convince him that Bazaine's order was imperative. True enough, he might have marched forth from Parras free to choose whatsoever route he pleased, but to become *en rapport* with the Government, it was necessary to obey Bazaine. So when the good-byes were said, and the column well in motion, it was not towards the Pacific that the foremost horsemen rode along.

As the expedition won well its way into Mexico, many places old in local song and story arose, as it were, from the past, and stood out, clear-cut and crimson, against the background of a history filled to the brim with rapine, and lust, and slaughter. No other land under the sun had an awakening so storm begirt, a christening so bloody and remorseless. First, the Spaniards under Cortez—swart, fierce, long of broadsword and limb; and next the Revolution, wherein no man died peacefully or under the shade of a roof. There was Hidalgo, the ferocious Priest—shot. Morelos, with these words in his mouth—shot: "Lord, if I have done well, Thou knowest it; if ill, to Thy infinite mercy I commend my soul." Leonardo Bravo, scorning to fly—shot. Nicholas Bravo, his son, who had offered a thousand captives for his father's life—shot. Matamoras—shot. Mina—shot. Guerrera—shot. Then came the Republic—bloodier, bitterer, crueller. Victoria, its first President—shot. Mexia—shot. Pedraza—shot. Santmanet—shot by General Ampudia, who cut off his head, boiled it in oil, and stuck it up on a pole to blacken in the sun. Herrera—shot. Paredes—shot. All of them shot, these Mexican Presidents, except Santa Anna, who lost a leg by the French and a country by the Americans. Among his gamecocks and his mistresses today in Havanna he will see never again, perhaps, the white brow of Orizava from the southern sea, and rest never again under the orange and the banana trees about Cordova.

It was a land old in the world's history that these men rode into, and a land stained in the world's crimes—a land filled full of the sun and the tropics. What wonder, then, that a deed was done on the fifth day's marching that had about it the splendid dash and bravado of mediæval chivalry.

Keeping outermost guard one balmy evening far beyond the silent camp of the dreaming soldiers, James Wood and Yandell Blackwell did vigilant duty in front of the reserve. The fire had gone out when the cooking was done, and the earth smelt sweet with grasses, and the dew on the grasses. A low pulse of song broke on the bearded faces of the cacti and sobbed in fading cadences as the waves that come in from the salt sea seeking the south wind. This was the vesper strain of the katydids, sad, solacing, rhythmical.

Before the wary eyes of the sentinels a figure rose up, waving his blanket as a truce-flag. Encouraged, he came into the lines, not fully assured of his bearings—frightened a little, and prone to be communicative by way of propitiation.

Had the Americans heard of Encarnacion?

No, they had not heard of Encarnacion. What was Encarnacion?

The Mexican, born robber and devout Catholic, crossed himself. Not to have heard of Encarnacion was next in infamy to have slaughtered a priest. Horror made him garrulous. Fear, if it does not paralyze, has been known to make the dumb speak.

Encarnacion was a *hacienda*, and a *hacienda*, literally translated, is a plantation with royal stables, and acres of corral, and abounding water, and long rows of male and female slave cabins, and a Don of an owner, who has music, and singing-maidens, and pillars of silver dollars, and a passionate, brief life, wherein wine and women rise upon it at last and cut it short. Even if no ill-luck intervenes, the pace to the devil is a terrible one, and superb riders though they are, the best seat in the saddle sways heavily at last, and the truest hand on the rein relaxes ere manhood reaches its noon and the shadows of the west.

Luis Enrico Rodriguez owned Encarnacion, a Spaniard born, and a patron saint of all the robbers who lived in the neighboring mountains, and of all the senoritas who plaited their hair by the banks of his *arroyos* and hid but charily their dusky bodies in the limpid waves. The hands of the French had been laid upon him lightly. For forage and foray Dupin had never penetrated the mountain line which shut in his guarded dominions from the world beyond. When strangers came he gave them greeting; when soldiers came, he gave them of his flocks and herds, his wines and treasures.

There was one pearl, however, a pearl of great price, whom no stranger eyes had ever seen, whom no stranger tongue had ever spoken a fair good morning. The slaves called it a spirit, the confessor a sorceress, the lazy gossips a Gringo witch, the man who knew best of all called if wife, and yet no sprinkling of water or blessing of church had made the name a holy one.

Rodriguez owned Encarnacion and Encarnacion owned a skeleton. This much James Wood and Yandell Blackwell knew when the half goat-herder and robber had told but half his story. When he had finished his other half this much remained of it:

Years before in Sonora a California hunter of gold had found his way to some streams where a beautiful Indian woman lived with her tribe. They were married, and a daughter was born to them, having her father's Saxon hair, and her mother's eyes of tropical dusk. From youth to womanhood this daughter had been educated in San Francisco. When she returned she was an American, having nothing of her Indian ancestry but its color. Even her mother's language was unknown to her. One day in Guaymas, Rodriguez looked upon her as a vision. He was a Spaniard and a millionaire, and he believed all things possible. The wooing was long, but the web, like the web of Penelope, was never woven. He failed in his eloquence, in his money, in his passionate entreaties, in his stratagems, in his lying in wait—in everything that savored of pleading or purchase. Some men come often to their last dollar—never to the end of their audacity. If fate should choose to back a lover against the world, fate would give long odds on a Spaniard.

At last, when everything else had been tried, Rodriguez determined upon abduction. This was a common Mexican custom, dangerous only in its failure. No matter what the risk, no matter how monstrous the circumstances, no matter how many corpses lay in the pathway leading up from plotting to fulfillment, so only in the end the lusts of the man triumphed over the virtue of the woman. Gathering together hastily a band of bravos whose devotion was in exact proportion to the dollars paid, Rodriguez seized upon the maiden, returning late one night from the opera, and bore her away with all speed towards Encarnacion. The Californian, born of a tiger race that invariably dies hard, mounted such few men as loved him and followed on furiously in pursuit. Bereft of his young, he had but one thing to do—*kill.*

Fixed as fate and as relentless, the race went on. Turning once fairly at bay, pursued and pursuers met in a death grapple. The Californian died in the thick of the fight, leaving stern and stark traces behind of his terrible prowess. What cared Rodriguez, however, for a bravo more or less? The woman was safe, and on his own garments nowhere did the strife leave aught of crimson or dust. Once well in her chamber—a mistress, perhaps—a prisoner, certainly, she beat her wings in vain against the strong bars of her palace, for all that gold could give or passion suggest had been poured out at the feet of Inez Walker. Servants came and went at her bidding. The priest blessed and beamed upon her. The captor was fierce by turns and in the dust at her shrine by turns; but amid it all the face of a murdered father rose up in her memory, and prayers for vengeance upon her father's murderer broke ever from her unrelenting lips. At times fearful cries came out from the woman's chamber. The domestics heard them and crossed themselves. Once in a terrible storm she fled from her thraldom and wandered frantically about until she sank down insensible. She was found alone with her beauty and her agony. Rodriguez lifted her in his arms and bore her back to her chamber. A fever followed, scorching her wan face until it was pitiful, and shredding away her Saxon hair until all its gloss was gone and until its silken rippling stranded. She lived on, however, and under the light of a Southern sky, and by the fitful embers of a soldier's bivouac, the robber goat-herd was telling the story of an American's daughter to an American son.

Was it far to Ecarnacion?

Jim Wood asked the question in his broken Spanish way, looking out to the front, musing.

"By tomorrow night, Senor, you will be there."

"Have you told the straight truth, Mexican?"

"As the Virgin is true, Senor."

"So be it. You will sleep this night at the outpost. Tomorrow we shall see."

The Mexican smoked a cigarette and went to bed. Whether he slept or not, he made no sign. Full confidence very rarely lays hold of an Indian's heart.

Replenishing the fire, Wood and Blackwell sat an hour together in silence. Beyond the sweeping, untiring glances of the eyes the men were as statues. Finally Blackwell spoke to Wood:

"Of what are you thinking?"

"Encarnacion. And you?"

"Inez Walker. It is the same."

The Mexican turned in his blanket, muttering. Wood's revolver covered him:

"Lie still," he said, "and muffle up your ears. You may not understand Enhlish, but you understand this," and he waved the pistol menacingly before his eyes. "One never does know when these yellow snakes are asleep."

"No matter," said Blackwell, sententiously: "they never sleep."

It was daylight again, and although the two men had not unfolded their blankets, they were as fresh as the dew on the grasses—fresh enough to have planned an enterprise as daring and as desperate as anything ever dreamed of in romance or set forth in fable.

The tomorrow night of the Mexican had come, and there lay Encarnacion in plain view under the starlight. Rodriguez had kept aloof from the encampment. Through the last hours of the afternoon wide-hatted rancheros had ridden up to the corral in unusual numbers, had dismounted and had entered it. Shelby, who took note of everything, took note also of this.

"They do not come out," he said. "There are some signs of preparation about and some fears manifested against a night attack. By whom? Save our grass and goats I know of no reason why foraging should be heavier now than formerly."

Twice Jim Wood had been on the point of telling him the whole story, and twice his heart had failed him. Shelby was getting sterner of late, and the reins were becoming to be drawn tighter and tighter. Perhaps it was necessary. Certainly since the last furious attack by the guerrillas over beyond Parras, those who had looked upon discipline as an ill-favored mistress had ended by embracing her.

As the picquets were being told off for duty, Wood came close to Blackwell and whispered:

"The men will be ready by twelve. They are volunteers and splendid fellows. How many of them will be shot?"

"*Quien sabe?* Those who take the sword shall perish by the sword."

"Bah! When you take a text take one without a woman in it."

"I shall not preach tonight. Shelby will do that tomorrow to all who come forth scathless."

With all his gold, and his leagues of cattle and land, Rodriguez had only for eagle's nest an adobe eyrie. Hither his dove had been carried. On the right of this long row of cabins ran the quarters of his peons. Near to the great gate were acres of corral. Within this saddled steeds were in stall, lazily feeding. A Mexican loves his horse, but that is no reason why he does not starve him. This night, however, Rodriguez was bountiful. For fight and flight both men and animals must not go hungry. On the top of the main building a kind of tower lifted itself up. It was roomy and spacious, and flanked by steps that clung to it tenaciously. In the tower a light shone, while all below and about it was hushed and impenetrable. High adobe walls encircled the mansion, the cabins, the corral, and acacia trees, the fountain that splashed plaintively, and the massive portal which had mystery written all over its rugged outlines.

It may have been twelve o'clock. The nearest picquet was beyond Encarnacion, and the camp guards were only for sentinel duty. Free to come and go, the man had no watchword for the night. None was needed.

Suddenly, and if one had looked up from his blankets, he might have seen a long, dark line standing out against the sky. This line did not move.

It may have been twelve o'clock. There was no moon, yet the stars gave light enough for the men to see each other's faces and to recognize one another. It was a quarter of a mile from the camp to the *hacienda*, and about the same distance to the picquet posts from where the soldiers had formed. In the ranks one might have seen such campaigners—stern, and rugged, and scant of speech in danger—as McDougall, Boswell, Armistead, Winship, Ras Woods, Macey, Vines, Kirtley, Blackwell, Tom Rudd, Crockett, Collins, Jack Williams, Owens, Timberlake, Darnall, Johnson, and the two Berrys, Richard and Isaac. Jim Wood stood forward by right as leader. All knew he would carry them far enough; some may have thought, perhaps, that he would carry them too far.

The line, hushed now and ominous, still stood as a wall. From front to rear Wood walked along its whole length, speaking some low and cheering words.

"Boys," he commenced, "none of us know what is waiting inside the corral. Mexicans fight well in the dark, it is said, and see better than wolves, but we must have that American woman safe out of their hands, or we must burn the buildings. If the hazard is too great for any of you, step out of the ranks. What we are about to do must needs be done quickly. Shelby sleeps little of late, and may be, even at this very moment, searching through the camp for some of us. Let him find even so much as one blanket empty, and from the heroes of a night attack we shall become its criminals."

Sweeny, a one-armed soldier who had served under Walker in Nicaragua, and who was in the front always in hours of enterprise or peril, replied to Wood:

"Since time is valuable, lead on."

The line put itself in motion. Two men sent forward to try the great gate, returned rapidly. Wood met them.

"Well?" he said.

"It is dark all about there, and the gate itself is as strong as a mountain."

"We shall batter it down."

A beam was brought—a huge piece of timber wrenched from the upright fastenings of a large irrigating basin. Twenty men manned this and advanced upon the gate. In an instant thereafter there were tremendous and resounding blows, shouts, cries, oaths and musket shots. Before this gigantic battering-ram adobe walls and iron fastenings gave way. The bars of the barrier were broken as reeds, the locks were crushed, the hinges were beaten in, and with a fierce yell and rush the Americans swarmed to the attack of the main building. The light in the tower guided them. A legion of devils seemed to have broken loose. The stabled steeds of the Mexicans reared and plunged in the infernal din of the fight, and dashed hither and thither, masterless and riderless.

The camp where Shelby rested was alarmed instantly. The shrill notes of the bugle were heard over all the tumult, and with them the encouraging voice of Wood:

"Make haste! make haste, men, for in twenty minutes we will be between two fires!"

Crouching in the stables, and pouring forth a murderous fire from their ambush in the darkness, some twenty *rancheros* made sudden and desperate battle. Leading a dozen men against them, Macy and Ike Berry charged through the gloom and upon the unknown, guided only by the lurid and fitful flashes of the muskets. When the work was over the corral no longer vomited its flame. Silence reigned there—that fearful and ominous silence fit only for the dead who died suddenly.

The camp, no longer in sleep, had become menacing. Short words of command came out of it, and the tread of men forming rapidly for battle. Some skirmishers, even in the very first moments of the combat, had been thrown forward quite to the *hacienda.* These were almost nude, and stood out under the starlight as white spectres, threatening yet undefined. They had guns at least, and pistols, and in so much they were mortal. These spectres had reason, too. Close upon the fragments of the great gate, and looking in upon the waves of the fight as they rose and fell, they yet did not fire. They believed, at least, that some of their kindred and comrades were there.

For a brief ten minutes more the combat raged evenly. Cheered by the voice of Rodriquez, and stimulated by his example, his retainers clung bitterly to the fight. The doors were as redoubts. The windows were as miniature casements. Once on the steps of the tower Rodriquez showed himself for a second. A dozen of the best shots in the attacking party fired at him. No answer save a curse of defiance so harsh and savage that it sounded unnatural even in the roar of the furious hurricane.

There was a lull. Every Mexican combatant outside the main building had been killed or wounded. Against the massive walls of the adobes the rifle bullets made no headway. It was murder longer to oppose flesh to masonry. Tom Rudd was killed, young and dauntless; Crockett, the hero of the Lampasas duel, was dead; Rogers was dead; the boy Provines was dead; Matterhorn, a stark giant of a German, shot four times, was breathing his last; and the wounded were on all sides, some hard hit, and some bleeding, yet fighting on.

"Once more to the beam," shouted Wood.

Again the great battering-ram crashed against the great door leading into the main hall, and again there was a rending away of iron, and wood, and mortar. Through splintered timber, and over crumbling and jagged masonry, the besiegers poured. The building was gained. Once well withinside, the storm of revolver balls was terrible. There personal prowess told, and there the killing was quick and desperate. At the head of his hunted following, Rodriquez fought like the Spaniard he was, stubbornly, and to the last. No lamps lit the savage *melee*. While the Mexicans stood up to be shot at, they were shot where they stood. The most of them died there. Some few broke away towards the last and escaped, for no pursuit was attempted, and no man cared how many fled nor how fast. It was the woman the Americans wanted. Gold and silver ornaments were everywhere, and precious tapestry work, and many rare and quaint and woven things, but the powder-blackened and blood-stained hands of the assailants touched not one of these. It was too dark to tell who killed Rodriquez. To the last his voice could be heard cheering on his men, and calling down God's vengeance on the Gringos. Those who fired at him specially fired at his voice, for the smoke was stifling, and the sulphurous fumes of the gunpowder almost unbearable.

When the *hacienda* was won Shelby had arrived with the rest of the command. He had mistaken the cause of the attack, and his mood was of that kind which but seldom came to him, but which, when it did come, had several times before made some of his most hardened and unruly followers tremble and turn pale. He had caused the *hacienda* to be surrounded closely, and he had come alone to the doorway, a look of wrathful menace on his usually placid face.

"Who among you have done this thing?" he asked, in tones that were calm yet full and vibrating.

No answer. The men put up their weapons.

"Speak, some of you. Let me not find cowards instead of plunderers, lest I finish the work upon you all that the Mexicans did so poorly upon a few."

Jim Wood came forward to the front then. Covered with blood and powder stains, he seemed in sorry plight to make much headway in defense of the night's doings, yet he told the tale as straight as the goatherd had told it to him, and in such simple soldier fashion, taking all the sin upon his own head and hands, that even the stern features of his commander relaxed a little, and he fell to musing. It may have been that the desperate nature of the enterprise appealed more strongly to his own feelings than he was willing that his men should know, or it may have been that his set purpose softened a little when he saw so many of his bravest and best soldiers come out from the darkness and stand in silence about their leader Wood, some of them sorely wounded, and all of them covered with the signs of the desperate fight, but certain it is that when he spoke again his voice was more relenting and assuring:

"And where is the woman?"

Through all the terrible moments of the combat the light in the tower had burned as a beacon. Perhaps in those few seconds when Rodriquez stood alone upon the steps leading up to the dove's-nest, in the tempest of fire and smoke, the old love might have been busy at his heart, and the old yearning strong within him to make at last some peace with her for whom he had so deeply sinned, and for whose sake he was soon to so dreadfully suffer. Death makes many a sad atonement, and though late in coming at times to the evil and the good alike, it may be that when the records of the heart are writ beyond the wonderful river, much that was dark on earth will be bright in eternity, and much that was cruel and fierce in finite judgment will be made fair and beautiful when it is known how *love* gathered up the threads of destiny, and how all the warp that was blood-stained, and all the woof that had bitterness and tears upon it, could be traced to a woman's hand.

Grief-stricken, prematurely old, yet beautiful even amid the loneliness of her situation, Inez Walker came into the presence of Shelby, a queen. Some strands of gray were in her glossy, golden hair. The liquid light of her large dark eyes had long ago been quenched in tears. The form that had once been so full and perfect, was now bent and fragile; but there was such a look of mournful tenderness in her eager, questioning face that the men drew back from her presence instinctively and left her alone with their General. He received her commands as if she were bestowing a favor upon him, listening as a brother might until all her wishes were made known. These he promised to carry out to the letter, and how well he did so, this narrative will further tell. For the rest of that night she was left along with her dead. Recovered somewhat from the terrors of the wild attack, her women came back to her, weeping over the slain and praying piteously for their souls as well.

When the dead had been buried, when the wounded had been cared for, and when Wood had received a warning which he will remember to his dying day, the column started once more on its march to the south. With the guard of honor regularly detailed to protect the families of those who were traveling with the expedition, there was another carriage new to the men. None sought to know its occupant. The night's work had left upon all a sorrow that was never entirely obliterated—a memory that even now, through the lapse of long years, comes back to all who witnessed it as a memory that brings with it more of real regret than gladness.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

When Missouri commemorated her one hundredth birthday, she did more than perform a duty. Opportunity came and found the latch-string on the outside. The year 1921 will be as significant in Missouri history as the year 1821. Formally Missouri's Centennial, it will be valued as the year of Missouri's State Pride. Read Dr. Walter B. Stevens' "How Missouri Commemorated." It reveals a type of citizen interested in the annals of his people, giving to others educational stimulus in history. A new State Pride is there. It will grow until the leaders of thought and enterprise in every community will be reached, and the children in the schools will go forth equipped to uphold the rank of their commonwealth. One should be proud to be a Missourian if he knows Missouri's contributions. To know the annals of your people is to profit by their experiences, and find pride in your ancestry. Missourians are a native-born people, ninety-five out of every hundred; Missourians are a conservative people, they earned the name "The Bullion State;" Missourians are a loyal people, they support their chosen leaders in peace and war; Missourians are a prosperous people, they have thrift and industry; and Missourians are a religious people, thay have the serious qualities of courage, faith and conviction. What need Missourians? Accurate information on our complex economic conditions; more co-operation among classes and sections, and less criticism; continued progress in education; and development of well-poised state pride based on accurate historical study of our annals. The purpose of the *Review* is primarily to aid in obtaining the last, but to the discerning it will be surprising how frequently the other needs are considered.

There is much instruction, and interest, in "Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri," by Mr. Wiley Britton. Every progressive person in north Missouri should read this series. The subject is new and the style is pleasing. The author is careful and already has standard productions to his credit. The Ozarks are part of Missouri. Some do not know this. A decade hence Missourians will frequent Hahatonka, Lake Taneycomo, and "The Land of a Million Smiles," as they now go to Colorado Springs, Minnesota lakes, and the health resorts of New Mexico. When Missourians appreciate what they have here at home, there will be another illustration to add to "Acres of Diamonds."

Mr. Glenn Frank, whose biography is well told by Mr. George F. Thompson, is the chief of the editorial staff of *The Century*. Mr. Frank has graduated into the highest class of journalists. He is a good writer and a popular speaker. A Missourian, editor of *Century!* A Missourian, Augustus Thomas, one of America's leading playwrights! A Missourian, Rupert Hughes, one of America's leading short-story writers! A Missourian, Sara Teasdale, one of America's leading poets! And Fanny Hurst, J. Breckenridge Ellis, Mary Seifert, Homer Croy, Winston Churchill! These are some of the sons and daughters of the State who today are advancing with Missouri's banner of belles-lettres raised fifty years ago by her beloved Mark Twain and Eugene Field.

COMMENTS.

May I add, that the recent issue of the *Review*, received and read a few days ago, was, like all others have been, truly interesting and instructive. You are doing a work that ought to be appreciated by every Missourian. Instead of having a few members of your society in each county, as I note in your last issue, the number should be doubled many times in expressing the proper appreciation of your efforts. No other periodical, including the *North American Review*, has so much interesting and valuable matter as does the *Review*.—JOHN A. SNIDER, Judge, Cape Girardeau Court of Common Pleas, Jackson, Mo., August 22, 1921.

Herewith check for dues for the year 1922. Every Missourian, especially every native-born Missourian, should subscribe for the *Review*.—MRS. J. P. HIGGINS, President, Missouri Division U. D. C., St. Louis, Mo., August 19, 1921.

In payment of my annual dues, my check for one dollar is enclosed. The Society should be commended for its wonderful work.

Among the many publications which come to our home none are enjoyed more than the Quarterly. It steadily improves.—CHARLES L. HENSON, Judge Circuit Court, Mt. Vernon, Mo., August 20, 1921.

The April number of *The Missouri Historical Review* has just come to my desk. This is an extremely interesting and valuable publication. It is compiling the material for a new history of Missouri. I wish to congratulate you upon the admirable work the *Review* is doing and to thank you and your associates for the very great pleasure I derive from each number of it.—JOHN I. WILLIAMSON, Attorney at Law, Kansas City, Mo., July 2, 1921.

The last issue of the *Review* is a very fine book. In fact, it has become a great publication under an extraordinarily discriminating editor and all issues are great. I wish it came more often.—ROLLIN J. BRITTON, Attorney at Law, Kansas City, Mo., July 8, 1921.

The last three numbers of the *Missouri Historical Review* have certainly been fine—not but what the others have been good, but these seem to have been better.—O. H. HOSS, Attorney at Law, Nevada, Mo., August 19, 1921.

It is said that the best advertisement is a satisfied customer. Those who take the *Review* cannot fail to be satisfied with what is served to them in its pages. All articles are so well written, show so many evidences of research and are always so timely. As a historical magazine it is filling every expectation of mine, and judging from the comments concerning it which I have heard, it is pleasing others as well.—WM. CLARK BRECKENRIDGE, Bibliographer, St. Louis, Mo., August 23, 1921.

HISTORICAL EXHIBIT, HENRY COUNTY FAIR.

One of the most attractive features of the second annual Henry County fair at Clinton, Missouri, the 6th, 7th and 8th of October, was the historical exhibit. There were 197 entries, some entries including a dozen or more pieces. Old coverlets, old chairs, books, wedding dresses, historical photographs, spinning-wheels, old china, guns, farm machinery, lamps, and even pioneer dolls, were displayed for the edification and interest of the old and the young. One of the collections was a French ax picked up in the Osage river bottom, which was probably left by one of the old French explorers. Another item was a boot-jack which came from one of the old French Chouteaus in St. Louis. The superintendent of the exhibit was Mrs. John Balke, whose enterprise and work resulted in its remarkable success. The spinning contest was a special feature. Six ladies entered the contest, showing that we are still not so far removed from pioneer life as to be unpracticed in the arts and industries of one hundred years ago. It is hoped that from this exhibit a Henry County Historical Society will be organized. Certainly, with the interest already aroused, it is certain that greater enthusiasm will be taken in local history as well as in making a historical display one of the permanent features of the Henry County Fair.

HISTORICAL EXHIBIT, LIVINGSTON COUNTY FARM CONGRESS.

A newly-awakened interest in the preservation of local records and in the popularizing of local history is manifesting itself throughout Missouri. One of the most frequented exhibits at the State Centennial Celebration and State Fair at Sedalia last August was the historical section. Thousands of citizens of the State passed by and inspected this exhibit and returned home with awakened interest along this cultural and patriotic line of development. As a result, some counties are planning to make such an exhibit a prominent feature of the local county fairs, and others in addition are planning the formation of local historical societies with museums attached. One of these is Livingston County. Under the direction of Hon. Douglas Stewart of Chillicothe, a historical collection and museum was exhibited during October in connection with the Livingston County Farm Congress. It was a decided success and permanent good will come from it. The descendants of the pioneers have preserved many of the relics of their forefathers. When a public exhibition of these is offered, these objects come from their safekeeping and their hiding places and tell again the stories of the founding of our commonwealth. It is not improbable that this new movement will grow until every county fair will have as one of its most attractive exhibits a public historical museum open to the public, giving free instruction on the local annals of the community.

BENTON PISTOL IN LUCAS DUEL.

This interesting letter of October 4, 1921, was received from Mrs. T. B. Hall of Marshall, Missouri:

"As the Benton-Lucas duel is much discussed just now, it may interest the Society to know that the pistol used by Benton in that duel is still in existence. It was owned by my grandfather, General Thomas A. Smith, who gave it to my father, Dr. Crawford Early Smith. The pistol is still in possession of our family. Many years ago, when my father was living in St. Louis County, he gave a history of the pistol to a reporter for the *Globe-Democrat*. This interview is preserved in an old scrap-book and I am copying from this the published account that was in the *Globe-Democrat*. The pistol, I think, is in the same condition now as it was when this description was given. I am sending the history of the pistol as my father told it to the reporter."

"Yes, I have it; here it is. This is the old dueling pistol that Benton killed Lucas with. It hadn't a blemish on it when I received it from father in an elegant case. There was a full kit of tools with it then but they have been lost, and the case has been worn out and broken to pieces long ago. Why, my boys have been shooting gravel, and nails, and pieces of iron out of it for years, but it will shoot just as quick and accurately as it ever did.

"Father often loaned it to his friends to settle their affairs of honor, and it has figured in several duels but I don't know how many. Oh no, Benton never owned it. In those days it was renowned as a most excellent weapon and Benton borrowed it of my father. I am not certain, but it has always been my impression it was presented to father by Colonel or General McIntosh of the United States Army. It came into father's possession when he was stationed at Point Peter, in Florida, in front of St. Augustine, while holding the Spaniards from advancing in the year 1802. Father was an excellent shot. I have seen him cut a half-inch tape in two at fifteen paces often. Yes, it is a smoothbore and shoots a half-ounce ball," continued the Doctor. "You know it would have been considered barbarous to shoot a man with a rifled pistol in those days. They didn't want to tear an ugly hole in a man; they just wanted to put a smooth, clean hole through his body and this was the kind of a weapon they used."

The pistol, a most perfect flint-lock of the double-cock pattern with a fine hair-trigger, bore the gold trade-mark of "McDermot, Dublin." The barrel, 10⅜ inches long, of hexagonal shape, is provided with a patent breech, and the flash-pan and touch-holes are bushed and lined with gold. The forward sight is silver, and the rear one of the same material as the highly-finished breech. Attached to the trigger guard there is a finger-hold for the middle finger, the better to grasp the piece firmly. Its stock of black walnut has been finely carved, but rough usage has left but few traces of the artist's skill. A comparatively recent break in the stock exposes the interior of the lock to view, but the more ancient fractures in the wood have been repaired with silver bands, adding materially to the ornamentation of the piece. The original ramrod has been lost but it has been replaced by one of modern construction.

"A friend of father's," resumed the doctor, "an army officer, christened the pistol 'Sweet Lips.' I have forgotten the officer's name, but he was anticipating a duel in which he expected to figure as one of the principals, and wrote father to secure the loan of the weapon in advance of his prospective antagonist. Since then we have called the pistol 'Sweet Lips.'

"My father's name was Thomas A. Smith. He was Brigadier General in the United States Army, having risen to that rank from an ensign, to which position he was appointed from civil life. This occurred in 1803. As late as 1818 he was in command of Fort Bellefontaine, located at the mouth of Coldwater Creek in St. Ferdinand township, in this county. Essex County, Virginia was his birthplace in the year 1781. John T. Smith the duelist, whom you have heard so much about, and my father were brothers. I don't remember just how many duels he was engaged in, but he is credited with having killed ten or fifteen men."

Mrs. Hall will donate this famous relic to The State Historical Society for preservation.

H. C. GEISBERG.

By Hon. N. T. Gentry.

Mr. Editor:—

On Sunday, October 9, 1921, Mr. H. C. Geisberg died at the home of his daughter, in Jefferson City, aged seventy-six years. He was a native of Osage county, Missouri, but had spent the greater part of his life in Jefferson City, where he had served for many years as director and vice-president of the First National Bank, and director of the Building and Loan Association.

Mr. Geisberg was one of the interesting men of Missouri; scrupulously honest, fair toward everyone, accurate at all times and careful almost to a fault. For fifty-three years he was Clerk of the United States Court, first at St. Louis, and later at Jefferson City; and for thirty-three years he was commissioner of that court. During that time, he came in contact with many lawyers, jurors, litigants and witnesses; and all respected him, and those who knew him best admired him intensely. He was the best posted man I ever knew on federal practice and procedure; and many times have I inquired of him, and always found him able and ready to impart correct information. I once mentioned to Hon. W. S. Pope, one of Jefferson City's best lawyers, that I had just been to see Mr. Geisberg to find out what the law was; and Mr. Pope replied promptly, "Well, sir, I have been doing that for the past twenty-five years, and so have other lawyers from all parts of the state." In that conversation, Mr. Pope further said, "There is not a lawyer who practices at this bar, nor a judge who holds court here, who is so well versed in matters of federal practice as Mr. Geisberg."

It was my good fortune to sit in his office, and listen to him relate interesting incidents about early law-suits in Missouri, and the railroad, county and township bond litigation immediately following the Civil War; and also hear him tell of Judge John F. Dillon, Judge Samuel Treat, Judge Arnold Kreckel and Judge John F. Philips, and of the lawyers of the sixty's and seventy's. And I asked him to write down some of his recollections of the bench and bar of that day; and he promised to do so, but "just put it off."

The passing of this excellent gentleman is a distinct loss to Jefferson City and to Missouri as well; and it is to be hoped that more of our state and federal officials will follow his example, and strive at all times to render service, actual service, to the people whose servants they are.

JOHN S. MARMADUKE CHAPTER, U. D. C.

The John S. Marmaduke Chapter of the U. D. C., Columbia, Missouri, have recently compiled a noteworthy and valuable work. This has been done through the enterprise of its historical committee, Mrs. Bernard C. Hunt and Mrs. J. M. Batterton. The work consists of a book of biographical and historical data of the lives and services of the Confederates of Boone County, Missouri. A typewritten copy of this work has been carefully made and filed in a loose-leaf binder, and presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri for permanent preservation. Each of the Confederate veterans of Boone County, so far as data was able to be obtained, is covered from the standpoint of birth, service, battles fought, genealogical data and personal biographical facts, especially those connected with incidents relating to the war. If every patriotic chapter of this organization in Missouri, as well as of similar organizations, performed a work of this character they would leave a lasting monument.

MISSOURI BUILT FORT IN NEW MEXICO.

This letter from Dr. R. E. Twitchell, Secretary of the New Mexico Historical Society, is of interest to Missourians interested in the achievements of our people:

"Herewith a clipping which should interest you, as the Missouri soldiers built this old fort which we are going to restore and on which we hope to erect a beautiful monument in which also there might be some people in Missouri who will be interested.

"Ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince and Mrs. Prince were the honor guests of the New Mexico Historical Society at the celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the arrival of General Stephen W. Kearney at Santa Fe, which was held at the State Museum building on the evening of August 19, 1921.

"On this occasion they presented to the people of New Mexico the site of Old Ft. Marcy as a perpetual memorial to the Soldiers and Sailors of New Mexico."

The letter follows:

Santa Fe, August 19, 1921.

To the Historical Society of New Mexico:

For many years we have felt that the site of old Fort Marcy, on the point of land overlooking the City of Santa Fe, on account of its conspicuous and commanding position, and also for its historic interest, as the first American Military Post in the Southwest, should be dedicated to public use, and surmounted by a suitable structure that would be a commemorative monument to all American soldiers and sailors who from the time of Kearney have represented New Mexico in our armies and navies or served on New Mexico soil.

As owners of the property which includes this site, we have been ready to make a donation of this historic spot, whenever it could be utilized for this purpose with a certainty of such public use in perpetuity; and we have felt that the title should be vested in some corporation of dignity and stability, free from political influence, which could carry the project to successful completion. The Historical Society of New Mexico is the oldest scientific corporation in the entire Southwest, with objects altogether in harmony with such a commemorative monument, which would be an enduring historical record of the courage, gallantry and patriotism of the American soldier; and therefore it seems to be the most appropriate of such organizations.

We therefore offer to convey, with good title and unincumbered, the site of old Fort Marcy, to the Historical Society, as Trustee for the people of New Mexico, to be held and used as a perpetual memorial of all New Mexican soldiers in active service since 1846, and as a site for a building and monument in commemoration of their loyalty and valor; on condition that said Society finds itself able, within a reasonable time, with the assistance that may be patriotically afforded by public or private organizations, and individuals, to erect such commemorative building and monument thereon as will be creditable to New Mexico, worthy of the soldiers and sailors of our country, and expressive of the appreciation of a grateful people.

L. BRADFORD PRINCE.
MAY C. PRINCE.

NAMES STATE MEMORIAL BODY—MISSOURI COMMISSION WILL ERECT A MONUMENT IN FRANCE.

Jefferson City, July 1.—Governor Hyde today named seven members of a commission provided for by the Legislature of two years ago to erect a suitable monument in France to commemorate the Americans who lost their lives in the

World War. There was no money available to carry out the provisions of the bill. The last Legislature appropriated $25,000 for this purpose.

The men named were officers in the 35th, 42nd, 41st and 89th Divisions of the American Expeditionary Force. They are Norman B. Comfort of St. Louis, Ruby D. Garrett and Charles W. Bartlett of Kansas City, Alfred Linxweiler of Jefferson City, Paul Van Osdal of Brookfield, Melvin E. Binswanger of Brookfield and John F. Williams of Joplin.

The Governor has been informed that not exceeding three members of the commission will visit France to carry the law into effect, and the expense of the trip will not cost exceeding $1,000 for each member. Those designated by the commission to go to France are Messrs. Comfort, Bartlett and Binswanger.—(*The Kansas City Times*, July 2, 1921.)

ORONOGO PIONEERS TELL HOW NAME WAS DECIDED ON.

Pioneer citizens of Oronogo have taken issue with the State Historical Society regarding the way in which the town was named and which was described in an article dealing with the origin of names of four Jasper county towns in Friday's *News-Herald*.

The explanation as given by the Oronogo citizens follows:

"Regarding the name of Oronogo, it did not originate in the manner your paper states (trade with the Indians) in 1870 or 1871. Railroad being built through to the west the town was then called Minersville and the postoffice Center Creek. The railroad company was building a depot at this time and as there was already a small town in the state by the name of Minersville, it became clear that something had to be done to change names so that town, postoffice and depot could all have the same name, so a meeting was called to be held at Board and Hendrickson's drug store, and a large number of us met there for the purpose of choosing a name. The first name suggested was Ore You Bet, to be written Orubet. Someone in crowd remarked that that was all right for it was Ore or no go with this town. This seemed to strike the audience better and a vote was taken upon it and carried. The name to be spelled Oronogo, and that was about all there was to it. The name of the town became Oronogo; postoffice and depot Oronogo. Simple, was it not?"

J. Morris Young,
C. E. Elliott,
Milt. Witzell,
R. Paulsen,
R. C. Scott,
Jim Cummings.

—(*Joplin News-Herald*, June 26, 1921.)

A MISSOURI PUBLISHER.

In Kansas City is a Missouri publishing house, established in 1908, which is beginning to attract the attention of western authors. Its work deserves mention. Its purpose to encourage Missouri and western literature is commendable. This is the Burton Publishing Company. Its president and manager is Mr. O. D. Burton. Mr. Burton is a native of Indiana, being a Missourian by adoption. His house has published thirty-five works by Missouri authors. One copy of each of these books has been placed in the Society for permanent preservation. In addition to his book publishing business, Mr. Burton issues a monthly magazine, *The Midwest Bookman*. The purpose of this magazine is complementary to the purpose of the publishing house—the advancement of Missouri and Western literature. Missouri writers are fortunate in having in their own state a publishing house that will take their work and present it to the public without their being forced to resort to the more distant concerns in the East.

DATA REQUESTED ON GEORGE HARDEN.

Mrs. Lura B. Tandy, 1115 University Ave., Columbia, Mo., makes the following request for genealogical data regarding George Harden:

A resident of Missouri, who is a descendant of George Harden (or Hardin), claims that he was a cousin or uncle of Charles H. Hardin, former governor of Missouri. I would certainly appreciate the favor very much, if some reader of the *Review* could give me any genealogical data concerning this George Harden. He had a daughter Mary (or Polly) Harden who married Washington Johnson.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.

Compiled by J. Willard Ridings.

OLD RAILROAD BOND DEBT PAID.

From *Butler Democrat*, June 2, 1921.

Mt. Pleasant Township is at last free of the old railroad bond debt which has been held for many years. The last installment was paid by the county court at the April term. The balance was $22,600.

On May 3, 1870, a proposition was submitted to the voters of Mt. Pleasant Township to issue $90,000 in bonds to the capital stock of the Lexington, Chillicothe and Gulf Railroad Company. This proposition carried and in the following year this road and the Pleasant Hill division of the same road were merged under the name of the Lexington, Lake and Gulf Company. The bonds were accordingly issued, there being 90 of them, for the sum of $1,000 each, payable in New York in 10, 20 and 30 years at the rate of 10 per cent interest.

Following the issuing of the bonds the road bed was constructed through the county and on completion the funds gave out and the company was unable to obtain more money to complete the work. The road was never completed and the debt was made.

After the failure of the company the county court refused to make any payment of the bonds or interest and suits were brought against the county and township, and judgments rendered in favor of the bondholders.

On August 25, 1885, an election was held at Mt. Pleasant Township to compromise the bonds, which then amounted to $250,000, including interest, and the proposition carried to issue new bonds in the amount of $175,000 at six per cent interest.

In 1918 an agreement was reached between the county court and the different banks representing the bondholders for an extension of time until June 1, 1922, the bonds bearing interest at the rate of five per cent, payable semi-annually, and nine of the remaining bonds being paid each year until 1922, when the remaining three should be paid. Nine of the bonds were paid at the February, 1918, term of the court. This year it was found that the bonds could be paid off, saving the taxpayers the interest on them for one year.

This debt, which has been hanging over old Mt. Pleasant Township since shortly after the Civil War, has been a source of great expense to the taxpayers in the district. The rate of tax up to 1920 was 50 cents on the $100 and in 1920 was reduced to 15 cents.

AN INTERPRETATION OF MISSOURI'S GREAT SEAL.

From St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, August 19, 1921.

Tradition attributes the authorship of Missouri's rather elaborate coat of arms to Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, whom historian Louis Houck pronounced, "one of the most learned and accomplished residents of Missouri." This is Judge Tucker's interpretation of the seal, with respect to which many of us have wondered and wondered for a good many years:

"The arms of the State of Missouri and of the United States, empaled together, yet separated by a pale, denote the connection existing between the two governments, and show that although connected by a compact, yet we are independent as to internal concerns; the words surrounding the shield denote the necessity of the union. Quadrupeds are the most honorable bearing. The great grizzly bear, being almost peculiar to the Missouri River and its tributaries, and remarkable for its prodigious size, strength and courage, is borne as the principal charge of our shield.

"The color blue signifies vigilance, perseverance and justice. The crescent in heraldry is borne on the shield by the second son, and on our shield denotes that we are the second state (Louisiana being the first) formed out of the territory not within the original territorial limits of the United States. The crescent also denotes the growing situation of the State as to its inhabitants, wealth and power. The color white signifies purity and innocence. The helmet indicates enterprise and hardihood. The one blazoned on this coat of arms is assigned to sovereigns only. The star ascending from a cloud to join the constellation shows Missouri surmounting her difficulties and taking her rank among the states of the Union. The supporters, the same powerful animals borne on the shield, on which are emblazoned the arms of the State and of the United States, denote that while we support ourselves by internal strength, we are also in support of the general government. The motto shows that the good of the people is the supreme law of the State. The numerals under the scroll show the date of the Constitution."

STATE UNIVERSITY HAD HUMBLE BEGINNING.

From Columbia *Evening Missourian*, April 21, 1921.

The Missouri University of today, with its two and one-half million appropriation, with its acres of modern buildings and more coming, with its rapid increase in enrollment, might well feel proud when it looks back more than 75 years at the humble beginning of what is now Missouri University.

By a United States land grant in 1820 two townships of land in Jackson County were set off to be used for the support of a seminary of learning. The State Legislature was made the trustee of this land. In 1832 the Legislature provided for the sale of this land at $2 an acre. After all expenses were paid the sale yielded $70,000, which was invested in stock of the Bank of the State of Missouri. When this sum had grown to $100,000 agitation was begun for the selection of a site of a State University. At that time the community that gave the most money toward the institution was considered the one in which the institution should be located. Columbia and Boone County gave $117,500, the largest sum raised.

One man who could neither read nor write gave $3,000 toward the establishment of the University. Others gave and actually paid in more money later than they were worth at the time they subscribed.

On July 24, 1840, the cornerstone for the first edifice of the University of Missouri was laid. Columbia College, which had been established some years before, became the temporary instruction building of the University.

The year 1843 saw the first graduating class of two members receive their diplomas. For 25 years after the foundation of the University the State did not appropriate any funds for the support of the institution. On the contrary, the State succeeded in spending most of the University fund. The curators were even paid from the fund instead of being paid by the State.

When Dr. Read came to the presidency of the University near the close of the Civil War he found the institution in debt, disorganized, the buildings run down, and on the verge of collapse. The first week of the first term of Dr. Read's administration as president of the University found not a student enrolled. A county fair in the neighborhood had distracted the youths from thought of student life. The second week, however, saw forty students enrolled.

The first State appropriation came to the University through the General Assembly of 1867. One and three-fourths per cent of the General revenue of the State, minus 25 per cent for common schools, was devoted to the support of the University. $10,000 was also appropriated to repair and rebuild the president's house, which had burned down during the Civil War.

There were at this time ten faculty members. All male students were required to take military drill. They were required to wear a dark-blue frock coat with nine buttons on it, dark-blue trousers, with green welts on the seams, and a blue cap with a band of gold braid around the crown.

The professors of those days taught a little of everything. The president of this period, Dr. Read, was listed as professor of mental, moral and political philosophy, besides being listed to teach other classes on different subjects.

CLAIMS FIRST ELECTRIC LIGHTS IN STATE FOR KANSAS CITY.

From "Missouri Notes," *Kansas City Times*, April 7, 1921.

E. C. Hadley, editor of the Fairplay *Advocate*, takes issue with the statement of S. D. Gromer that the University of Missouri had the first electric lights west of the Mississippi, as stated in this column, with the following interesting bit of early Kansas City history:

S. D. Gromer is mistaken on one point at least. The first electric lights west of the Mississippi may have been produced at Columbia, but if so the time was earlier than 1882. Many old-time residents of Kansas City can testify to this. The editor of the *Advocate*, as a boy, was employed by the G. Y. Smith Dry Goods Co., of which the present George B. Peck Dry Goods Co. is the successor. The company was located on Main Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets, Kansas City, Missouri, beginning in November, 1881, and that firm had electric arc lights on the street in front of their store. They also furnished lights for the Hammerslough Clothing Co., at Fifth and Main Streets. The plant producing these lights was located at Seventh and Wall Streets, and about the most conspicuous thing about it was the big "danger" signs warning visitors to keep away from the machinery. The writer often ran errands for the engineer of the plant, and was familiar with everything about the place. We believe that was the first electric light plant in Kansas City, and possibly in the West. We do not know when it was installed, but it was there in November, 1881, and was used thereafter by the G. Y. Smith Company until they moved to the new Commercial block at Eleventh and Main Streets. The editor of the *Advocate* has very vivid memories of those days of "forty years ago," when he hunted rabbits and gathered walnuts over many miles of farmland and woodland pastures which are now solidly build city blocks.

PERSONALS.

Hon. James J. Gideon: Born near Springfield, Missouri, in 1846; died at Springfield, June 5, 1921. When 17 years of age he enlisted in the Confederate army and served throughout the Civil War. At the close of the war he settled in Christian county and studied law. Soon after he was admitted to the bar he was elected prosecuting attorney of Christian county and held the office four terms. He also served as a member from Christian county in the 32nd General Assembly, and as State Senator in the 33rd. In 1885 Mr. Gideon moved to Springfield and was shortly thereafter elected prosecuting attorney of Greene county. Later he was elected judge of the Greene county criminal court. When the commission form of government was adopted in Springfield he became the city's first mayor under the new form.

Judge John M. Kennish: Born on the Isle of Man, November 11, 1857; died at Kansas City, Missouri, September 14, 1921. He came to Missouri early in life and was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1884. The following year he began the practice of law at Mound City, with an appointment as city attorney. Later he served as prosecuting attorney for Holt county. He was State Senator from the first Missouri district and later became assistant Attorney-General. His next appointment was to the office of State Insurance Commissioner. Upon the death of Judge Fox of the Missouri Supreme Court in 1910, he was appointed by Governor Hadley to fill the vacancy and was then elected to the office in November, 1910. After his term as Supreme Judge expired he served a few months as superintendent of insurance, but resigned to open a law office in Kansas City.

Dr. Wm. Hoge Marquess: Born at Sparta, Tennessee, February 22, 1854; died at Yonkers, New York, April 10, 1921. He came to Fulton as a youth and was graduated from Westminster College in 1873. He then studied theology under Rev. James H. Brooks of St. Louis and was ordained a minister. He became pastor of the Presbyterian church at Keytesville and later at Fulton, serving also as president of

Westminster College from 1887 to 1903. At the time of his death he was professor of Hebrew literature at Dr. White's Bible Teachers' Training School in New York.

Hon. Wm. C. Marshall: Born at Vicksburg, Miss., in 1848; died at St. Louis, October 10, 1921. He was educated at the Universities of Mississippi and Virginia and admitted to the bar in 1870. From 1891 to 1898 he served as city counselor of St. Louis. In 1898 he was elected to the Supreme Bench of this state, where he served until 1906. Since that date he had practiced law in St. Louis.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS.

JANUARY-JUNE, 1920.

Adair County. Kirksville, *Journal*
May 27. Interesting history of creeks of Adair county.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Democrat*
Jan. 2. Sketch of the life of John Troxel Rhoades, pioneer citizen; with considerable description of pioneer life.
Jan. 30. Sketch of the life of W. W. Ramsey, pioneer citizen and former county official.
——————— ———————, *Reporter*
Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of Henry Knight, Union veteran and former county official.

Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Mail*
Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of Azarias Copper, Union veteran.
May 7. In 1865 and now. A price comparison.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer*
Mar. 4. Sketch of the life of H. W. Johnston, former State official.

May 6. A brief history of Audrain county and Mexico; by Alieen Collier, Margaret Worner and Elizabeth Squirer, eighth grade pupils.

——————— ———————, *Weekly Ledger*
Jan. 17. Old Wills and Testaments (of Audrain county).
Feb. 26. Sketch of the life of A. C. Barnes, Union veteran.
Mar. 11. Audrain's first execution, 40 years ago March 5th.

Barry County. Cassville, *Democrat.*
Apr. 10. Sketch of the life of C. W. Carney, former State representative.

Barton County. Lamar, *Democrat*
Apr. 8. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. L. Griffin, Union veteran.
Apr. 15. The story of old Missouri. A short sketch of John Scott, Missouri territorial delegate and representative in Congress.

Bates County. Butler, *Weekly Times*
Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of John B. Newberry, Union veteran and former State official.
——————— ———————, *Republican-Press*
June 4. History of famous old church. A short sketch of Double Branch Church, organized in 1856.
June 18. An old scrap-book. Interesting items of 100 years ago.

Boone County. Columbia, *Evening Missourian*
Jan. 8. Columbia was once scene of lynching. Sketch of the tragedy of 1889.
Jan. 9. County's first verdict gave John McCoy $78. Story of the first case tried in Boone County Circuit Court in April, 1821.

Jan. 10. Town's columns nearly as old as University's. Some facts concerning University's old columns and those of old courthouse.
Jan. 14. Y. M. C. A. in Columbia three decades old; a short history of organization.
Jan. 22. Old years live at Stephens dinner. Some random reminiscences of early days in Columbia.
Mar. 8. Columbia had first dramatic club in 1858. Some facts concerning it.
Apr. 30. First cabin in Boone county built in 1812; with other "first" dates of Boone county.
June 21. Missouri is seeking fourth Constitution; with some facts concerning three Constitutions of the State.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*
Jan. 29. Pony Express service began 60 years ago. Some facts concerning it.
Mar. 1. First Baptist Church to hold a diamond jubilee. Some historical notes on denomination organized in 1845.
Mar. 7. First Pony Express rider started westward from St. Joseph sixty years ago. Stories of riders and their activities.
Mar. 23. History of city is heard on jubilee. A few historical facts, as related at historical night observed by Baptist Church. See also St. Joseph *News-Press* for March 19th and 23rd.

———— ————, *News-Press*
Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of W. H. Haynes, former State senator and judge of circuit court. See also *Gazette* for January 23rd.

———— ————, *Twilight Hour*
Feb. Retrospect. Recollections of early days in St. Joseph.

———— ————, *Black and White*
June. A leaf from the past. A history of the Pony Express and how it impressed Mark Twain.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Gazette*.
Jan. 29. Old tax receipts. Description of early Missouri documents.
Apr. 15. Old Asylum report. Review of report of Fulton State Hospital for 1869.
May 6. The beginnings in the Kingdom of Callaway. Early history of the county.

———— ————, *Missouri Telegraph*
Mar. 18. Passing of Concord recalls olden days. Recollections of what was once prosperous trading center of northern Callaway county.

———— New Bloomfield, *News*
June 10. Old document. A letter written in 1863 by a Union soldier.

Cape Girardeau County. Cape Girardeau, *Southeast Missourian*
Feb. 6. Sketch of the life of L. H. Davis, former Congressman, State legislator and member of Missouri constitutional convention of 1875.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Republican-Record*
Feb. 12. Old war record. Some data on Co. H, 44th Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers of Civil War.
Apr. 1. *Republican-Record* is 52 years old; a short historical sketch.

Carter County. Van Buren, *Current Local*
Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of Walter J. Burrows, former county official.

Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*
Apr. 1. J. Elmer House writes again. Interesting reminiscences of the past in Harrisonville.
Apr. 8. Memoirs of Harrisonville and Cass county; by Mrs. Frank Wilson. Continued in issues of April 15, 22, 29, May 6, 13, 20, 27, June 3, 10, 17 and 24.

Cedar County. Stockton, *Journal*
Feb. 19. Sketch of the life of the Johnson Brothers, pioneers. With considerable description of pioneer life and conditions.
June 10. Sketch of the life of Capt. R. N. Cox, Union veteran.

Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*
Jan. 9. Missouri's oldest newspaper. A short sketch of the Paris *Mercury*. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.
June 11. Silver jubilee celebration. With some historical facts regarding St. Joseph's Catholic Church at Salisbury.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier*
Jan. 30. Old St. Francisville. Random recollections.
Apr. 9. Sketches of Clark County history. Random tales of early days in Clark county. Continued in issues of April 23, 30 and May 7.

———————— ————————, *Gazette-Herald*
Jan. 2. The Honey War. A struggle of the Iowa border trouble in 1839. Reprinted from the St. Louis *Republic*.
Mar. 12. Writes of early days. Short sketch of pioneer physicians of Clark county, by J. A. Jenkins.
Apr. 2. Chapters of Clark county history, by Jasper Blines. Random sketches of early days in Clark county. Continued in issues of January 9, 23, 30, February 6, 13, 27, March 5, 12, 19 and 26, April 9, 16, 23, 30, May 7, 14, 21, 28, June 4 and 25.
More about pioneer doctors. Sketches of the lives of early day doctors in Clark county. Continued in issues of April 23rd.

Clay County. Liberty, *Advance*
Feb. 16. "May Party" back in 1854. An account of a celebration at Liberty Female Institute on April 5, 1854.
May 3. The Masons celebrate. A short history of the Liberty lodge on its 80th anniversary.
May 24. The high cost of living after the Civil War. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Times*.

———————— ————————, *Tribune*
Jan. 2. The old bootjack gone. Recollections of a pioneer convenience.
Jan. 9. Back in the days of 1872. Items from a copy of the *Tribune* for July 5, 1872.

Feb. 6. In the old days of 1867. Items from the *Tribune* of July 5, 1867.
Feb. 10. When Wabash was built. Account from the *Tribune* of December 20, 1867.
Sketch of the life of D. C. Allen, former circuit attorney and member of the constitutional convention of 1875.
Feb. 27. An echo of the old days. Some facts regarding old "Lake Superior," Railroad notes.
June 18. Sketch of the life of Dan Carpenter, pioneer citizen.

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Missouri State Journal*
Mar. 6. Missouri "Blue Book" is out; with short historical sketch of the publication.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Weekly Advertiser*
Mar. 5. Remembers old Boonvillian citizens of the '50's.
May 28. Sketch of the life of Capt. Thomas B. Gibson, veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars (Confederate). See also the *Central Missouri Republican* for May 27th and the Bunceton *Weekly Eagle* for May 28th.
June 25. The first battle at Boonville. Account of Civil War engagement near Boonville June 17, 1861, designated first battle of war.

——— ———, *Central Missouri Republican*
May 13. Boonville society about 62 years old. Sketch of Turner Society of Boonville.
May 20. Martinsville has 50th anniversary. Short sketch of Methodist Church established in 1870.

——— Bunceton, *Weekly Eagle*
Apr. 9. Sketch of the life of W. H. H. Stephens, Union veteran.

Crawford County. Steelville, *Crawford Mirror*
Mar. 11. Sketch of the life of Levi Hopkins, editor of the *Mirror*.

Dent County. Salem, *Post*
Apr. 8. Sketch of the life of Wm. A. Young, Union veteran and former county official. See also Salem *News* for April 1st.

Franklin County. Union, *Republican Tribune*
Jan. 16. Abstract of assessment of Franklin county in 1875.
May 7. History of the "Red Bridge." Historical sketch of the bridge over Bourbeuse river.

——— Washington, *Franklin County Observer*
Mar. 26. Sketch of the life of William S. Allen, Confederate veteran and former county official.
May 14. History of the Catholic Church in our city.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*
Jan. 24. History of "Springfield Plain" included in late work by Dr. Carl O. Sauer. Interesting account of early days in southwest Missouri, taken from "Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri."

Jan. 25. Ex-Lieutenant Governor Johnson recalls famous Missouri murder trial. Reminiscences of early days in Missouri courts.
Pony Express started just 60 years ago. Account of memorable event.
Feb. 1. Wild Bill's reputation as a bad man overrated. Recollections of early days and people in Springfield, by E. C. McAfee.
Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of T. J. Delaney, noted lawyer and former county official.
Feb. 3. The Old South. Charles H. Gaffe's reminiscences of the Civil War. Reprinted from San Antonia *Express*.
Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of A. H. Rogers, prominent south Missouri business man.
Mar. 16. Recalls first meeting with Martin Hubble 38 years ago. A chapter in the life of Missouri railroads and the Greenback Party of 1878.
May 30. Dallas county to bring old dispute over rail bonds to close July 1st. Story of the Ft. Scott and Laclede Railroad, a project of half a century ago.

———— ————, *Republican*
Jan. 28. Closing of College Street Saloon marks passing of historic county landmark. Tales of early days in Springfield.
Feb. 15. Union Army officer writes of life led by "Wild Bill" while in southwest Missouri. A story of early-day Missouri, reprinted from *Harper's Magazine* of February, 1867. Continued in issues of February 22nd and 29th.

———— Republic, *Monitor*
May 13. History. A short historical sketch of Republic.

Grundy County. Trenton, *Times*
Mar. 26. Sketch of the life of John E. Carter, Union veteran and former county official and State legislator.

Harrison County. Bethany, *Clipper*
Feb. 11. Sketch of the life of Ada L. Wightman, editor of the *Clipper*.

———— ————, *Republican*
Feb. 25. Reminiscences of pioneer life in Harrison county, by G. W. Childress. Continued in issues of March 10th, 17th and 24th.

Henry County. Clinton, *Henry County Democrat*
Feb. 19. Sketch of the life of George R. Lingle, founder of the Sedalia *Advertiser* and former editor of the *Henry County Democrat*.

Howard County. Armstrong, *Herald*
May 20. Swetman school district in the Civil War.

———— Fayette, *Advertiser*
June 17. Champ Clark's career from farmhand to Speaker; a short sketch.

———— Glasgow, *Missourian*.
Jan. 29. Missouri's oldest newspaper. Sketch of the Paris *Mercury*; reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.

Howell County. West Plains, *Journal*

Feb. 26. Historical facts show that Col. Torrey originated "Rough Riders."

——— ———, *Howell County Gazette*

May 6. Sketch of the life of Capt. John Brinegar, Union veteran.

June 24. Richest copper mine opened up; with historical sketch of mine in Shannon county, Slater Mine, or "La Belle France."

Jackson County. Kansas City, *Post*

Jan. 8. Liberty man came to Kansas City when site was only a big grazing pasture. Recollections of early days in Kansas City by C. O. Peters.

Feb. 15. Father Dalton watched Kansas City grow. Notes on early days in the city.

Mar. 21. Life of Champ Clark shows destiny is what we make it. The story of the rise of Missouri's famous representative in Congress.

——— ———, *Star*

Feb. 11. Fate of Mexico once within Missourian's grasp. An incident of Shelby's expedition to Mexico, reprinted from the history of the expedition by Major John N. Edwards.

Feb. 12. Fought fires with Lincoln in Springfield 65 years ago. Recollections of R. C. McQuesten of Ottawa, Kansas, only survivor of a glee club that accompanied Lincoln in his famous debates with Douglas.

Mar. 7. A bet and a bullet. An episode in the life of Lucien B. Maxwell, a hero of the old southwest.

Mar. 12. When stage coaches rumbled through the blue grass. Anecdotes of drivers and famous travelers on the "National Road." Reprinted from the Louisville *Courier-Journal.*

Mar. 28. Old Independence jail figured in romance, war and tragedy. Stories of Jackson county jail.

Apr. 2. Champ Clark's book, by and of himself. A review of "My Quarter Century of American Politics," by Champ Clark.

Apr. 5. The buried treasure of a pioneer priest. A story of the days of Price's raid. By Rev. Wm. J. Dalton.

May 16. Missouri's caves both amaze and puzzle scientists; with some description.

——— ———, *Times*

Feb. 12. History in an old ledger Account book pages tell of early days in Westport.

Feb. 13. "Osage War," a bloodless page of border history. Story of conflict of 1837.

Feb. 21. Daybooks tell a story. Glimpses of old Westport of 1821, from two old daybooks held by Missouri Valley Historical Society.

Apr. 1. To celebrate discovery of Mark Twain's cave; with some history.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press*

Jan. 8. Electric line history. Some facts about Carthage-Carterville road, established in 1895.

Jan. 29. Some early-day laws. A few laws passed by 12th General Assembly of Missouri in 1843.

———— Joplin, *News-Herald*

Feb. 8. "High financing" build Jasper county's first railroad in 1873.

Mar. 7. Early days in Joplin saw many good mines opened. Short sketch of mines and miners in Joplin district.

May 16. Special Ozark Playgrounds number; with considerable description of Ozark region of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas.

———— ————, *Globe*

Mar. 7. Sketch of the life of A. H. Rogers, president of the Globe Publishing Company.

Mar. 28. First postoffice still standing. Some Joplin postoffice history.

Johnson County. Holden, *Progress*

Mar. 18. In the dark days of the '60's. Sidelights on the Civil War in Missouri.

———— Warrensburg, *Standard-Herald*

Mar. 19. History of Johnson county. By Eunice Knight.

Lafayette County. Higginsville, *Advance*

Jan. 30. Sketch of the life of James E. Gladish, Union veteran.

———— Lexington, *News*

Apr. 29. Missouri as a state. A short historical sketch, by Lucile Gibson Little.

———— Odessa, *Democrat*

Mar. 19. Sketch of the life of Alexander Patterson, Confederate veteran.

Sketch of the life of A. E. Adair, pioneer citizen.

———— ————, *Missouri Ledger*

Jan. 16. College property sold; with historical sketch of school built in 1882. Continued in issues of January 23rd and February 6th.

Lewis County. LaGrange, *Indicator*

Jan. 8. When the city of LaGrange advertised its advantages. Resume of a municipal booklet of 1872.

June 24. Lewis County—Bits of its early history.

———— LaBelle, *Star*

Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of Harry Martin Brosius, founder of Deer Ridge.

Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat*

May 28. The prohibition movement. A short history of the movement in Missouri.

———— Troy, *Free Press*

Apr. 9. Odd religious experience. The Jerks in Missouri and their revivals of religion 100 years ago. Reprinted from the Bowling Green *Times*.

Linn County. Linneus, *Bulletin.*
Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of Thomas Benton Bowyer, the first white man born in Linn county. See also the *Linn County News* for January 9th.
Feb. 12. Sketch of the life of A. W. Mullins, Union veteran and former county and State official. See also the *Linn County News* for February 10th.

———————— Marceline, *Herald*
Jan. 23. Sketch of the life of Morton G. Kendrick, Union veteran and pioneer citizen.

Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Weekly Constitution*
Jan. 8. Memories of old Spring Hill, Missouri; by Douglas Stewart.
Feb. 5. Chillicothe of 50 years ago; by George B. Munson.

Miller County. Eldon, *Advertiser*
Jan. 15. Good old days in Miller county. Recollections of Mrs. Wm. McClure.

Mississippi County. Charleston, *Enterprise-Courier*
Jan. 1. Sketch of the life of William Hunter, former State Senator.

Moniteau County. Tipton, *Times*
Apr. 9. The early history of Tipton; by Miss Mina Schricker.

Monroe County. Paris, *Mercury*
Jan. 2. The old story retold. A tragedy of northeast Missouri of 1828. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star.*

———————— ————————, *Monroe County Appeal*
June 18. A short history of Monroe county, by Miss Mattie Bess Sherman. Continued in issue of June 25th.

Montgomery County. Jonesburg, *Journal*
Mar. 4. Sketch of the life of H. W. Johnson, former circuit judge and State legislator. See also the Louisiana *Journal* for March 4th and the Montgomery City *Standard* for March 5th.

———————— Montgomery City, *Standard*
May 7. Forty years ago. Reminiscences of Montgomery City and the *Standard.*

Morgan County. Versailles, *Statesman*
Mar. 4. John Hannay's letter. Gives considerable newspaper history of Morgan county. Random notes of 60, 70 and 80 years ago.

———————— ————————, *Leader*
May 21. Noted Missourians. A sketch of Thomas H. Benton, by David W. Eaton.

New Madrid County. New Madrid, *Record*
Apr. 16. Sketch of the life of Henry C. Riley, former county official and circuit judge.

Newton County. Neosho, *Times*
Mar. 11. The days when things were cheap. Prices of the '40's.

Oregon County. Alton, *South Missourian-Democrat*
Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of Thomas J. Braswell, former county official and State legislator.

Pike Counsy. Bowling Green, *Times.*
Feb. 19. History column: Ralls and Pike. Some notes concerning formation of those two counties.
Feb. 26. How Bowling Green got its name.
Mar. 25. Missouri revivals of religion one hundred years ago.
Apr. 29. Random sketches of early days in Pike county and Missouri. Continued in issues of May 6, 13, 20, 27 and June 24.
June 3. Sketch of the life of T. B. Morris, former publisher of Bowling Green *Times* and Hannibal *Courier-Post.*

——————— Louisiana, *Weekly Journal*
Jan. 1. Masonic history. An incident of 1849 in Louisiana.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Herald*
Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of Capt. J. J. Akard, Union veteran.

——————— Fair Play, *Advocate*
Feb. 5. Fifty years in business. Sketch of the business career of C. W. Paynter.

Putnam County. Unionville, *Republican*
Mar. 10. Sketch of the life of L. P. Davis, Union veteran.
Apr. 28. A war letter of '63. Written during the campaign with General Grant around Vicksburg in 1863.

Ray County. Lawson, *Review*
Feb. 12. Early history of Lawson, by Roy Berten.
Mar. 4. History of Union.

——————— Richmond, *Missourian*
Mar. 11. Ray county had Confederate Congressman. Sketch of Aaron H. Conrow, who represented Fourth Missouri District in Confederate Congress.
June 3. Reminiscences of Lisbonville (Baptist) Church, by Rev. C. F. D. Arnold. Continued in issue of June 10th.

——————— ———————, *Conservator*
Apr. 1. History of Union church. Reprinted from the Lawson *Review.*

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Banner-News*
Feb. 19. Sketch of the life of Joseph H. Pereau, pioneer citizen, founder of St. Charles *News.*

St. Francois County. Farmington, *News*
Mar. 19. Sketch of the life of Thomas Harvey Haile, pioneer citizen, on the occasion of his 100th birthday.

——————— ———————, *Times*
Mar. 12. Brief history of Farmington.
Apr. 9. An interesting bit of Southeast Missouri history. Some facts about early settlers.

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat*

Apr. 19. Sketch of the life of E. C. Simmons, pioneer hardware manufacturer.

May 16. The St. Louis University family album. Some historical facts concerning school.

——————— *Post-Dispatch*

Jan. 4. My 112 years of life. Interesting reminiscences by a former Missouri slave.

Jan. 16. Sketch of the life of James Gurney, superintendent of Tower Grove Park, St. Louis.

Feb. 22. Story of the era of "The Great St. Louis Illusion," vividly told by Dr. Snider in new book. The story of St. Louis' dream of becoming the chief city of the United States.

Feb. 29. Sketch of the career of James E. Taussig, president of the Wabash Railroad.

Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Clark, former judge of the court of criminal correction in St. Louis.

Mar. 7. First Missouri Compromise which marked the high tide of slavery adopted 100 years ago yesterday. By E. M. Violette. History of the Missouri enabling act.

Apr. 11. Missouri's century of statehood celebrated in masque and pageant. Account of pageant presented at Columbia March 25, 1920.

By wagon train from St. Louis to El Paso in 1865. From a diary of F. R. Diffenderffer. Continued in issues of April 18, 25, May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, June 6 and 13.

Apr. 18. Science revealing records of strange, prehistoric race which dwelt ages ago in Missouri caves.

May 16. Looking back 102 years, when St. Louis was just a modest dwelling at Third and Market.

May 21. Sketch of the life of Chas. P. Johnson, former Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri. See also St. Louis *Star* for May 21st.

May 23. Eads, the builder, whom St. Louis has almost forgotten. Sketch of famous engineer, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his birth.

May 29. Sketch of the life of John Scullin, pioneer railroad builder.

May 30. Filley sketches early history of bank's new site. Some history of the southwest corner of Seventh and Locust streets in St. Louis.

June 13. It was different when Lincoln got his nomination. Story of convention news of 1860.

June 24. Sketch of the life of August H. Bolte, Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri from 1896 to 1900.

——————— *Star*

May 24. Lawyer, on 82nd birthday, recalls gold rush days. Reminiscences of H. A. Haeussler.

St. Louis County. Carondelet, *News*

Apr. 2. Comment and chroniclings of the Carondelet of years ago. See preceding and succeeding issues.

Scotland County. Memphis, *Democrat*

Jan. 1. Sketch of the life of Lee P. Roberts, editor of the *Democrat*.

June 3. Reminiscences of Memphis; by A. P. Patterson.

Scott County. Sikeston, *Standard*
Mar. 2. Biographical sketch of Thomas Hart Benton.

Shelby County. Shelbina, *Democrat*
Jan. 21. Mercedes. A description of pioneer life told in story form by L. Jewett. Continued in issue of January 28th.

Stone County. Crane, *Chronicle*
Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of C. B. Swift, State legislator.

Taney County. Forsyth, *Taney County Republican*
Mar. 11. Sketch of the life of James R. Vanzandt, former State representative and veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars (Union).

Texas County. Houston, *Herald*
Apr. 29. Looking backward. Recollections of early school days in Texas county, by Prof. J. W. Atkisson. Continued in issues of May 13, 20 and June 3, 10 and 24.

Vernon County. Nevada, *Southwest Mail*
June 25. History of Vernon county's first schools, by Mrs. E. W. Jones.

Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner*
Jan. 9. Visiting the old home. Random reminiscences of yesterday, from "Memories of the Past," by William Dyer. Continued under various headings in issues of January 16, 23, 30, February 6, 20, 27, March 5, 12 and 19.

Worth County. Grant City, *Star*
Apr. 21. Sketch of the life of John Costin, pioneer citizen and former county official. See also *Worth County Times* for April 22nd.

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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Wiley Britton, author, public official, and Civil War veteran, is a native Missourian. Born in Newton county in 1842, he has spent much of his life in western and southwestern Missouri. From 1871 to 1905 he was special agent of the War Department and later special examiner of the Bureau of Pensions in investigating war claims in Missouri, where he examined fifteen thousand witnesses. Mr. Britton is the author of several valuable works on the Civil War among which are the *Civil War on the Border* (2 vols.) and *Memoirs of the Rebellion, 1863*.

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CONSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS IN MISSOURI*

BY ISIDOR LOEB.

Missouri has had five Constitutional Conventions but only three Constitutions have existed in the history of the State. The first of these was adopted by the Convention of 1820 and continued to operate until 1865. In 1845 a Constitutional Convention submitted a Constitution which was rejected by the voters. In 1861 a Convention was called for the primary purpose of determining the attitude of Missouri regarding the Union. After deciding by a practically unanimous vote against secession, the Convention adjourned instead of disbanding. It held four other sessions during 1861 and the two succeeding years and practically carried on a provisional government. While it adopted a number of constitutional amendments, the Convention did not undertake to make any general revision of the fundamental law of the State. In 1864 the voters approved the plan of calling a Constitutional Convention, which met in 1865 and drafted a Constitution which was adopted by the voters. This Constitution remained in effect until it was superseded by the present Constitution which was adopted in 1875.

While this article is primarily concerned with the Constitutional Convention of 1875 and the conditions which influenced its action, it will be desirable to consider briefly the preceding Constitutional Conventions which drafted Constitutions and to point out some of the more important features of these instruments. Many provisions of the existing Constitution had their origin in the earlier documents.

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CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1820.

Missouri's admission into the Union was delayed by the contest over the question of slavery extension, but finally an Act of Congress approved March 6, 1820, authorized a Convention for the purpose of forming a Constitution and State government. This Convention, which consisted of forty-one delegates chosen from the fifteen counties in accordance with the apportionment prescribed in the congressional act, met in St. Louis on June 12, 1820, and completed its work in a little more than five weeks, adjourning on July 19th. The Constitution was adopted by a vote of forty to one. The Act of Congress did not require the submission of the Constitution to the voters and the Convention assumed that its adoption of the Constitution marked the establishment of the new State.[1] It made provision for an election for State officers to be held on August 28, 1820, and for the inauguration of the new government on September 18, 1820.[2]

While the machinery of State government was put into operation as provided by the Constitution, the State's Senators and Representatives in Congress were not permitted to take their seats because of objection to a clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article which required the Legislature to pass laws to prevent free negroes from coming into the State. After a contest extending over a period of three months, the controversy was settled by the Second Missouri Compromise on March 2, 1821. This resolution of Congress required the passage of a "solemn public act" by the Missouri Legislature agreeing that the clause in dispute should never be made the basis of any law by which any citizen of any state shall be excluded from any privileges to which he is entitled under the Constitution of the United States. The General Assembly of Missouri passed this act which was approved by the Governor on June 26, 1821. A copy of the act was sent to President Monroe and thereupon in pursuance of the congressional resolution the latter on

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[1] Constitution, 1820, Schedule, Sec. 1.

[2] Ibid., Sec. 9, 10.

August 10, 1821, issued his proclamation setting forth the facts and stating that "the admission of the said State of Missouri into this Union is declared to be complete."

The Constitution of 1820 consisted of thirteen articles dealing with the boundaries, distribution of powers, legislative power, executive power, judicial power, education, internal improvement, banks, militia, miscellaneous provisions, permanent seat of government, mode of amending the Constitution and declaration of rights, in addition to a schedule containing temporary provisions for facilitating the transfer from Territorial to State government. The articles relating to education and internal improvement were brief and largely confined to a mandate for the encouragement of such matters by the Legislature. The article dealing with banks restricted the Legislature to the incorporation of one bank with not exceeding five branches and a maximum capital stock of five millions of dollars of which at least one-half must be reserved for the State. The militia article was likewise brief, providing merely the manner of choosing officers, while the provisions regarding the permanent seat of government left the General Assembly chief power of determining this question.

The legislative article was largely confined to provisions regulating composition, organization and procedure. The bicameral system was established and the principle of apportionment according to free white male population was adopted for each house, except that each county was to have at least one member in the House of Representatives. The membership of this House was not to exceed one hundred while that of the Senate was not to be less than fourteen nor more than thirty-three. Only a few sections contained positive restrictions upon legislative power and these related almost exclusively to some feature of the institution of slavery.[3] While the declaration of rights contained the usual limitations upon civil and criminal procedure, the Constitution did not contain the numerous restrictions upon legislative power which have appeared in the later documents. As a result the Constitution of 1820 was a relatively brief instrument, containing not exceeding 10,000 words.

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[3] Constitution, 1820, Art. III, Sec. 26-28.

In addition to the Legislature the Constitution provided for the Executive and Judicial Departments which, in accordance with the principle of distribution of powers set forth in Article II, were to be distinct from and independent of each other as well as of the Legislative Department. The Constitution was one of the earliest to provide a four-year term for the Governor, who, however, was made ineligible to succeed himself. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were the only executive officials chosen by popular election. All of the other officials of the Executive Department provided for by the Constitution were appointed by the Governor, except the treasurer, who was chosen by a joint session of the two houses of the Legislature.[4] The Governor likewise appointed all judges, who held office during good behavior, but his appointment of these and of the principal executive officers required the consent of the Senate.[5] The Governor was also given a limited veto power but this could be overcome by an absolute majority in each house of the General Assembly.[6]

Suffrage and elections were not as yet considered of sufficient importance to deserve a separate article. Universal suffrage was provided for all free white adult male citizens of the United States, except members of the regular army or navy of the United States,[7] but occasion for the exercise of this suffrage was limited. The only elective State officials were members of the Legislature and the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. The whole field of local government was left to legislative regulation, except that the Constitution provided for a sheriff and coroner in each county and these were to be chosen by popular election until otherwise provided by the General Assembly.[8]

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[4] Constitution, 1820, Art. III, Sec. 31; Art. IV, Sec. 12, 21; Art. V., Sec. 18; Art. IX, Sec. 3.

[5] Constitution, 1820, Art. V. Sec. 13.

[6] Constitution, 1820, Art. IV, Sec. 10, 11.

[7] Constitution, 1820, Art. III, Sec. 10.

Even in the matter of amending the Constitution there was no provision for popular referendum, amendments being proposed by a two-thirds vote of each house of the Legislature and requiring for ratification a similar vote at the first session of the next succeeding General Assembly. No provision was made for a general revision of the Constitution.[9]

The Constitution of 1820 was typical of the period of its creation, occupying a somewhat advanced position in the matter of long terms for members of the Legislature (two and four years) and executive officials (four years, except Treasurer, two years) and of biennial instead of annual elections and sessions of the Legislature. The democratic movement had barely commenced and it did not appreciably affect the Constitution. The chief influence came, naturally from existing state constitutions and of these the most influential were those of Alabama (1819), Illinois (1818), Kentucky (1799), and Maine (1819), all of these except one falling in the group of most recently adopted constitutions.[10]

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1845.

Before the meeting of the Constitutional Convention of 1845, two series of amendments to the Constitution of 1820 had been adopted by the Legislature. The first group originally included ten sections proposed in less than one year after the adoption of the Constitution and seven of the sections were ratified in 1822.[11] Most of the amendments were intended to change those sections of the Constitution which provided a minimum salary of $2,000 for the Governor, Chancellor and Judges of the Supreme and circuit courts. These sections had been the subject of repeated opposition in the Constitutional Convention.[12] As amended the Legislature was left free to fix the compensation of these officials. Other amendments abolished the office of Chancellor but left the General Assembly power to establish a court or courts of chancery. United States officials who were already ineligible to election as members of the General Assembly[13] were by one of these amendments disqualified to hold any office of profit under the State of Missouri.

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[8] Constitution, 1820, Art. IV, Sec. 23.

[9] Constitution, 1820, Art. XII,

[10] Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, p. 250.

[11] Revised Statutes, 1825, Vol. I, pp. 65-67.

[12] Journal, Convention 1820, pp. 20, 21, 23, 24, 40.

The amendments as originally proposed by the Legislature in 1821 included sections transferring the power of appointing judges and the Auditor, Secretary of State and Attorney-General from the Governor to houses of the Legislature in joint session,[14] but these failed of ratification by the subsequent General Assembly. Notwithstanding this fact, one of the amendments proposed in 1821, which provided that the offices of the judges of the Supreme and circuit courts should expire at the end of the first session of the next General Assembly or as soon as their successors should be elected and qualified, was ratified in 1822.

The second group of amendments as proposed in 1833 was chiefly concerned with changes in the tenure and terms of judges and clerks of courts.[15] It was proposed to take the power of appointment from the Governor and, in the case of the clerks, from the courts, and to abolish the provision under which all of such officials held office during good behavior. The Supreme Court Judges were to be elected by a joint session of the General Assembly while the circuit judges and the clerks of the county and circuit courts were to be elected by the voters of the circuits and counties respectively. All of these officials were to hold office for terms of six years. The offices of existing judges and clerks were to be vacated and provision was made for the election of their successors. When these amendments were submitted to the Eighth General Assembly, all were rejected except those relating to clerks of the county and circuit courts and the vacation of the offices of existing circuit judges.[16] It was contended by a circuit judge that inasmuch as the section for vacating the offices of circuit judges had been proposed in connection with the one providing a different term for circuit judges, the failure of the Legislature to ratify the latter made the former of no effect, notwithstanding its ratification. The Supreme Court held however the section providing for the vacation of the offices of circuit judges was an independent amendment and could stand alone.[17]

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[13] Constitution, 1820, Art. III, Sec. II.

[14] Laws, 1821, p. 38.

[15] Laws of Missouri, 1832-33, pp. 3, 4.

The failure of the attempt to introduce the elective principle and the limited term in the cases of judicial officers was partly responsible for the movement for a constitutional revision which commenced about this time. The population of the State which was only 66,586 in 1820 had increased to 383,702 in 1840 and by 1845 probably amounted to 500,000. It was naturally felt that the quarter century had introduced changes which made a revision desirable. The campaign received legislative approval in 1843.[18] In default of any definite provision in the Constitution of 1820 regarding general revision, the Legislature, in accordance with the prevailing constitutional principle, provided for a Constitutional Convention subject to the approval of the voters. This approval was given in 1844 by an overwhelming majority.[19] The act of 1843 provided that the Convention should consist of delegates chosen from the senatorial districts, each district electing twice as many delegates as the number of senators to which it was entitled. In August, 1845, sixty-six delegates were elected from the twenty-eight districts and the Convention met in Jefferson City on November 17, 1845.[20] The Convention was in session for nearly two months, adjourning on January 14, 1846. In contrast with the practical unanimity with which the Constitution of 1820 was adopted, the vote in the Convention of 1845 was forty-nine to thirteen. The negative vote foreshadowed opposition when, as provided in the Constitution, it was submitted to the voters in August, 1846. The Constitution was rejected by a majority of over 9,000 in a total vote of 60,000.[21] Notwithstanding the defeat of the Constitution it will be desirable in this sketch of constitutional evolution to consider some of the more important features which distinguished it from the Constitution of 1820.

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[16] Revised Statutes, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 34, 35. Amendments which had been proposed in 1833 for changes in the northwestern and northeastern boundaries of the State were ratified in 1834.

[17] State v. McBride, 4 Mo. 303.

[18] Laws, 1842-3, pp. 26-28.

[19] Revised Statutes, 1845, p. 54 note. In 1835 a similar proposition had been rejected. Ter. Laws, Vol. II, pp. 433-435.

[20] Official Manual, 1915-16, p. 164.

While the new document was somewhat larger in size, there did not yet appear those numerous provisions regulating and restricting the Legislature in detail. Significant, however, were the provisions restricting legislative power in incurring State debts, creating banks, lotteries and other corporations, granting divorces, regulating duels and passing private and local bills.[22] The growing lack of confidence in the Legislature is also manifested in the provisions that no session shall continue longer than sixty days,[23] and in the requirement of a popular referendum upon constitutional amendments which could be proposed every four years by an absolute majority in each house of the Legislature.[24] The most important changes proposed, however, were those regarding the basis of representation in the House of Representatives and the tenure and term of judges.

It will be recalled that under the Constitution of 1820 each county was entitled to at least one Representative and the total number of Representatives could not exceed one hundred.[25] In 1845 there were ninety-six counties in Missouri and it was quite clear that additional counties would be created in the near future. Under these conditions, it was evident that the rule of apportionment according to white male population could not be carried out and that the counties with large population would have no more representation than the smallest counties. On the other hand after the number of counties reached one hundred, no new counties could be created without violating the above constitutional rule. In the Convention there was a contest between those who favored the plan of giving each county at least one Representative and those who advocated the establishment of a ratio and the refusal of representation to counties having less than this ratio. A compromise was effected and a ratio secured by dividing the total number of free white inhabitants by one hundred. Counties were given representatives according to their ratios as follows:

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Constitution, 1845, Art. III, Secs. 31, 32, 34, 38, 39; Art. VIII.

[23] Ibid., Art. III, Sec. 24.

[24] Ibid., Art. X.

[25] Constitution, 1820, Art. III, Sec. 2.

For three-fifths ratio, one representative; for one and two-thirds ratios, two representatives; for two and two-thirds ratios, three representatives; for four ratios, four representatives and so on above that number giving one additional member for each additional ratio. Counties containing less than three-fifths ratio which were contiguous to each other were to be joined into districts containing two-thirds ratio and given one member, but a county having less than three-fifths ratio which was not contiguous to another similar county was to be given one member.[26] While this provision did not go into effect, it was of some influence in determining the basis of representation adopted by constitutional amendment in 1849.[27]

On the question of the tenure and term of judges a compromise was also made. Supreme Court Judges continued to be appointed by the Governor while circuit judges were to be elected by the voters of the circuit. The terms of office were twelve and six years respectively.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, 1849-1865.

The rejection of the draft Constitution in August, 1846, was followed by numerous proposals for the amendment of the Constitution. As it required the joint action of two Legislatures to ratify, the first actual changes in the Constitution were not made until the session of 1848-49. Each succeeding General Assembly down to the Civil War ratified one or more constitutional amendments. The two most important changes proposed by the Constitution of 1845 were carried into effect in modified form by amendments ratified in 1849. As regards the judiciary, the appointive principle was retained for circuit as well as Supreme judges but the terms were changed to eight and twelve years respectively.[28] At the same session, however, an amendment was proposed which being ratified by the Legislature at its session in 1850-51, established the elective principle for both sets of judges and a uniform term of six years.[29] At the same time amendments were ratified which, by introducing elective tenure in the offices of Secretary of State, Attorney-General, Auditor, Treasurer and Registrar of Lands, led to the introduction of the long ballot in Missouri State elections.[30]

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[26] Constitution, 1845, Art. III, Sec. 2.

[27] Laws, 1848-49, p. 6.

The contest over the basis of representation in the House of Representatives was also settled by an amendment adopted in 1849.[31] While the plan of establishing a ratio introduced in the Constitution of 1845, was adopted, the divisor used in determining the ratio was one hundred and forty instead of one hundred. The smaller counties achieved a victory in the provision that a county with less than the ratio was nevertheless entitled to one Representative. Finally, there was now evidenced the desire to discriminate against the more populous counties by increasing progressively the number of ratios required for each additional Representative above two. Thus, for example, while a county with one and three-fourth ratios was entitled to two Representatives it was necessary to have three ratios for three Representatives; four and one-half for four Representatives; thirteen for eight Representatives, and twenty-four for twelve Representatives. The plan adopted, it is true, gave the more populous counties more representation than the previously existing system which, under the constitutional provision restricting the number of Representatives to one hundred, practically gave each county only one Representative. It was, however, much less in accord with the principle of popular representation than the provision of the constitution of 1845 and it foreshadowed further discrimination in the future against the large centers of population.

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[28] Laws, 1848-49, p. 8.

[29] Laws, 1850-51, pp. 45, 50.

[30] Ibid., pp. 47, 48.

[31] Laws, 1848-49, p. 6.

The same amendment which fixed the basis of representation restricted the Legislature's power to reduce the size of existing counties or to create new counties with less than five hundred square miles or to give separate representation to any new county unless the latter contained, when established, free white inhabitants equal to three-fourths of the ratio of representation. It also settled the question of limiting the legislative session by fixing the existing compensation of members of three dollars a day as the maximum for sixty days after which time they were to receive not exceeding one dollar per day except at a revising session when the higher amount could be received for one hundred days. While this provision was abolished by subsequent amendment in 1857.[32] it furnished the model upon which similar provisions in the Constitution of 1875 were based.

The limitation upon legislative power to grant divorces which had been incorporated in the Constitution of 1845,[33] was finally secured through the ratification of an amendment in 1853.[34] In 1857 the article on banks was changed so as to give the Legislature power to charter not exceeding ten banks with an aggregate capital not in excess of twenty millions of dollars.[35] Two years later, the Legislature was forbidden to incur any State debt or liability in excess of thirty millions of dollars, except in case of war.[36] The Constitution of 1845 contained a provision prohibiting the Legislature from creating any State debt to exceed at any time twenty-five thousand dollars, without the consent of a majority of the voters.[37] In support of this provision the president of the Constitutional Convention of 1845 pointed out the danger that the Legislature, if not restricted, would incur huge debts to aid in the building of railroads.[38] His words were prophetic as in 1859, when the above amendment was passed, the amount of State credit loaned to railroads aggregated approximately twenty-five million dollars.[39]

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[32] Laws, 1856-57, p. 5.

[33] Art. III, Sec. 32.

[34] Laws, 1852-53, p. 3.

[35] Laws, 1856-57, p. 6.

[36] Laws, 1858-59, p. 3.

The last amendment to the Constitution of 1820, adopted by the Legislature in 1861,[40] like one adopted in 1855,[41] was intended to validate the creation of a county smaller in area or population than permitted by the amendment dealing with the basis of representation which was adopted in 1849.[42]

CONVENTION OF 1861-63.

It has been pointed out[43] that the Convention called in 1861 was not chosen for the purpose of modifying the Constitution of the State. In its second and subsequent sessions, however, this Convention found it necessary at times to carry on a provisional government and it assumed the authority to amend the Constitution from time to time. An ordinance of July 30, 1861, vacated the offices of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State and members of the Legislature and provided for the choice of their successors.[44] On October 12, 1861, the Convention provided for the abolition of certain offices, the reduction of salaries of others and a test oath for all civil officials.[45]

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[37] Art. III, Sec. 31.

[38] R. W. Wells. A Review of the New Constitution of the State of Missouri, p. 9. Pamphlet bound with Journal of Constitution Convention of 1845, in Library of State Historical Society of Missouri.

[39] Report of Auditor of Public Accounts Appendix, Journals of the twentieth General Assembly, pp. 52, 53.

[40] Laws, 1860-61, p. 4.

[41] Laws, 1854-55, p. 4.

[42] Laws, 1848-49, p. 6.

[43] Ante, p. 189.

[44] Appendix, Journal of Convention, June, 1862, p. 3.

[45] Ibid., p. 5.

This was followed in June, 1862, by an ordinance prescribing test oaths for all voters, officials, jurymen, attorneys, teachers, preachers, and officials of corporations.[46] At the same session it changed the constitutional date for general elections from August to November,[47] and at its last session in 1863 passed a similar ordinance regarding the date for electing judges.[48] Finally, at its last session, the Convention passed an ordinance abolishing those provisions of the Constitution which restricted the Legislature's power over slavery and providing a plan for the gradual emancipation of slaves in Missouri.[49]

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1865.

Gradual emancipation was no longer acceptable and the demand arose for a new Constitutional Convention. This resulted in 1864 in the passage of an act providing for the submission of the question to the voters at the November election,[50] when the proposition carried by a large majority. As was true of the Convention of 1845, each senatorial district was entitled to twice as many delegates as it had senators. At this time there were twenty-nine districts each electing two delegates except the twenty-ninth (St. Louis county) which elected ten delegates. In accordance with the act of 1864, the delegates were chosen at the November election, when the question was submitted to the voters, and the Convention met at St. Louis on January 6, 1865.[51] The Convention was in session three months, adjourning on April 10, 1865. The Constitution was adopted by a vote of thirty-eight to thirteen and ratified on June 6, 1865, by the small majority of 1,862 in a total vote of 85,478.[52]

The Constitutional Convention act provided that the Convention should consider first, amendments necessary for the emancipation of slaves and, second, those necessary to restrict suffrage to loyal citizens and such other amendments essential to the public good.[53]

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[46] Ibid., p. 13.

[47] Ibid., p. 21.

[48] Appendix, Journal of Convention, June, 1863, p. 3.

[49] Ibid., p. 4.

[50] Laws, 1863-64, pp. 24-26.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Journal, Convention, 1865, p. 280.

While the Convention decided to make a general revision of the Constitution, its decisions on the two enumerated matters were of greatest importance. The question of slavery was disposed of on the fifth day when an ordinance decreeing immediate and unconditional emancipation was passed by a vote of sixty to four.[54] The substance of this ordinance became section two of Article I of the new Constitution.

The suffrage question was of so much importance that the entire Article II was devoted to it. The general qualifications were substantially the same as in the Constitution of 1820 with two exceptions. An alien who had declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States not less than one year nor more than five years and who was otherwise qualified, could vote.[55] After January 1, 1876, all persons not qualified voters before that date must be able to read and write in order to vote, unless the inability was the result of physical disability.[56] Negro suffrage was not established by the Constitution but in 1867 the Legislature submitted an amendment for this purpose,[57] which was rejected by the voters of 1868. Two years later a similar provision was combined with an abrogation of the "iron-clad oath" and other objectionable sections of the Constitution of 1865[58] and ratified later in the year by the voters.[59]

In the matter of disqualifications for voting, however, important changes were introduced. These made the Constitution of 1865 notorious and unpopular, and were the chief factors contributing to its revision. The disqualifications for voting, office holding and the practice of professions which had been introduced by the Convention during the war were continued and made much harsher and more sweeping, with the effect that practically all who had in any way sympathized with the South were disqualified.[60] In order to enforce these restrictions, all persons affected were required to take an oath whose character is shown in the name "iron-clad oath" which came to be applied to it.[61] As regards the suffrage the restrictions were made more severe by the requirement for the registration of all voters under which the taking of the oath was a prerequisite to registration and voting, but not conclusive of the right to be registered or to vote which was finally passed upon by officials of registration.[62] The great opposition to these provisions is shown by the fact that though the Convention provided[63] that no one should vote on the ratification of the Constitution without taking the test oath there was only a very small majority in its favor.[64] The opposition continued and increased after the Constitution went into effect. The Legislature by an absolute majority in each house could suspend or repeal the disqualification of voters after January 1, 1871, and the disqualification in other cases after January 1, 1875.[65] Public opinion, however, was not willing to wait. In 1866 the United States Supreme Court declared the disqualifications for the practice of professions unconstitutional,[66] and in 1870 the Legislature proposed a series of amendments abrogating the remaining disqualifications and the test oath.[67] These were ratified at the November election by an overwhelming majority. Finally, an amendment proposed in 1873[68] and ratified the following year, abolished the section requiring general registration of voters, and substituted a provision giving the Legislature authority to provide for registration in cities with more than ten thousand inhabitants.

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[53] Laws, 1863-4, p. 25.

[54] Journal, Convention of 1865, pp. 25-27.

[55] Constitution, 1865, Art. II, Sec. 18.

[56] Ibid., Sec. 19.

[57] Laws, 1867, p. 12.

[58] Laws, 1870, p. 503.

[59] See below, p. 203.

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[60] Constitution, 1865, Art. II, Sec. 3.
[61] Ibid., Secs. 5-14.
[62] Ibid., Sec. 5.
[63] Constitution, 1865, Art. XIII, Sec. 6.
[64] Ante, p. 201.
[65] Constitution, 1865, Art. II, Sec. 25.
[66] Cummings v. Missouri, 4 Wall. 277.
[67] Laws, 1870, pp. 502-504.
[68] Laws, 1873, p. 401.

The Constitution of 1865 omitted the articles in the Constitution of 1820 dealing with boundaries, internal improvement and permanent seat of government but added separate articles dealing with suffrage and impeachments. While it had one less article it had increased in size about fifty per cent and contained a total of about 15,000 words. About one-half of this increase was due to the suffrage article. The articles dealing with declarations of rights, banks and corporations, education, miscellaneous provisions and mode of amending the Constitution were also somewhat expanded, the latter article now including specific provision for a Constitutional Convention[69] and changing the process of amendment to the popular referendum proposed by the Constitution of 1845[70] except that the Legislature was unrestricted as to time in the proposal of amendments, and ratification now required only a majority of the votes cast on the amendments instead of a majority of the votes at the election.[71] This was an early recognition of one of the chief defects of popular referendum—the failure of the voters to cast a vote either yes or no on the proposition.

While the expansion of the Constitution was not as yet due to the inclusion of numerous positive restrictions upon the Legislature, some of these appear at this time. The power of special legislation had been abused[72] and the Legislature was expressly forbidden to enact special laws in thirteen classes of cases.[73] Moreover, it was not to pass any special law for any case in which a general law could be made applicable.[74] However, as the Supreme Court held that the question of applicability was left to the decision of the Legislature[75] the latter did not constitute an effective limitation. While the provision limiting the amount of the State debt which was adopted in 1859[76] was not included, it was provided that the credit of the State should not be given or loaned in aid of any person or corporation and that this should not be done in the case of any county or local subdivision without the consent of two-thirds of the voters of such subdivision.[77] There was also apparent a tendency to introduce additional restrictions upon legislative procedure and at this time was established the provision that for the passage of bills an absolute majority with the yeas and nays entered upon the journal should be required.[78]

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[69] Constitution, 1865, Art. XII, Sec. 3.

[70] Ante, p. 196.

[71] Constitution, 1865, Art. XII, Sec. 2.

[72] See table in Harper, Local and Special Legislation in Missouri, Manuscript in Library of University of Missouri.

[73] Constitution of 1865, Art. IV, Sec. 27, Art. VIII, Secs. 4, 5.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Henderson v. County Court of Boone County, 50 Mo. 317.

In the House of Representatives the basis of representation was determined according to the general plan adopted in 1849.[79] The divisor, however, was two hundred instead of one hundred and forty, resulting in a relatively smaller ratio and a larger House.[80] While this was advantageous to the larger counties it was offset by an increase in the number of ratios required for additional Representatives. While each county with one ratio or less to have one Representative, it took two additional ratios to secure a second Representative and for each additional Representative three ratios were required. This plan discriminated in favor of the smallest counties but operated proportionally among the larger counties, differing in this regard from the provisions of 1849 and the plan adopted in the Constitution of 1875. The single ticket plan of representation was introduced at this time, the county court being required to divide the county into as many compact and convenient districts as the number of representatives to which it is entitled, the districts to be as nearly as may be of equal population.[81] The same principle also was now established for the Senate which was to consist of thirty-four members each chosen for a separate district. The districts were to be fixed by the

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[76] Ante, p. 199.

[77] Constitution, 1865, Art. XI, Secs. 13, 14.

[78] Constitution, 1865, Art. IV, Sec. 24.

[79] Ante, p. 198.

[80] Constitution, 1865, Art. IV, Sec. 2.

[81] Ibid.

Legislature, except in counties entitled to more than one Senator, where they were to be determined by the county court as in the case of Representatives.[82]

The principle of popular election as it had been extended in 1851 was retained for officials of the Executive and Judicial Departments except that the office of Registrar of Lands was no longer mentioned.[83] The terms of the executive officials except the Superintendent of Schools were reduced from four to two years.[84] Provision was made for dividing the State outside of the county of St. Louis into not less than five districts, each to embrace at least three judicial circuits. The circuit judges in each district were to constitute a district court which was to be an intermediate court of appeal between the circuit and Supreme Court.[85] The judges of the circuit court of St. Louis county sitting as a court in banc constituted a similar court.[86] In 1870, however, the Legislature proposed an amendment abolishing the district courts[87] and this was ratified by the voters. Two years later an amendment[88] was ratified which increased the number of Supreme Court judges to five and their terms to ten years.

Leaving aside actions such as suffrage and slavery, which were the direct outgrowth of the war, the Constitution of 1865 did not constitute any radical departure from its predecessor, as the latter had been modified by amendments adopted from time to time as indicated above. While provisions were incorporated for the purpose of checking or preventing certain evils which had arisen, there is not manifest any striking tendency to place undue restrictions upon the Legislature.

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[82] Constitution, 1865, Art. 4, Secs. 4-6.

[83] Constitution, 1865, Art. V, Sec. 16; Art. VI, Sec. 7, 14.

[84] Ibid, Art. V, Sec. 3, 12, 16; Art. IX, Secs. 3. The treasurer has a two-year term under the Constitution of 1820, Art. III, Sec. 31.

[85] Ibid., Art. VI, Sec. 12.

[86] Ibid., Art. VI, Sec. 15.

[87] Laws, 1870, p. 500.

[88] Laws, 1871-72, Resolutions, p. 3.

CONSTUTITIONAL CONVENTION OF 1875.

While there is evidence that after the elimination of the "iron-clad oath" and its accompanying sections the people were fairly well satisfied with the Constitution of 1865, the overthrow of the radical Republicans in the election of 1870 made it inevitable that their chief work should be subjected to attack. In his inaugural message in 1871, Governor B. Gratz Brown advised the Legislature to consider the question of a Constitutional Convention.[89] Two years later, at the conclusion of his term, he renewed his recommendation in stronger words.[90] At the same time, the new Governor, Silas Woodson, a moderate Democrat who had been chosen as a compromise candidate, in his inaugural address, spoke at length upon the subject.[91] While recognizing that the Constitution still contained some objectionable provisions, he was unwilling to recommend a convention because of the expense and the danger that it would be a partisan body. He stated that both branches of the Republicans were opposed to revision and while some Democrats agreed with them he believed that Democrats only favored the proposition. Moreover, he believed that defects in the Constitution could be remedied by amendments proposed by the Legislature. Governor Woodson evidently became converted to the prevailing sentiment of his party as on March 25, 1874, he approved the "Act to authorize a vote of the people to be taken upon the question whether a convention shall be held for the purpose of revising and amending the Constitution of this State."[92] That he was right in his estimate of the opposition to the measure is shown by the fact that at the election the following November the proposition carried by a majority of only 283 in a total vote of 222,315.[93]

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[89] Senate Journal, 26th General Assembly, p. 33.
[90] Senate Journal, 27th General Assembly, p. 20.
[91] Ibid., pp. 64-66.
[92] Laws, 1874, p. 57.
[93] Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 113.

Under the provisions of the Constitution,[94] the Governor ordered an election to be held on January 26, 1875, at which two delegates were elected from each of the thirty-four senatorial districts. In accordance with the act of 1874,[95] the Convention met in the Capitol at Jefferson City on May 5, 1875. It was in session about one week less than the Convention of 1865, adjourning on August 2, 1875. The Constitution was adopted by the unanimous vote of the sixty members present and was later signed by all sixty-eight members. It was ratified at a special election on October 30, 1875, by the large majority of 76,688.[96] The total vote, 91,205, was only forty-one per cent of the vote cast the preceding November on the question of holding a Convention. The fact that the vote on the question of ratification was cast at a special election is probably the chief cause for the decrease. The large increase in the majority was doubtless due to popular approval of some of the changes proposed by the Constitutional Convention. Before adjourning the Convention unanimously adopted an address to the people containing a "brief statement of the more important changes proposed, with some of the advantages supposed to result from these changes."[97] While some of the benefits anticipated have not been realized, the statement is of much value as an expression of the opinion of those who were instrumental in drafting the new provisions.

The most obvious difference between the new Constitution and its predecessors is in its size, which showed an increase of nearly 200 per cent over the Constitution of 1820 and of 100 per cent over that of 1865. In seeking an explanation for this increase it is first to be noted that the Constitution of 1875 consisted of fifteen articles and a schedule. A brief article dealing with boundaries was restored and two new articles devoted to counties, cities and towns and to revenue and taxation were now added. These two articles account for about one-third of the increase over the Constitution of 1865. There was a considerable decrease in the size of the article dealing with suffrage and elections, which was more than offset by increases in the article dealing with the judiciary, education, corporations and militia. The greatest increase, however, is found in the article on the Legislative Department, which expanded more than 200 per cent. As the provisions in the articles on counties, cities and towns, revenue and taxation, and the other articles indicated above are in effect almost entirely limitations upon legislative power it may be concluded that the expansion in the size of the Constitution was due to a growing lack of confidence in the Legislature and to the desire of the people to regulate matters for themselves. Each of these causes would lead to the placing of restrictions upon the Legislature, the former in a positive form while the latter would result in placing in the Constitution regulations in detail which would constitute a check upon legislative action regarding such matters.

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[94] Constitution of 1865, Art. XII, Sec. 3.

[95] Laws, 1874, p. 57.

[96] Encyclopedia of History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 114.

[97] See Journal Mo. Const. Conv. 1875, Edited by Loeb and Shoemaker, p. 876.

There is plenty of evidence that there had developed a lack of confidence in the Legislature. This was manifested by provisions in the Constitution of 1865 and constitutional amendments adopted from time to time as well as in messages of Governors McClurg, Brown, Woodson and Hardin.[98] Among the most important causes for this popular distrust was the abuse of the power of special legislation and the policy of authorizing State and local aid for railroads. As a result of the latter the State as well as counties, townships, cities and other local subdivisions had incurred large debts with resulting increase of taxes. The Civil War and later the panic of 1873 had increased the difficulties of the situation and had caused serious embarrassment in State and local finances.[99] The members of the Constitutional Convention had personal experience with these conditions and their constituents were demanding relief and safeguards for the future. As a result the Constitution of 1875 was distinguished for possessing greater restrictions upon legislative power than any of its contemporaries in other states and today there are few state constitutions which can compare with the strictness of its provisions.[100]

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[98] Senate Journals; 1871, pp. 19, 20; 1873, p. 27; 1874, p. 17; 1875; pp. 27, 40.

[99] Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri.*

Some members of the Convention wished to change the prevailing rule of interpretation of the powers of the Legislature by providing that the General Assembly should have only such powers as are granted to it.[101] While this extreme position was not adopted, the prevailing tendency is shown by the fact that in drafting the article on the Legislature the Convention set off sections 43 to 56 inclusive under the specific title, "Limitation of Legislative Power." As previously indicated, however, important limitations upon legislative power are contained in other articles.

In considering the restrictions upon the Legislature introduced by the Constitution of 1875, it is natural to begin with financial limitations as these were the most striking and of greatest significance. In the endeavor to prevent the impairment of public credit through the creation of large debts, the Convention did not follow the policy adopted in 1859[102] of fixing a maximum, but returned to the plan proposed in the Constitution of 1845,[103] increasing the amount of debt which could be incurred from the $25,000 proposed in 1845 to $250,000, but requiring for any debt in excess of this amount the consent of two-thirds of the voters instead of a mere majority as under the earlier plan.[104] The same general plan was followed as regards counties, cities, school districts and other subdivisions. No debt could be incurred in any year in excess of the revenue for such year without the consent of two-thirds of the voters, but there was the further important restriction that even with such consent the total debt of any such locality should not exceed five per cent of the value of the taxable property of such district, except for the erection of a court house or jail.[105] It was also required that in all such cases provision must be made for a tax sufficient to pay the interest and to retire the principal within thirteen years in the case of the State and within twenty years in other cases. There was also retained the provision of the Constitution of 1865[106] prohibiting the giving, loaning, or pledging of the credit of the State in aid of any person or corporation[107] and counties and other local subdivisions were now subject to a similar requirement,[108] instead of being permitted to do this with the consent of the voters as in 1865.[109]

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[100] Dry, *The Article on the Legislature in the Missouri Constitution of 1875.* Manuscript in Library of University of Missouri. This graduate dissertation is a study of the evolution of the Article on the Legislature in the Constitutional Convention of 1875, and includes a comparison of its provisions with those of similar articles in the Constitution of 1820 and 1865 and in contemporary constitutions in other American states.

[101] Ibid., pp. 121-123. See Journal Mo. Const. Conv. 1875, edited by Loeb and Shoemaker, p. 175.

[102] Ante, p. 199.

[103] Ante, p. 199.

The power of raising revenue by taxation was also seriously restricted. The Constitution of 1865 provided that no property should be exempt from taxation except that used exclusively for public schools, and that belonging to the United States, the State and local subdivisions.[110] Aside from this provision the Constitution of 1820 and 1865 left the Legislature entirely free in establishing the system of taxation. While the Constitution of 1875 modified the above restriction by permitting the Legislature to enact general laws exempting a limited amount of property from taxation when used exclusively for educational, religious or charitable purposes,[111] it went much further in the other direction and imposed restrictions upon the power of the Legislature to determine the kind and rate of taxation and its method of assessment and apportionment for State and local purposes. The general property tax system had been established for many years as a result of legislative enactment, but the provisions of Article X of the Constitution of 1875 made this sytem compulsory upon the Legislature. As the evil results of uncontrolled local assessments had made themselves manifest, the Constitution provided for a State Board of Equalization.[112] Unfortunately, however, by providing that this board should consist of the Governor, State Auditor, Treasurer, Secretary of State and Attorney-General, the Constitution prevented the Legislature from establishing an efficient central control over the local assessing officials.

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[104] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 44. It is interesting to note that the requirement for a two-thirds vote has been evaded by having bonds authorized by amendments of the Constitution which require only a majority vote for adoption. Thus, in November, 1920, two amendments were adopted authorizing $1,000,000 and $60,000,000 in bonds for "soldier settlement" and "good roads" respectively and $15,000,000 in bonds were authorized for "soldiers' bonus" by an amendment adopted at the special election in August, 1921.

[105] Ibid., Art. X, Sec. 12.

[106] Ante, p. 205.

[107] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 45.

[108] Ibid., Sec. 47.

[109] Ante, p. 205.

[110] Constitution, 1865, Art. XI, Sec. 16.

A low maximum tax rate was fixed for State purposes,[113] and local authorities in counties, cities and towns and schools were limited by the establishment of similar maximum rates.[114] The latter rates could be increased for the purpose of erecting public buildings when approved by two-thirds of the voters and for general school purposes a higher rate, not exceeding a second maximum, could be voted by a majority of the taxpaying voters.[115] As these maximum rates were not established on any logical basis, serious inconvenience and hardship have resulted from their operation. Thus, for example, the maximum rate for State purposes was fixed at twenty cents on the hundred dollars valuation of property but it was provided that when the taxable property of the State amounted to nine hundred million dollars the rate should not exceed fifteen cents. When in 1892 it became necessary to reduce the rate to fifteen cents because the valuation exceeded nine hundred million there was an actual loss in State revenue from this source of nearly four hundred thousand dollars for that year.[116] The rates for local purposes were even more illogical and arbitrary. In the case of counties they varied according to assessed value, in some cases increasing and in others decreasing with an increase in the valuation. In cities the basis was population and here the arrangement was more scientific as the rates uniformly increased with increase in population. There was a flat rate of forty cents for school purposes in all districts but this could be increased in the manner indicated above to one dollar in town and city school districts, while without any rational basis of distinction, rural school districts were restricted to sixty-five cents.

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[111] Constitution, 1875, Art. X, Sec. 6.

[112] Ibid., Sec. 18.

[113] Ibid., Art. X, Sec. 8.

[114] Ibid., Art. X, Sec. 11.

[115] Ibid.

The legislative power of apportioning taxes was restricted by provisions requiring all property to be taxed in proportion to its value,[117] and establishing the rule of uniformity as regards the same class of subjects within the territorial limits of the taxing authority.

The Constitution likewise limited the legislative power to control expenditures. Both of the previous Constitutions had provided that no money should be paid out of the treasury except as appropriated by law,[118] and an amendment adopted in 1870 had prohibited any appropriation or donation by the State or localities in aid of any religious purpose or organization.[119] The Constitution of 1875 not only continued these restrictions,[120] but added others of importance. The order in which appropriations should be made was set forth under seven heads, the last including appropriations for the pay of the General Assembly with the evident purpose of insuring that none of the preceding items would be omitted or overlooked before adjournment.[121] The third item of appropriations was for free public school purposes. The Constitution also provided that not less than 25 per cent of the State revenue, exclusive of the interest and sinking funds, should be set aside annually for the support of public schools.[122] The Legislature was also forbidden to give or to authorize any county or other locality to give public money or thing of value to any individual or corporation except in case of public calamity.[123]

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[116] Report, State Auditor, 1891-92, p. 21.
[117] Constitution, 1875, Art. X, Sec. 4.
[118] Constitution, 1820, Art. III, Sec. 31; Constitution, 1865, Art. XI, Sec. 6.
[119] Laws, 1870, p. 501.
[120] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 43; Art. XI, Sec. 11.
[121] Ibid., Art. IV, Sec. 43.

Second in importance only to the financial limitations were the restrictions upon special legislation. As previously indicated,[124] this power of the Legislature had been abused, with the result that the Constitution of 1865 prohibited its exercise in thirteen classes of cases and undertook to prevent it in all cases in which a general law could be made applicable. While the prohibition prevented special legislation in the cases enumerated, the latter provision was not effective as the Legislature could determine the question of applicability. Hence the evil continued during the next decade, the percentage of local and special acts exceeding that of public general laws.[125]

The members of the Constitutional Convention of 1875 were well aware of the extent and evils of special legislation and they proceeded to adopt effective limitations. In the first place the number of cases in which the Legislature was absolutely forbidden to enact special laws was increased to thirty-two.[126] In the next place while the Constitution of 1865 was followed in forbidding special legislation in all cases where a general law could be made applicable, the entire matter of applicability was expressly made a judicial question to be "judicially determined without regard to any legislative assertion on that subject."[127] While the Legislature retained the power of repealing existing special laws it was forbidden to indirectly enact a special law by the partial repeal of a general law.[128] Finally, for the cases outside of the enumerated classes where a general law could not be made applicable, the Legislature's power to enact a special law was restricted by a provision requiring publicity of the proposed measure for thirty days prior to its introduction as a bill.[129] The effectiveness of these restrictions is shown in the great reduction in the mass of legislation following the inauguration of the Constitution of 1875. The average number of pages in the session acts of a General Assembly during the decade after the adoption of the Constitution was only 275 as compared with 769 during the preceding ten years.[130]

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[122] Ibid., Art. XI, Sec. 7.

[123] Ibid., Sec. 46, 47.

[124] Ante, p. 204.

[125] See table in Harper, *Local and Special Legislation in Missouri*, Manuscript in Library of University of Missouri.

[126] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 53.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

Among the matters concerning which the Legislature was forbidden to enact special laws there were a number affecting counties, cities, townships, etc. The subject of local government, moreover, had assumed so much importance that a separate article was devoted to counties, cities and towns, and the Legislature's power in the field was correspondingly reduced. Provisions which already existed regarding changes in the size of counties and removal of county seats were continued and amplified.[131] While the Constitution did not undertake to regulate county organization in detail, it provided as did the Constitutions of 1820 and 1865 for the election of a sheriff and coroner in each county.[132] Provision was also made for a county court to transact county business[133] and express constitutional authorization was given for a township organization law which could be adopted by the voters of any county.[134] While the Constitution forbade special legislation regarding cities, it did not make a single uniform organization necessary. The Legislature was authorized to classify cities in not exceeding four groups and to make provisions by general law so that the cities in each class would possess the same powers.[135]

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[129] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 54.

[130] Harper, *Local and Special Legislation in Missouri.*

[131] Constitution, 1875, Art. IX, Secs. 2-5.

[132] Ibid., Secs. 10, 11.

[133] Constitution, 1875, Art. VI, Sec. 36.

[134] Ibid., Art. IX, Secs. 8, 9.

[135] Ibid., Sec. 7.

It is interesting to note, moreover, that despite the restrictions upon special legislation, the Constitution recognized the necessity for it in the case of large cities but left such power in the hands of the voters of the city. This was done through the invention of the "home rule charter" provision. While this was introduced for the benefit of St. Louis,[136] similar sections were adopted for any city with more than one hundred thousand inhabitants.[137]

Under these provisions the voters of the city may elect a board to draft a charter subject to certain constitutional restrictions and if this charter is later ratified by the voters, becomes the organic law of the city. While the "home rule" provisions do not entirely exempt the cities from control by the Legislature,[138] they give them much greater freedom in determining their organization and activities and are justly regarded as a valuable contribution to the betterment of city government not only in Missouri but in many other states.[139] It should finally be noted in this connection that the provisions of the Constitution regarding St. Louis authorized the separation of the city from the county and provided that after such separation the city for purposes of representation in the Legislature, collection of State revenue, and all other functions in relation to the State, should be treated in the same manner as if it were a county.[140]

Before leaving the subject of limitations upon the Legislature it is desirable to note the introduction in the Constitution of 1875 of numerous provisions restricting legislative procedure. A few regulations of this nature appeared in the Constitution of 1820 and these were expanded in 1865. In 1875, however, the subject was considered so important that nineteen sections of the legislative article were grouped under the title "Legislative Proceedings."[141] These included the restrictions which had appeared in previous constitutions with significant changes and additions, all indicating distrust of the Legislature and desire to establish safeguards against hasty and ill considered legislation. It was specifically provided that no law should be passed except by bill[142] which must be reported upon by a committee, printed and read on three different days in each house.[143] The proviso in former Constitutions[144] giving each house by a two-thirds vote the power to suspend the latter rule was now omitted. The requirement for an absolute majority on a yea and nay vote for the passage of bills, introduced in 1865[145] was retained,[146] and the same rule was now applied to the approval by one house of amendments to its bills which have been adopted by the other and to the adoption of reports of conference committees.[147]

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[136] Ibid., Secs. 20-25.

[137] Ibid., Secs. 16, 17.

[138] See for a discussion of the decisions of the Supreme Court on this point, Harper, *Local and Special Legislation in Missouri.*

[139] See McBain, *Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule.*

[140] Constitution, 1875, Art. IX, Secs. 20-25.

As in 1845 and 1865, the most important question relating to the organization of the Legislature was that of the basis of representation in the lower House. The proposals submitted by members of the Convention ranged from that of representation proportioned to population as in the Senate, to that of one Representative for each county, regardless of its size.[148] The St. Louis members naturally favored the former plan, but as they recognized that it was hopeless, they concentrated their strength upon the demand for a reduction in the number of ratios required for additional Representatives. While they were not completely successful in their efforts and insisted upon presenting a minority report, the plan recommended by the committee and adopted by the Convention was more favorable to the larger counties than that contained in the Constitution of 1865.[149]

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[141] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Secs. 24-42.

[142] Ibid., Sec. 25.

[143] Ibid., Secs. 26, 27.

[144] Constitution, 1820, Art. III, Sec. 21; Constitution, 1865, Art. IX, Sec. 23.

[145] Constitution, 1865, Art. IV, Sec. 24.

[146] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 31.

[147] Ibid., Sec. 32.

[148] Dry, *The Article on the Legislature in the Missouri Constitution of 1875*, pp. 11-35, Manuscript in Library of University of Missouri.

[149] Constitution, 1865, Art. IV, Sec. 2.

The ratio was determined in the same manner, by dividing the population of the State by two hundred.[150] As before, each county with one ratio or less was to have one Representative. However, instead of two additional ratios for the second Representative and three additional ratios for each additional Representative, as fixed in the Constitution of 1865, it was now provided that one and one-half additional ratios should be sufficient for the second Representative, the same number for the third, two additional ratios for the fourth and two and one-half additional ratios for each additional Representative in excess of four.[151] Under the plan adopted it was estimated that the larger counties would receive twelve additional Representatives and that of these St. Louis county, including the city of St. Louis, would receive three.[152] While the new system was not nearly so favorable to the more populous counties as the provision in the proposed Constitution of 1845,[153] it was less discriminating than the plan included in the amendment of 1849,[154] and marked a distinct advance over the provisions in the constitution of 1865.[155]

The single ticket plan of representation introduced in 1865 was retained, though provision was made that when any county was entitled to more than ten representatives the circuit court should divide the county into districts so as to give each district not less than two, nor more than four Representatives.[156] No change was made in the apportionment of Senators but, as a check upon gerrymandering, it was provided that the districts should be "as nearly equal in population as may be,"[157] and that in districts containing two or more counties the latter should be contiguous, the districts as compact as may be, and in the formation of the same no county should be divided.[158] Moreover, as the Legislature after the census of 1870 had failed to redistrict the State, it was now provided that in the event that the Legislature should fail or refuse to divide the State into senatorial districts after each decennial census, such duty should be performed by the Governor, Secretary of State and Attorney-General.[159]

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[150] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 2.

[151] Ibid.

[152] See below, p. 877.

[153] Ante, p. 197.

[154] Ante, p. 198.

[155] Ante, p. 205.

[156] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 3.

[157] Ibid., Sec. 5.

As a result of the tendency of the Legislature to hold adjourned sessions, the rule of annual sessions had practically been introduced. This was now prevented by the provisions that the General Assembly should meet in regular session once only in every two years,[160] and that any adjournment or recess for more than three days should constitute an adjournment *sine die*.[161] Additional evidence of a prevailing belief that there was too much legislation is found in the adoption of a plan for restricting the length of the session which was introduced by the amendment of 1849 but abolished again in 1857.[162] As reintroduced in the Constitution of 1875, it fixes a maximum compensation of five dollars a day for members of the Legislature with the provision that after the first seventy days of the session this shall be reduced to one dollar, except that in a revising session the reduction does not take effect until after the first one hundred and twenty days of the session.[163] Compensation for mileage, stationery, etc., was also strictly regulated.[164]

The tendency to restrict the Legislature manifested itself also in the form of increased power for the Executive. The number required to overcome the Governor's veto was now increased from the majority required under previous constitutions to two-thirds of all the members elected to each house.[165] Moreover, the content of the power was enlarged by giving the Governor authority to veto specific items in appropriation bills.[166] Finally, recognition of the fact that there is a great congestion of bills at the close of a session resulted in giving the Governor thirty days within which to approve or disapprove any measure presented to him within ten days of the adjournment of the Legislature.[167] The provision of the Constitution of 1865 preventing the Legislature in special session from acting upon any matter not included in the Governor's proclamation[168] was retained with the addition that the Governor could recommend other matters by special message after the Legislature had convened.[169] In addition to the requirement existing in previous Constitutions, that the Governor should recommend measures to the Legislature, there now appeared the provision that at the beginning of each regular session he should present estimates of the amount of money required to be raised by taxation of all purposes.[170] This provision, taken in connection with the Governor's power to veto specific items in appropriation bills, appears to contain the germ of an executive budget system.

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[158] Ibid., Sec. 9.
[159] Ibid., Sec. 7.
[160] Ibid., Sec. 20.
[161] Ibid., Sec. 21.
[162] Ante, p. 199.
[163] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV., Sec. 16.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid., Sec. 39.

The organization of the Executive Department was not materially changed. The two-year term for elective State executive officials, introduced in 1865 for all except the Superintendent of Schools,[171] was now abandoned and the four-year term of the Constitution of 1820 restored, the Governor and Treasurer being ineligible to re-election as their own successors.[172] A number of ex-officio boards were provided including the State Board of Equalization[173] and Board of Education,[174] which had been created in 1865.[175]

There was no important change made in the organization of the Supreme or circuit courts but the congested docket of the former led to the creation of the St. Louis Court of Appeals which it was hoped would dispose finally of many cases and thereby relieve the Supreme Court. This Court was limited in its jurisdiction to the City of St. Louis and the counties of St. Louis, St. Charles, Lincoln and Warren, and it was to consist of three judges elected for terms of twelve years by the voters of the city and counties named.[176] The provisions of previous constitutions which required the Supreme Court to be held in different districts of the State[177] were now eliminated and all of its terms were to be held at the State capitol.[178] A section of the Constitution of 1865 which required the Supreme Court to give its opinion upon questions of constitutional law, when required by the Governor or either house of the Legislature,[179] was also omitted at this time.

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[166] Constitution, 1875, Art. V, Sec. 13.

[167] Ibid., Sec. 12.

[168] Constitution of 1865, Art. V, Sec. 7.

[169] Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 55.

[170] Ibid., Sec. 10.

[171] Ante, p. 24.

[172] Constitution, 1875, Art. V, Sec. 2.

[173] Ibid., Art. X, Sec. 18.

[174] Ibid., Art. XI, Sec. 4.

[175] Constitution, 1865, Art. IX, Sec. 3.

The Constitution of 1865 had introduced into the declaration of rights, provisions enabling property to be forfeited for treason,[180] restricting the amount of land which could be held by religious corporations,[181] and declaring void gifts and transfers to them or for their benefit.[182] These provisions had aroused considerable hostility and they were eliminated by the Constitutional Convention of 1875. It was also provided that a grand jury should consist of twelve men of whom nine could find an indictment and that in courts not of record a jury could consist of less than twelve.[183]

Suffrage as defined in the Constitution of 1875[184] was not materially different from that of the Constitution of 1865 after the adoption of the amendments of 1870.[185] The one important exception was the failure to include the educational qualification of the Constitution of 1865,[186] which was not to become effective until January 1, 1876, and hence never came into operation. Some changes were made regarding registration. It will be recalled that the general registration which was associated with the "iron cald oath" was unpopular and had been abolished in 1873 when the Legislature was given authority to provide for registration only in cities with more than ten thousand inhabitants.[187] The hostility still continued and the Constitution, while requiring the Legislature to enact registration laws for all cities and counties having more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, did not permit it to do this for any city which did not contain more than twenty-five thousand population.[188]

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[176] Constitution, 1875, Art. VI, Secs. 12, 13.

[177] Constitution, 1820, Art. V, Sec. 5; Constitution, 1865, Art. VI, Sec. 5.

[178] Constitution, 1875, Art. VI, Sec. 9.

[179] Constitution, 1865, Art. VI, Sec. 11.

[180] Constitution, 1865, Art. I, Sec. 26.

[181] Ibid., Sec. 12.

[182] Ibid., Sec. 13.

[183] Constitution, 1875, Art. II, Sec. 28.

[184] Ibid., Art. VIII, Sec. 2.

[185] Ante, p. 21.

It has already been pointed out[189] that the Constitution required the Legislature to appropriate not less than 25 per cent of the general revenue of the State for the support of public schools. This marked a great advance in the development of the principle that public education was a matter of State as well as local concern. While the other provisions of the article on education followed the general model of the Constitution of 1865, some features were less progressive in character. Thus, for example, the age for free public school instruction, established by the Constitution of 1865, between five and twenty-one years,[190] was changed in 1875 to between six and twenty years.[191] The former Constitution contained a provision expressly authorizing the Legislature to enact a limited compulsory education law[192] but this was not included in the Constitution of 1875. The Constitution of 1865 required the Legislature, so far as possible, to incorporate all local school funds into the State public school fund and in distributing the annual income of the latter to take into consideration local funds so as to "equalize the amount appropriated for common schools throughout the state."[193] The Constitution of 1875, on the other hand, expressly recognized the county school funds and provided that the income therefrom should be appropriated for free public schools in the several counties.[194] While the Constitution of 1865 permitted the establishment of separate schools for children of African descent,[195] the Constitution of 1875 made this obligatory.[196] Both Constitutions provided for the State University, the Constitution of 1875 vesting its government in a board of nine curators appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate.[197]

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[186] Constitution, 1865, Art. II, Sec. 19.

[187] Ante, p. 203.

[188] Constitution, 1875, Art. VIII, Sec. 5.

[189] Ante, p. 213.

[190] Constitution, 1865, Art. IX, Sec. 1.

[191] Constitution, 1875, Art. XI, Sec. 1.

[192] Constitution, 1865, Art. IX, Sec. 7.

The article on corporations was of much greater significance than in the other Constitutions. The Constitution of 1820 was concerned only with banking corporations.[198] The Constitution of 1865 prohibited the giving to banks the privilege of issuing bank notes and required the enactment of laws to enable existing banks of issue to reorganize as national banks.[199] It also contained a few sections relating to corporations in general. In the Constitution of 1875, however, the greater part of the article on corporations is devoted to railroads, thirteen of the twenty-seven sections relating to this subject. Railroads were declared public highways and railroad companies common carriers and the Legislature was authorized to fix reasonable maximum rates and to pass laws to prevent discrimination and to correct abuses.[200] Railroads were forbidden to give passes to any State, county or municipal officers and the latter were forbidden to accept such passes under penalty of forfeiture of office.[201] The prohibition upon the creation of corporations by special act had been introduced in 1865.[202] As a check upon the creation of corporations, a fee of fifty dollars was required for the first fifty thousand dollars or less of capital stock and a further sum of five dollars for each additional ten thousand dollars of stock.[203] State participation in any bank was prohibited[204] and no corporation with banking powers, except deposit and discount, could be created except with the approval of a majority of the voters of the State. Bank officials were made civilly and criminally liable in case they received deposits or created debts after they had knowledge that the bank was insolvent or in failing circumstances.[205]

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[193] Ibid., Sec. 9.
[194] Constitution, 1875, Art. XI, Sec. 8.
[195] Constitution, 1865, Art. IX, Sec. 2.
[196] Constitution, 1875, Art. XI, Sec. 3.
[197] Constitution, 1865, Art. IX, Sec. 4; Constitution, 1875, Art. XI, Sec. 5.
[198] Ante, p. 191.
[199] Constitution, 1865, Art. VIII, Secs. 1, 3.
[200] Constitution, 1875, Art. XII, Sec. 14.
[201] Ibid., Sec. 24.

The article prescribing the mode of amending the Constitution was not different in any essential detail from the similar article in the Constitution of 1865. An amendment could be proposed by an absolute majority in each house, and ratified at the next general election by a majority of the voters voting on that proposition.[206] Any number of amendments may be proposed but each amendment must be submitted separately.[207] The Legislature was also authorized to submit to the voter the question of holding a Constitutional Convention. If a majority of the voters on that question were in favor of a Convention, the Governor was required to order an election of two delegates for each senatorial district. The Constitution as drafted by the Convention must be submitted to the voters at a special election and if ratified by a majority it will become the Constitution of the State at the end of thirty days after such election.[208]

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[202] Constitution, 1865, Art. VIII, Sec. 4; Constitution, 1875, Art. IV, Sec. 53; Art. XII, Sec. 2.

[203] Constitution, 1875, Art. X, Sec. 21.

[204] Ibid., Art. XII, Sec. 25.

[205] Ibid., Sec. 27.

[206] Ibid., Art. XV, Sec. 2.

[207] This provision is construed in Gabbert v. C., R. I. & P. Ry. Co., 171 Mo. 84.

[208] Constitution, 1875, Art. XV, Sec. 3.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, 1875-1920.

The prolonged delay in publishing the journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1875 makes it possible to include with this survey of constitutional development an account of the amendments to the Constitution of 1875. This should be of value as indicating defects which existed or have developed in that instrument and the remedies suggested or put in operation. Ninety-nine amendments have been proposed of which twenty-three have been approved by the voters, sixty-three have been rejected and thirteen remain to be acted on at the November election of 1920.* Every General Assembly since 1875 except three has proposed one or more amendments. These figures become more impressive when it is pointed out that all but thirteen of these amendments have been submitted to the voters during this century, an average of nearly eight at each biennial election. A total of thirty amendments were voted upon at the three elections in 1910, 1912 and 1914. Only three amendments were submitted in 1916 and nine in 1918, but all records are broken by the thirteen amendments which will be presented to the voters next November. There is here evidenced a growing conviction that many of the provisions of the Constitution are no longer adapted to present conditions.

The fact that only a little more than 25 per cent of the amendments voted upon were ratified is due to two causes. First, many voters do not show much discrimination but manifest a strong tendency to vote the same way on all amendments. Thus at every election except in 1884, 1908 and 1916, all amendments submitted have been either all ratified or all rejected. At every election beginning with 1910 an amendment has been submitted involving prohibition, woman suffrage or the single tax, to all of which the majority of the voters were opposed. The result has been the defeat of all amendments except in 1916, when there were only three amendments submitted and an effective organization succeeded in creating sufficient public attention to ratify an amendment permitting the granting of pensions to the deserving blind. The second influence operating to cause the defeat of the process of Constitutional amendment has been the growing conviction that it is inadequate to remedy the defects of the existing situation; that amendments at best would be merely palliative and that what is needed is a general revision by a Constitutional Convention.

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*In November, 1920, nine amendments were ratified and four were rejected. During 1921 the legislature proposed nine amendments. Three of these were ratified at a special election in August. Hence, at present the figures are one hundred and eight amendments proposed, thirty-five ratified, sixty-seven rejected and six remain to be acted on by the voters.

The first amendment to the Constitution of 1875 which was ratified by the voters was the outgrowth of the congested docket of the Supreme Court. As previously indicated, this condition existed in 1875 and the Constitutional Convention sought to correct it by creating the St. Louis Court of Appeals.[209] In 1882, an amendment increasing the number of Judges of the Supreme Court to six and dividing the court into two divisions[210] was rejected by the voters. Two years later the voters approved an amendment establishing the Kansas City Court of Appeals, dividing the counties of the State between this court and the St. Louis Court of Appeals and authorizing the Legislature to establish a third court of appeals and to change the districts and the pecuniary limit of jurisdiction of such courts.[211] The courts of appeals, however, did not relieve the Supreme Court of its burden and in 1890 an amendment was ratified which increased the number of Supreme Court Judges to seven and established a civil and a criminal division of such court.[212]

The congestion of cases still continued. In 1895 the Legislature sought to correct some of the difficulties growing out of questions of jurisdiction but the amendment[213] submitted was rejected by the voters. The same was true of an amendment proposed in 1907 increasing the number of Judges of the Supreme Court to nine and creating a third division. The Legislature in 1919 proposed a similar amendment[214] and also one increasing the number of judges of the St. Louis Court of Appeals to six[215] and these will be voted upon next November. While the Legislature has done something to relieve conditions by providing for Supreme Court Commissioners, the bar of the State has indicated its opinion that conditions demand a revision of the entire article relating to the Judiciary. Attempts to expedite the procedure in the lower courts are to be seen in amendments adopted in 1900 authorizing in civil cases a two-thirds' jury verdict in courts not of record and a three-fourths' jury verdict in courts of record,[216] making indictment and information concurrent remedies[217] and providing that a grand jury shall be convened only by order of a judge.[218]

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[209] Ante, p. 220.

[210] Laws, 1881, p. 228.

[211] Laws, 1883, p. 215.

[212] Laws, 1889, p. 322.

[213] Laws, 1895, p. 286.

The provision of the Constitution prohibiting the giving of public money or thing of value to any individual or corporation[219] prevented the granting of pensions to officials and employees. In 1892 an amendment was approved which permitted the Legislature to authorize cities to maintain pension funds for disabled firemen[220] but similar amendments regarding pensions for policemen proposed in 1903[221] and 1909[222] and for public school teachers proposed in 1909[223] were rejected. An attempt to grant authorization for pensions for the deserving blind[224] was defeated in 1914 but two years later a similar amendment[225] was approved. On account of the limited revenue the Legislature was unable to make an appropriation for such pensions. Hence, in 1919, it submitted an amendment requiring a special tax of not less than one-half of one cent and not more than three cents on the one hundred dollars' valuation to be levied for this purpose. This will be voted on next November.[226]

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[214] Laws, 1919, p. 762. This amendment was rejected by the voters.
[215] Laws, 1919, p. 763. This amendment was rejected by the voters.
[216] Laws, 1899, p. 381.
[217] Ibid., p. 382.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ante, p. 31.
[220] Laws, 1891, p. 221.
[221] Laws, 1903, p. 278.
[222] Laws, 1909, p. 908.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Laws, 1913, p. 782.
[225] Laws, 1915, p. 411.

Limitations upon the financial powers of the State and its local subdivisions have been responsible for most of the amendments proposed and adopted. It is impossible to go into detail regarding these amendments. The following statement regarding those which have been approved will give some idea of the nature of the difficulties which have arisen. In 1900 the voters ratified an amendment[227] authorizing the levy of a special road tax but exempting St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph from its provisions. Similar amendments, without the exemption, had been rejected in 1884[228] and 1886[229] and one applying only to counties with less than 100,000 inhabitants was rejected in 1894.[230] In 1906 the Missouri Supreme Court declared the amendment adopted in 1900 invalid as the exemption of the three cities violated the Fourteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.[231] Finally, in 1908, the voters approved a similar amendment applying to all counties without any exemption.[232]

In 1900 there were also approved three other amendments of financial significance. Two had to do with the St. Louis World's Fair, authorizing St. Louis to aid it by issuing five millions in bonds[233] and the Legislature to appropriate one million dollars from the State sinking fund for an exhibit at the Fair.[234] The third amendment which provided for taxing mortgages as interests in the property mortgaged and for dividing the assessment between the mortgagor and mortgagee,[235] was held to be in conflict with the Constitution of the United States[236] and was repealed by an amendment[237] adopted in 1902.

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[226] Laws, 1919, p. 759. This amendment was ratified by the voters.

[227] Laws, 1905, p. 313.

[228] Laws, 1883, p. 217.

[229] Laws, 1885, p. 255.

[230] Laws, 1893, p. 273.

[231] Johnson v. C., B. & Q. Ry. Co., 195 Mo. 228.

[232] Laws, 1909, p. 906.

[233] Laws, 1905, p. 316.

[234] Ibid., p. 317.

By 1901, the State bonded debt had been reduced to a small amount which it was clear would be extinguished in the near future. There remained, however, certificates of indebtedness to the public school and state seminary funds which had been created by the using of these funds for the purchase and retirement of equivalent amounts of State bonds. As the certificates furnished a safe and profitable investment for the two funds, the Legislature submitted an amendment making them practically perpetual but providing for the investment of future accumulations in these funds in approved county, municipal and school district bonds.[238] The same amendment made provision for a State interest tax not exceeding three cents on the hundred dollars' valuation to pay the interest on these certificates. This amendment was ratified in 1902.

On account of the increasing population of cities, the limitations upon their financial powers became a matter of serious concern. In 1902 an amendment was approved which authorized St. Louis to levy in addition to the rate allowed by the Constitution for municipal purposes, the rate which would be allowed for county purposes if St. Louis were part of a county.[239] At the same time was ratified an amendment which enabled St. Louis and Kansas City in computing their total bonded debt for the purpose of the five per cent maximum established by Section 12 of Article X of the Constitution,[240] to exclude all bonds issued in connection with their municipally owned waterworks and in the case of St. Louis all bonds assumed by the city at the time of its separation from the county.[241] Of the same general character was another amendment approved at the same time which authorized cities between 2,000 and 30,000 inhabitants to become indebted an additional five per cent for the purpose of constructing municipally owned water works or electric light plants.[242] Finally, in 1906, an amendment was adopted which permitted a county to become indebted in excess of the five per cent maximum for road and bridge purposes.[243] While this amendment was under consideration in the Legislature a clause was added providing that Section 12 of Article X should not apply to counties containing cities with 100,000 inhabitants nor to cities with over 300,000 inhabitants. This proviso, however, was not set forth in the amendatory clause of the resolution and hence under the ruling in Gabbert v. C., R. I. & P. Ry. Co., 171 Mo. 84, did not become a part of the amended section.

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[235] Ibid., p. 315.

[236] Russell v. Croy, 164 Mo. 69.

[237] Laws, 1905, p. 317.

[238] Laws, 1905, p. 318.

[239] Ibid.

[240] Ante, p. 211.

[241] Laws, 1905, p. 320.

The evils arising out of constitutional provisions limiting in detail the financial powers of the Legislature and local subdivisions and the difficulty of correcting these by the process of amendment are well illustrated by the history of Section 12 of Article X of the Missouri Constitution. It is, of course, obvious that a debt incurred for a productive expenditure should not be subject to the same restrictions as those incurred for nonproductive purposes. Hence there was adequate justification for the two amendments adopted in 1902 giving St. Louis and Kansas City and cities between 2,000 and 30,000 inhabitants greater debt incurring power for the purpose of municipal ownership of public utilities. But the amendments being specific instead of general in character, could not of course provide for future contingencies and hence the demand for new amendments continued to arise. In the first place, the situation was complicated by a decision of the Supreme Court holding that the second five per cent permitted under the amendment of 1902 must be restricted to debts for water works or electric light plants and that even if a city had used up part or all of its first five per cent debt allowance for either or both of these purposes it could not use the second five per cent for other purposes such as the building of a sewer system.[244] In other words, a city must build its public buildings, sewers, etc., first and later construct its water works and electric light plant.

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[242] Laws, 1905, p. 324.

[243] Laws, 1909, p. 905.

In the second place, there were other public utilities such as gas works, heating plants, street railways, etc., coming under the head of productive expenditures which clearly could not take advantage of the second five per cent authorized by the amendment of 1902. Finally, that amendment was restricted to cities between 2,000 and 30,000 inhabitants and could afford no relief to cities outside this group, for example, Joplin and Springfield since 1910, St. Joseph and, except as regards water works, St. Louis and Kansas City. While none of the amendments for securing relief in these matters has been ratified in recent years for the reasons indicated above,[245] their proposal by the Legislature indicates the urgency of the need. In 1907 an amendment was proposed to overcome the difficulty created by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Wilder case.[246] It provided that any debt previously or thereafter incurred for water works or electric light plants should not be considered in determining the original five per cent for which the cities concerned could become indebted. Another amendment in the same year proposed to authorize cities with 100,000 inhabitants to become indebted an additional five per cent for the purpose of acquiring subways[247] and the same amendment was proposed again in 1913[248] but all met the same fate. At the same time was rejected an amendment proposing to authorize Kansas City to issue public utility bonds to an amount not exceeding an additional twenty per cent of its assessed valuation for the purpose of acquiring any public service utility for the use of its citizens.[249] The principal of these public utility bonds was not to constitute an obligation of the city enforcible out of funds raised by taxation.

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[244] State v. Wilder, 197 Mo. 1.

[245] Ante, p. 225.

[246] Ante, p. 231.

[247] Laws, 1907, p. 453.

[248] Laws, 1913, p. 780.

At the election in November of this year there will be submitted an amendment which was framed to meet the needs of St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph.[250] It proposes to change the general rule of Section 12 of Article X of the Constitution so far as cities of 75,000 inhabitants or more are concerned by fixing ten per cent instead of five per cent as the maximum for the incurring of indebtedness. It also authorizes the same cities to issue public utility bonds as provided in the amendment referred to above, which was proposed in 1913. The pending amendment differs in one feature from the one proposed in 1913 and from other amendments of this general character. All previous amendments, those rejected as well as those ratified, required the consent of two-thirds of the voters before any indebtedness authorized could be incurred. This amendment, however, would authorize the issuance of the public utility bonds with the assent of four-sevenths of the voters. Another amendment to be voted on this year proposes to amend the amendment adopted in 1902,[251] by adding ice plants to the public utilities for which the additional five per cent indebtedness may be incurred and by extending its provisions to cities of less than 2,000 inhabitants.[252]

Counties also have found it necessary to appeal for amendments of Section 12 of Article X. It has been indicated that in 1906 authority was granted for indebtedness above the five per cent for road and bridge purposes.[253] In 1909 an amendment was proposed to secure similar authorization for the erection of a poor house,[254] but it was rejected by the voters despite the fact that the Constitution as originally adopted expressly authorizes this in the case of a court house or jail. The county of St. Louis which, as a suburb of the city of St. Louis, has a large urban population, sought authority to incur indebtedness for the construction of sewers and the acquisition of water works. While this was approved by the Legislature in 1911,[255] it failed of ratification with all of the other amendments at the election in 1912.

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[249] Laws, 1913, p. 776.

[250] Laws, 1919, p. 751. This amendment was ratified by the voters.

[251] Ante, p. 231.

[252] Laws, 1919, p. 758. This amendment was ratified by the voters. See also amendment rejected in 1918 which proposed to add improvement of streets as an item for which additional five per cent could be incurred; Laws 1917, p. 581.

[253] Ante, p. 230.

[254] Laws, 1909, p. 912.

The restrictions upon the rates of taxation have been found burdensome in many cases and attempts have been made to amend these provisions of the Constitution. Reference has already been made to the numerous attempts which were finally successful to secure authority for a special county tax for road and bridge purposes[256] and also to the amendment giving the city of St. Louis authority to levy the county as well as the municipal rate.[257] At the same time that the latter provision was adopted, the voters also ratified an amendment permitting boards of education in cities of 100,000 inhabitants to levy sixty cents instead of forty cents, which was the maximum which could be levied in other districts without the consent of a majority of the voting taxpayers.[258] A number of attempts have been made to change the rates for school purposes[259] and an amendment to be voted on this year seeks to remove the discrimination upon rural school districts by increasing the maximum rate for school purposes, which can be authorized by tax paying voters from sixty-five cents to one dollar, the same amount permitted in city districts.[260] There have also been attempts to change the rates for city purposes[261] and for improvement of roads.[262] At the election next November amendments will be submitted authorizing a rate of fifty cents for road purposes when voted by the voters of a road district[263] and authorizing the Legislature to incur a debt not exceeding sixty million dollars for road purposes.[264] Another amendment to be voted on at the same time provides for the issuance of state bonds not exceeding one million dollars for the purpose of creating a soldiers' settlement fund to provide employment and rural homes for soldiers and sailors.[265].

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[255] Laws, 1911, p. 448.

[256] Ante, p. 228.

[257] Ante, p. 228.

[258] Laws, 1905, p. 322.

[259] Laws, 1903, p. 282; Laws, 1917, pp. 577-579.

[260] Laws, 1919, p. 755. This amendment was rejected by the voters.

[261] Laws, 1909, p. 911; Laws, 1911, p. 446.

[262] Laws, 1907, p. 457; Laws, 1909, p. 913; Laws, 1913, p. 779; Laws, 1917, pp. 579-581.

The "home rule charter" provisions of the Constitution regarding St. Louis[266] did not contain express authority for a revision of the charter by a new board and an amendment for this purpose was adopted in 1902.[267] As the original provision for amending the charter with the consent of three-fifths of the voters at an election had not worked satisfactorily because of the failure of many voters to vote either way, this amendment now provided that three-fifths of the voters voting for or against each charter amendment should be sufficient for its adoption. Finally, the original requirement that the charter must provide for two houses of the city council was changed so as to require only one house. This amendment did not apply to the "home rule charter" provisions for other cities of over 100,000 population and Kansas City has made a number of attempts to amend these sections. In 1914, an amendment similar to that part of the St. Louis amendment of 1902 which provided for counting only the votes for or against charter amendments was defeated.[268] In 1918, an amendment was submitted by initiative petition providing for a charter commission for the revision of the charter whenever such proposition had been approved by the voters after submission by the city council or by initiative petition.[269] The amendment also provided for charter amendments, submitted by a charter commission, the city council or initiative petition and ratified by a majority of those voting on each amendment. Finally, the people of the city were given a free hand in determining the form of their government by the omission of the provision requiring a mayor and two houses of legislation. This amendment was defeated, but the next Legislature submitted substantially the same amendment and it will be voted upon again next November.[270]

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[263] Laws, 1919, p. 755. This amendment was ratified by the voters.
[264] Ibid., p. 757. This amendment was ratified by the voters.
[265] Laws, 1919, p. 760. This amendment was ratified by the voters.
[266] Ante, p. 216.
[267] Laws, 1905, p. 320.
[268] Laws, 1914, p. 783.
[269] Official Manual, 1919-20, pp. 428, 429.

Additional evidence of the difficulty of getting voters interested in propositions is furnished by an amendment adopted in 1902 which changed the law regarding township organization by providing for its adoption by a majority of the voters of the county voting upon that proposition instead of by a majority of the voters at the election.[271]

When the Constitution of 1875 was adopted the term of most of the county officials was only two years. The tendency arose, however, to lengthen the term to four years. It was possible for the Legislature to determine this question except in the case of the sheriff and coroner whose terms were fixed at two years by the Constitution.[272] An amendment adopted in 1906 extended these terms to four years.[273]

The only amendment of the Constitution of 1875 which remains for consideration is the one providing for the initiative and referendum which was adopted in 1908.[274] A similar amendment with stricter requirements but applying to the local as well as State government had been defeated in 1904.[275] The amendment adopted in 1908 applies to constitutional amendments as well as matters of ordinary legislation. The initiative has been used only in connection with constitutional amendments. A total of fourteen amendments were proposed, one or more at each election beginning in 1910, and all were defeated.[276] One amendment submitted by the initiative will be voted on in November of this year.[277]

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[270] Laws, 1919, p. 749. This amendment was ratified by the voters.

[271] Laws, 1905, p. 324.

[272] Constitution, 1875, Art. IX, Sec. 10.

[273] Laws, 1909, p. 906.

[274] Laws, 1909, p. 906.

[275] Laws, 1903, p. 280.

Four acts of the Legislature were by referendum petitions submitted to the voters in 1914 and all were rejected.[278] The Prohibition Enforcement act and the Workmen's Compensation act passed by the last Legislature were held up by referendum petitions and will be voted on this year.*

In addition to those already referred to, the following amendments will be submitted to the voters at the forthcoming November election. One amendment repeals the provision disqualifying soldiers and sailors in the regular army of the United States from voting and requires the Legislature to provide for absentee voting by electors absent from the State on account of military service.[279]

Another amendment undertakes to increase the pay of members of the Legislature. The inadequacy of this compensation led to an amendment proposed in 1907 providing an annual salary of seven hundred and fifty dollars.[280] The next Legislature proposed an increase in the per diem from five to ten dollars.[281] Four years later the Legislature proposed an annual salary of one thousand dollars.[282] All of these proposals were defeated and the last Legislature renewed the proposal of 1913, except that it omits all provision for mileage or stationery and provides that no member shall receive any allowance other than his salary and actual expenses while serving on committees to examine institutions other than those at the State capitol.[283]

Finally, an amendment submitted by initiative petition proposes to amend that part of Article XV which provides for revising the Constitution.* It provides that each political party shall nominate not more than one of the two members of the Constitutional Convention to be elected from each senatorial district. It also provides for fifteen members to be elected at large, nominations therefor to be by petition. It requires that the question of holding a Constitutional Convention shall be submitted to the voters at a special election in August, 1921, and that every twenty years thereafter such question shall be automatically submitted to the voters. This amendment is the work of the New Constitution Association which has been endeavoring for a number of years to have the question submitted to a vote of the people. It is believed the provisions for bi-partisan and non-partisan membership will overcome the objections which have defeated former attempts to secure a Constitutional Convention.

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[276] Official Manual, 1915-16, pp. 603, 604; 1917-18; pp. 484, 485; 1919-20, pp. 428, 429.

[277] See below.

[278] Official Manual, 1915-16, p. 604.

*The former was adopted and the latter rejected. Fourteen bills passed by the Legislature in 1921 were suspended by referendum petitions and will be voted in 1922.

[279] Laws, 1919, p. 763. This amendment was ratified by the voters.

[280] Laws, 1907, p. 457.

[281] Laws, 1909, p. 914.

[282] Laws, 1913, p. 779.

[283] Laws, 1919, p. 748. This amendment was rejected by the voters.

It is an interesting coincidence that this survey of constitutional evolution in Missouri is completed on July 19, 1920, just one hundred years after the adoption of the Constitution of 1820. As the Constitution of today contains the essential features of the Constitution of 1820, this date may be taken as the Centennial of Missouri's Constitution. While the most fundamental characteristics of the Constitution of 1820, such as the division of powers, the bicameral Legislature, the independent Executive and Judiciary have been preserved in the existing Constitution, noteworthy changes have been introduced. Foremost of these has been the introduction of numerous limitations upon the power of the Legislature. Restrictions have been imposed upon its procedure, its enactment of local and special laws and its control over finances, while its power to regulate education, corporations and the structure and powers of State and local government has been seriously limited by the positive provisions regarding these matters that have been incorporated into the Constitution. Legislative power has also been restricted by the strengthening of the Governor's veto power, by the requirement for popular participation in the amendment of the Constitution and finally by introduction of a popular referendum on legislative acts and the possibility of direct popular enactment of laws without legislative participation.

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*This amendment was ratified by the voters. Laws, 1921, p. 711.

The second most noticeable change has been the substitution of the long for the short ballot. This has resulted from the elimination of appointive tenure and the establishment of popular election of the principal executive officials and judges.

Finally, the restrictions upon the Legislature and the regulations of matters in detail in the Constitution have resulted in the proposal by the Legislature and by initiative petition of numerous constitutional amendments. These, with the addition of legislative acts referred by petition to the voters, increased the size of the ballot to such an extent that the Legislature provided for a separate ballot for all propositions of this character.[284]

The men who framed the Constitution of 1875 appreciated the value of historical evolution. They realized that they were dealing with the Constitution which had been adopted in 1820 and changed from time to time to meet changed conditions. They undertook to adapt it to the problems of their day. If the demand for a new Constitution leads to a Constitutional Convention, the members of that body will undoubtedly be influenced by similar considerations. While modifying the existing document so as to enable the government to function in accordance with modern needs and popular demands, they will hold fast to all these features that have demonstrated their usefulness through the century of Missouri's constitutional development.

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[284] Laws, 1909, p. 492.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1820.*

BY F. W. LEHMANN.

We are proposing at this time a new constitution for Missouri which will be the fourth in its history and it may not be amiss to go back to the beginning of our statehood and take account of our first constitution in its practical operation as a plan of government and of the departures we have made from it in the course of a hundred years' experience.

The all-important branch of the government was the Legislative. It must be borne in mind that the State constitution was not like that of the nation one of grant, but was one of definition and limitation. In the State was inherent every power of sovereignty not denied by the Federal Constitution or the State Constitution itself. At that time the affairs of the people were essentially of local concern, their contact with Federal authority very slight and so the limitations of the Federal Constitution quite negligible. Those of the State Constitution were contained in a conventional bill of rights and in sections relating to slavery and to banks. With the exceptions stated, the General Assembly itself determined the scope of its powers—what were appropriate objects of legislation—and it determined the mode of exercising its powers. The only rule of procedure laid down was that every bill should be read on three different days in each house, but each house by a two-thirds vote could dispense with this rule. A majority of each house constituted a quorum and a majority of a quorum could pass a bill. If the Governor returned a bill with objections, a majority of the members elected to each house could pass it over his veto.

There were no restrictions against private, local or special laws and no requirement that bills should be confined to one subject matter which must be clearly stated in the title.

There was no limitation upon the power of taxation except that "all property subject to taxation should be taxed in proportion to its value." The rate of taxation for any state or local purpose might be whatsoever the legislature determined.

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*An address delivered at the general session of the American Historical Association in St. Louis, December 29, 1921, commemorating the centennial anniversary of the admission of Missouri to the Union.

The funds or credit of the state might be applied to any object public or private, with the sole exception of a religious use or purpose.

The Constitution was not a blatant document. Its silence was more significant than its speech. The Government it created was a strong one, because of the absence of restraint upon the methods and objects of legislation, the unrestricted power of taxation and the almost unlimited discretion in the use of public funds and credit.

At the time there was no apprehension of the abuse of these powers. The Government formed was a representative democracy, the members of the General Assembly being chosen by the direct vote of the people of the counties and the districts and directly responsible to them.

Sooner or later the power vested in men will be exercised to the uttermost and so it was here. Special, local and private legislation is found in the session laws from the beginning and it increased in volume and number of enactments until it far exceeded the general legislation. In the session of 1848-9, the public acts filled 132 pages and the private, 572. The public acts numbered 131 and the private 580. Of these private, local and special acts 167 were styled relief acts, 127 were special charters for corporations, 73 related to roads and highways, 53 granted divorces, 54 dealt with petty details of court administration in particular counties, and the others with mill dams, ferries, change of names and other matters of purely local or individual concern.

Looking more closely into this legislation we find that there were hundreds of bills for the relief of delinquent collectors of public revenues, extending the time for accounting by them and freeing them from the penalties of their delinquency. Some were pure acts of charity. In 1843 Madeleine Trouvenille was authorized, so long as she kept her blind son from becoming a public charge, to sell groceries without a license, but not on commission, nor as agent for others, and she must not at any time employ a capital in the business exceeding $500.00. Nor could she keep a dram shop without license. Moses Fuqua not being able otherwise to support his large family of small children, may peddle merchandise without license, but he may not sell clocks or spirituous liquors.

With a single corporation, a bank, in Missouri, when the Constitution took effect, there followed and continued a spawning of corporations of every kind, and all under special charters. There were municipal, eleemosynary and business companies of every variety. Educational institutions were chartered upon some of which restrictions were imposed which would preclude denominational influence, while others were left free from such restrictions. So there was diversity in the powers and privileges granted to companies related to transportation, as bridge, ferry, turnpike, plank road and railroad companies. Some were subject to regulation of rates and others not; some exempt from taxation and others not. It made a fertile field for the lobbyist. But not much was actually done under these charters. Conditions were too primitive. This is indicated by the rates permitted to these paper railroad companies, twelve and a half cents per mile for passenger travel and the same sum per mile for carrying a ton of freight. In 1839, John W. Wells was authorized to build a toll bridge across Moniteau creek in Cole county, the schedule of charges permitted ranging from six and a fourth cents for a plodding pedestrian to one dollar for a pleasure carriage. We may be sure there was little use of such a bridge, if indeed it was ever built.

Many of these facts deal with matters now under the jurisdiction of our probate courts. They made appointment of guardians and provided for the sale of land of decedents and minors. One act removed the administration of the estate of Thomas Reynolds from Cole to Platte County.

Charles Gregaire dissatisfied because his warehouse was within the corporate limits of Big Field, secured a legislative contraction of those limits which left it without. On the other hand, John Fields dissatisfied because his residence was outside of school district 16, had the district limits extended to include it.

Lotteries were authorized to aid in the building of railroads and hospitals and for other purposes. To help Neziah Bliss in the establishment of iron works, a loan to him of fifty thousand dollars from the state funds was authorized, Neziah promising to sell bar iron at not above ten cents a pound, and hollow ware "at as reduced prices as it can be had in any of the western states or territories." The state established a tobacco warehouse in St. Louis, to protect planters against excessive charges by private warehousemen, but after a few years abandoned its operation.

To meet the financial stringency of 1821, a public loan office was set up, authorized to issue certificates in denominations of not less than fifty cents, nor more than ten dollars, to the extent of two hundred thousand dollars, receivable in payment of taxes and all debts due the State. Public officials must take them in payment of their salaries and ferrymen in payment of their charges under penalty of forfeiting their charters. The pork barrel principle was recognized and applied. The state was divided into five districts with an office in each, and the certificates were to be loaned in fair proportion between the counties not more than $1,000 to any one person. The Act was passed June 27th, 1821, further issuance of certificates was prohibited November 27th, 1822, and the act itself was repealed on December 18th following. It required years to settle the affairs of this loan, and as late as January, 1831, an act was passed authorizing the State Officials "to compound with all Loan Office debtors by receiving from them fifty cents on the dollar upon the amount of principal which now remains due from them without including any of the interest now due upon said debts."

From the beginning there was a general law authorizing the courts to grant divorces for specified causes and this jurisdiction was exercised by the Courts as it is now and held by them to be exclusive. None the less, the General Assembly granted divorces by special acts. The Legislature of 1832-3 granted 49, that of 1844-5 granted 53. If anything is *sui generis* it is a divorce suit. The right or the wrong in the case is personal, individual, and yet the legislature of 1832-3 bundled 37 divorce cases into one omnibus bill and the bill passed on one roll call. Of the 49 divorces enacted by this Assembly, 46 were vetoed by the Governor, but the bills were all of them promptly passed over his veto. The title to the Act did not always indicate its purpose, as, for example, it was "an Act for the relief of Thomas Foley" or "an Act for the relief of Caroline Taylor." In most of the cases, the cause for divorce was not stated, not even which of the parties was applicant therefor. In the case of Barbara and Richard Powell the entire act reads:

> "Whereas it appears from the petition of both parties that they wish to be separated, and cannot live happily together and as the happiness of the people should be the ultimate end and object of all governments; therefore be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri that the bonds of matrimony heretofore contracted between Barbara Powell, late Barbara McClellan, and Richard Powell be and the same are hereby revoked and that the parties to said marriage are hereby divorced from the bonds of matrimony by them contracted to and with each other."

The promotion of internal improvement for years manifested itself principally in legislation, of which there was an over-abundance. Some short lines of macadamized and plank roads were built and surveys were made of the tributaries to the Mississipi and Missouri rivers with a view to rendering them navigable. There was a canal fund, but no canals.

Railroads came into use in 1830, but for two decades, nothing was done in Missouri, except to charter railroad companies. Private capital was reluctant to engage in the new enterprises. At last the credit of the state was invoked.

The experience of other states in themselves building, owning and operating the roads was not encouraging and so in Missouri the plan pursued was to aid private enterprise by city and county funds, either in the way of loans or stock subscriptions and in addition, by the issuance of state bonds to the various companies, which were to be a first lien on the properties. The United States also aided by the grant of public lands. And until the work was completed and the lines in operation, they were free from taxes. The use of the State's credit through the issuance of bonds was free and indeed lavish. At the beginning the State invested one dollar for every dollar contributed from other sources and later it contributed two for one. It was the case of public money at private disposal, resulting in great waste, if not worse. The roads were expensively and poorly constructed. While the state aid was intended as a loan, and the companies were to pay the interest upon the principal of the bonds, only one company, the Hannibal and St. Joseph complied with this obligation. This Company had the most valuable land grant and as well the largest private subscription.

Seven companies were the recipients of the state's favor, and from the beginning of this policy in 1851 to its end in 1857, $24,950,000 of state bonds were authorized and $23,710,000 actually issued. This does not impress one now as a very large amount, but taking into account the population and wealth of the state then and now, it is equivalent to a present day indebtedness of more than $250,000,000.

There was a settlement after the war in the course of which the roads were sold for $6,131,396 which left a deficit of interest and principal borne by the state of $24,604,344.

While aid by the state was discontinued in 1857 it was left open to the counties, cities and towns to give the help of their funds and credit, and after the civil war, contributions by them to the extent of about $8,000,000 more were authorized to railroads which were never built and on some of which not so much as a shovel-full of dirt was ever turned. Some of these contributions were paid but many of the counties contested their liability on the bonds they had issued and there followed expensive litigation which ended in compromises, the last case being disposed of but a few months ago.

Comparing the constitution of 1820 in respect of these working details with that of 1875, which, with some amendments is our present plan of government, we find the changes many and marked.

The veto power of the Governor has been greatly enlarged. He may now veto single items of appropriation bills as well as bills in their entirety and his action now may be overridden only by a two-thirds majority of the entire membership of each House.

Bills must be confined to one subject and this must be clearly expressed in the title, preventing the log-rolling so common when two or more unrelated matters might be combined in one measure. Private, local and special laws are prohibited specifically in the many cases in which they were used under the old constitution, and in all cases where a general law may be made applicable. It is of particular importance that corporations can no longer be created by special charter, but only under general law and subject to constitutional limitations and to legislative supervision and control by general law. The power of taxation is restricted and as well that to incur indebtedness, and public funds and public credit, whether of the state or its local subdivisions may be applied only to public uses. Internal improvements are left to private initiative and private capital, or the public funds and public credit being employed, the work is made a public function and carried out under public ownership and public conduct as in the case of roads and highways and certain specified utilities as water works and lighting plants.

The framers of the Constitution of 1820 wrought in forecast of the century that has intervened. The social structure of their time was a simple one, a rural community marked by individual independence. The changes in that structure went beyond their wildest dreams. The new conditions have their peculiar needs. But human nature remains much the same and it is true now as it was a hundred years ago, that power will be exerted for what ever and to the extent, it is permitted. Our present plan of government is not a thing of instant inspiration, but a slow development determined in its course by hard experience. It will be well if in the making of a new plan, we do not lightly disregard the dearly bought lessons of that experience.

MISSOURIANS ABROAD—NO. 10

FLORENCE D. WHITE.

BY W. A. KELSOE.

Florence D. White, journalist, was born October 4, 1861, in St. Louis, Mo., son of Thomas and Elizabeth White. He was reared and educated in this city and was graduated from the Christian Brothers' College with the degree of bachelor of arts in the class of 1878. Soon after his graduation he was appointed to the local staff of the St. Louis Evening Post, founded by John A Dillon early in 1878. After the purchase of the Evening Dispatch by Joseph Pulitzer and the consolidation of the Post and the Dispatch Mr. White's first work on the Post-Dispatch was that of political reporter. His promotion to the position of city editor followed (in 1888) and still later (1890) he became managing editor of that paper. In 1896 he was called by Mr. Pulitzer to New York City and he there filled managerial positions in the editorial and business departments of the New York World, which had become Mr. Pulitzer's property. In July, 1897, Mr. White returned to St. Louis to become the editor of the Post-Dispatch and he remained here until March, 1898, when he was again called to New York City, this time to become manager of the Sunday World. Before the close of the year, however, he came back to St. Louis to assume the general management of the Post-Dispatch, and this position he still holds. He is widely known to the newspaper profession of the United States as an able and vigorous writer and a newspaper manager of broad capacity. (William Hyde's Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis—published 1899.)

The biographical sketch of Mr. White in the 1920-21 edition of "Who's Who In America," is based on the one just quoted from Hyde's History of St. Louis, even the wording of the latter being given in several places. The only additional information found in the later publication is of the intervening period. The "Who's Who" sketch states that Mr. White has been the financial manager of the New York World since 1899 and that he is now also general manager of it and a director of the Press Publishing Co. (which publishes the New York World and the New York Evening World). Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., assumed the active, personal management of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch several years ago, relieving Mr. White of the work and thus permitting the latter to give more of his time to the New York World. Mr. White resides in New York City.

I have been unable to find any other biography or biographical sketch of Mr. White. He shuns publicity and for the facts gathered for this article the Missouri Historical Review is indebted to a few of his St. Louis friends, notably Rev. J. T. Foley, Judge Jesse McDonald, George S. Johns, Joseph J. McAuliffe, William Vincent Byars, Joseph R. Groom, James T. Keller, George F. Mockler, W. H. (Harry) James, John W. Kearney, C. R. Webb and Leon F. Witzig. These gentlemen speak in the highest terms of Mr. White, both as a man and as a journalist. With the exception of the first gentleman named, all have been associated with him in newspaper work in St. Louis and two or three of them also in New York City.

Father Foley, now pastor of St. Cronan's Church, was a classmate of Mr. White at the Christian Brothers' College. They lived in the same part of the city, White on North Seventh between O'Fallon street and Cass avenue and his friend Foley, a few blocks further west. The college was then on the southwest corner of Cerre and South Eighth streets and the boys walked the long distance back and forth, regardless of weather conditions.

During his student days White lost an older brother, Thomas, who had also attended the college. Their only sister, Katie, then a little girl, is still residing in St. Louis. The parents had died while the family were living on the South Side—near La Salle and South Sixth streets, or perhaps it was in their Stoddard Avenue home (the part of South Eleventh street extending from Chouteau to Park avenue was called Stoddard avenue in the seventies).

Daniel McAuliffe, Mrs. White's brother, was appointed guardian of the children and it was with the McAuliffe family they lived when Rev. J. T. Foley first met them. The McAuliffes had children of their own, two of whom have made an enviable mark in journalism, Daniel as man-

FLORENCE D. WHITE

aging editor of the St. Louis Republic and Joseph as managing editor of the Globe-Democrat. The daughters were Kate, or Catherine McAuliffe, now living with F. D. White's sister, and Mary, now Mrs. John R. Scott of St. Louis.

At college young White was a favorite with students and teachers alike. Father Foley says his classmate was quiet, well behaved and studious. Although the youngest member of the class, under seventeen years of age at the time of his graduation, Florence White ranked high in his studies. He indulged in a game of hand-ball now and then, but paid very little attention to other athletic sports. He displayed considerable histrionic talent and took part in several literary and dramatic entertainments. Among his classmates were Joseph Hartnett, who later was for many years secretary of the L. M. Rumsey Manufacturing Company of St. Louis; Leonard Reese, now living in Springfield, Ill., and John Brittingham, who located soon after graduating, with this brother George (another Christian Brothers' College "boy"), in Chihuahua, Mex., where I met them some years later (1891) while representing the Post-Dispatch and its managing editor, F. D. White, on the occasion of a royal reception given a delegation of St. Louis business men by the American Colony of Chihuahua.

Mr. White's newspaper career began in the summer of 1878 (soon after his graduation from college) on John A. Dillon's recently established Evening Post, published in the old Globe-Democrat building on the northeast corner of Fourth and Pine streets. Mr. Leon F. Witzig, now with the Globe-Democrat, was one of White's fellow reporters there. Another was A. H. Spink, now a noted Chicago sport writer. Mr. Witzig remembers that Florence or "Flory," as he was generally called by his newspaper friends, had a good nose for news and made an excellent "kid reporter." One of his daily assignments was to report the Biddle Street Police Court, held in an old church or mission house on the northwest corner of the street of that name and North Broadway.

When the Dispatch and the Post consolidated, as reported in "Hyde's History" and "Who's Who in America," in December, 1878, Mr. White had his first trial as political reporter on the Post-Dispatch and he "made good" from the start, but it was as a police reporter that he achieved his greatest reportorial success. Mr. George S. Johns, who began his St. Louis newspaper career (after considerable valuable experience elsewhere) a little later (1883) on the Post-Dispatch, gives a glowing account of some of White's achievements at the Four Courts, the building in which the city's main police court, two state courts, the jail, a calaboose and "hold-over," the coroner's office, grand jury rooms and the police headquarters were located. According to Mr. Johns, his friend White had a keen mind as well as a good nose. My own recollection of young White's reporting is much the same, though my contact with him at that period was as a competitor and foe rather than as an associate and friend. I remember that he was distinguished not only for his nose for news but also for his leg talent. One day in 1879 I dropped into a stocking factory on Market near Ninth street and found "Flory" White and John T. McEnnis, another Post-Dispatch reporter from the Christian Brothers' College who had entered journalism via Mr. Dillon's evening Post. Both expected to take part in the reporter's walking contest soon to be held at the old Rink on Nineteenth and Pine streets and were supplying themselves with seamless socks for the big event and also for the preliminary training. Twenty-one reporters and one city editor (Walter B. Stevens) had been entered for the race. That "Flory" White let "Jimmy" Boyle, then a Globe-Democrat reporter and later President McKinley's private secretary, carry off the first prize was due, I am confident, to the Post-Dispatch man's kindness of heart and his willingness to sacrifice his own for another's benefit. Ralph Bayard, another of Mr. Pulitzer's reporters (later a well-known New York writer), wanted to take part in the race but was barred, his entry not having been received in time. Then it was that young White made his big sacrifice, retiring in Bayard's favor. Bayard ran in White's place and under White's name. He was one of the prize winners, but his prize was for gracefulness, or something of that kind, not for distance or endurance.

Mr. White is especially noted for kindness of heart, loyalty to old-time friendships and extending the hand of good fellowship to former personal or professional foes. Although devoted to his profession as but few journalists are, he gave up newspaper work temporarily at the request of Major Lawrence Harrigan, his close personal friend, when the latter was chief of police, to become his private secretary and confidential adviser, and again when Major Harrigan received from President Cleveland the appointment of appraiser of the government port of St. Louis.

Mr. White's friendship for John A. Cockerill after the latter had left the New York World is well known. I remember serving once as a messenger for Mr. White when he wanted a change made in the program of a concert given by Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore's famous band at the old Exposition Building which stood on the site of the present public library. I don't know what the change was, only that it was in deference to Mr. White's regard for Mr. Cockerill and that the request was complied with.

The only time that Mr. White was ever discharged from a newspaper, so far as my information goes, was when Charles H. Jones took charge of the Post-Dispatch in 1895 and discharged most of Mr. Pulitzer's special friends on the paper, but Mr. White, instead of harboring any ill-will gainst Mr. Jones, became one of his best friends later in New York City and was entertained by him at the Jones home there. His friendship for Samuel Williams, or "Col. Sam," as the old gentleman, now ninety years old, is still familiarly called, may also be mentioned here. Mr. Williams, who had charge of the editorial page of the Post-Dispatch for several years and who lost his position and his connection with the Pulitzer interests because of the Jones affair, has no better friend outside of his family today than F. D. White, who seldom comes to St. Louis without continuing his journey to the Williams home in St. Louis County.

Judge McDonald was White's roommate in the eighties when they were newspaper reporters and when the former was studying law. They first roomed at the southeast corner of Fifteenth street and Lucas place (Locust street) and later in the old home of the Giles F. Filley family on Lucas place, taking their meals then in a boarding house across the street. The judge acted as groomsman at Mr. White's marriage in Chicago, May 14, 1907, to Miss Annie K. Cleary, daughter of James M. Cleary, formerly of St. Louis. Mr. Cleary died in Mrs. F. D. White's childhood, but the Cleary family is still well remembered in St. Louis, particularly James' brother, Redmond Cleary, one of the leading grain dealers of the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange many years.

Mr. Mockler could, I believe, fill a big book with interesting reports of F. D. White's newspaper work in St. Louis as reporter, city editor and managing editor. He speaks in high praise of Mr. White's aid in having railway crossings bridged and overhead wires put under ground; in the construction of the Post-Dispatch Lake in Forest Park, which gave employment to an army of unemployed men for several weeks; in securing the legislation which established a pension fund for members of the Fire Department; in having the dust nuisance in the streets banished for all time by municipal sprinkling; in having the price of gas reduced; in breaking up the gambling and lottery rings; in taking politics out of the School Board (Board of Education); and in ridding the Municipal Assembly and State Legislature of boodlers and grafters.

Mr. White stood for years very close to Joseph Pulitzer, the elder, and that his services to the New York World and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch have been duly appreciated by the sons is fully attested by their action in placing him in charge of the papers.

TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE MISSOURI QUESTION*

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER.

Missouri is the premier state of paradoxes. Settled by the French, who controlled her greatest business, the fur trade, Missouri after 1804 never had an important elective office filled by a Frenchman. A western state not immune from speculation, the State of Missouri never chartered a wild-cat bank or issued wild-cat currency. A Democratic state shouting both brands—the Jeffersonian and the Jacksonian—Missouri elected two Whig United States senators and thrice elected by general ticket a Whig congressman. A Democratic state for forty years, Missouri followed this with six years of Republican rule. A slave territory and a slave state, Missouri emancipated her own slaves three weeks before Congress proposed the Thirteenth Amendment and eleven months before that Amendment was adopted. With 115,000 slaves in 1860, the majority of Missouri's leading slave counties opposed secession and stood for the Union. Today these counties are the citadel of the Democratic party in Missouri. On the other hand, the strongest element of voting power of the Missouri secessionists came from many of those counties which today are the country backbone of the Republican party. A Democratic state for nearly three-quarters of a century, Missouri today is uniquely independent in politics. The senatorial political prize has never gone begging in Missouri, still Missouri for two years (1855-1857) was represented in the United States Senate by only one man—Henry S. Geyer—the first instance of its kind in American history. A greater paradox is the refusal of Missouri's governor, Sterling Price, to appoint a senator when the Legislature failed to agree. The principal of this refusal, based on strict interpretation of powers, was later given official declaration by the United States Senate. What state can present such paradoxes as these? Known most widely today for her Pershing, Crowder, and "I'm from Missouri, you've got to show me." Elected as her first two United States Senators men who legally by congressional enactment drew per diem compensation and mileage for three and one-half months before their terms began but who refused to accept courtesy mileage? For thirty years followed the greatest statesman of the West, then defeated him for his pro-Union principles and ten years later in state convention assembled declared for peace, conservatism, and Unionism? Honored with titles and monuments the man on whom the mantel of Benton fell—the great Frank P. Blair—a Democrat first, then a fighting Republican, and last a fighting Democrat without fear or reproach whose name is preserved in G. A. R. posts and in the christening name of the sons of Missouri's Confederates? Produced two statesmen, Benton and Blair, who are nationally known, and two more who are hardly known at home, altho on most reliable authority these latter two were exceptional men even compared with the notable senators of ante-bellum days—James S. Green and Lewis F. Linn? Missouri truly is a state of paradoxes in which traditions find fertile soil and flourish profusely.

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*An address delivered at the general session of the American Historical Association in St. Louis, December 29, 1921, commemorating the centennial anniversary of the admission of Missouri to the Union.

Despite their youth of a hundred years, the traditions surrounding Missouri's struggle for statehood today have a currency ring and the general popular acceptance of legends. They are part of our sagas and some have crept even into national life. Hardly a phase of this question lacks a legend, and hardly a legend possesses a truth. For fifty years Missouri was the cross-roads of trade, transportation and emigration from east to west. This geographical position, the most important influence in her history, was conducive to social change and economic development. It was not conducive, however, to intellectual stability. On the other hand, if ever a state needed the most searching, painstaking scholars to unravel her web of history, that state was Missouri.

The Missouri question is popularly interpreted as confined to the single Missouri Compromise of 1820. In fact, however, it includes *two* compromises—the one of 1820 and another one in 1821. The latter is usually slighted or ignored. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was logically a Louisiana Purchase compromise. On the other hand, the neglected or ignored compromise of 1821 was an attempted compromise or restriction on Missouri's statehood, enforceable on Missouri as a necessary condition but violable without penalty after compliance. Further, contrary to popular conception, the author of the compromise of 1820 was *not* Henry Clay but was Jessie Burgess Thomas of Illinois. The real Missouri Compromise, the one of 1821, *was* fathered by Henry Clay.

A tradition even more widespread interprets the compromise of 1820 as a northern victory. Area is the argument used. Excluding the state of Louisiana, admitted in 1812, the Louisiana Purchase country included 834,352 square miles. From this area twelve states were later formed in whole or in part. Of this area the south retained for slavery expansion 175,000 square miles, or what are today the states of Arkansas, Missouri and in part Oklahoma; the north obtained for free soil 659,000 square miles, or what are today in whole or in part the states of Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota and Wyoming. The conclusion *seems* inevitable that the compromise of 1820 was a northern victory, the south retaining only territory which was predestined to slavery by southern position and southern settlers. The error of this conclusion lies in confusing our latter 19th century geographical conception of the trans-Mississippi country with the American geographical conception of that section of 1820 or even 1830, 1840 and as late as 1850.

There can be little doubt that the standard histories of the United States have failed to emphasize the importance of the American geographical conception of the Trans-Mississippi country, excluding Texas, from 1810 to around 1850. This concept of all north and west of Missouri is concisely defined in the term used for nearly half a century by scholars and statesmen, text-book authors and novelists. That term was "The Great American Desert." For forty years "The

Great American Desert" included what is today one-half of the world's greatest granary—the Mississippi Valley. Considering the relatively accurate knowledge of the trade routes of this region possessed by traders, trappers and explorers, and considering even the relatively accurate knowledge of this region possessed by scientists and observing travelers, it is surprising that "The Great American Desert" persisted decade after decade, a barrier to settlements, a refuge for savages, and an all too handy term of derision by foreign writers and statesmen to discourage emigration to western United States. In reading the literature of that day descriptive of this section, it seems that the Government reports educated the adult population and the school text-books educated the growing generation to recognize the fact that America could rival Africa in possessing a Sahara.

The popular American geographer of the latter 18th century was Jedidiah Morse, a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale, the head of a ladies' school, an ordained minister, a five-year journalist, and a two-year government official. His qualification as a popular writer is proven by his output of four geographies. His accuracy as a geographer is indicated by this quotation from one of his works: "From the best accounts that can be obtained from the Indians, we learn that the four most capital rivers of the continent of North America, viz.: the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon (Missouri) and the Oregon, or River of the West, have their sources in the same neighborhood." On his map the Oregon had its source in northeastern Dakota and emptied in the Bay of San Francisco. St. Louis is on the east side of the Mississippi. He says, "It has been supposed that all settlers who go beyond the Mississippi will be forever lost to the United States." Jedidiah Morse gave the American people the most advanced data of our interior as was known in New England.

The first decade of the 19th century saw the four-river source myth exploded by Lewis and Clark and Pike, but a new myth, "The Great American Desert," was born. All three explorers were under commission of the United States

Government. To Zebulon M. Pike, a native of New Jersey, the West is largely indebted for "Pike's Peak," the prospect of profitable trade with Santa Fe, and the mirage-barrier of "The Great American Desert." This New Jersey-Pennsylvanian did more thru his report of 1810 to the War Office to retard settlement of the trans-Mississippi country than all the Indian tribes of the plains. His report contains such descriptions and comments as this: "From these immense prairies may be derived great advantage to the United States, viz.: the restriction of our population to some certain limits and thereby a continuation of the Union. Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontier, will, by necessity, be constrained to limit their extent to the West to the borders of the Missouri and the Mississippi, while they leave the prairies, incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized Aborigines of the country." Here was an official report, based on two explorations, on the country north and west of Missouri. Pike had done more than explore the sources of the Mississippi and discover the peak which bears his name. He had discovered a desert that equalled the Sahara. In geographies and literature both in America and in foreign countries, "The Great American Desert" was now to receive unstinted publicity.

The next nation-wide advertisement of this district was again gratuitously written by a government official. To Major Stephen H. Long, a native of New Hampshire, a graduate of Dartmouth, and an officer in the United States Army, is the West indebted for the vivid colorings of "The Great American Desert." His great exploration of 1819-20, set forth in his report to the Secretary of War, is important in holding out promise of a lucrative trade with Santa Fe, and in picturing the West beyond Missouri as uninhabitable. He described the country between the Mississippi and the Missouri in these words: "Large tracts are often to be met with, exhibiting scarcely a trace of vegetation." Of the mountain region he wrote: "It is a region destined by the barrenness of its soil, the inhospitable character of its climate and by other physical disadvantages to be the abode of perpetual desolation." In conclusion he says: "From the minute account given in the narrative of the expedition of the bad features of the region, it will be perceived to bear a manifest resemblance to the deserts of Siberia."

As government documents Pike's and Long's reports were widely circulated and generally accepted. They furnished the data for statesmen, historians and geographers. The school geography of Woodbridge and Willard of 1824 thus describes the present Nebraska district: "The predominant soil of this region is a sterile sand." Later geographies used in the schools contained similar descriptions. Iowa and Minnesota were eliminated only as they were settled. The most graphic and damaging picture of the "American Desert" came from the pen of America's novelist, Washington Irving, when his *Astoria* appeared in 1836. Even in 1849 Olney in his geography in describing the great plain region, which he labeled "Great American Desert" said: "This Desert is traversed by numerous herds of buffaloes and wild horses and traversed by roving tribes of Indians." Such descriptions were repeated in 1852 in Smith's geography where he says that the Nebraska country is "little better than a desert," and that the Dakota and Montana country "resembles Nebraska in soil." Gradually the American Desert shrunk. By 1867 western Kansas remained and ten years later only the Bad Lands of Dakota were left. "The Great American Desert" of Pike and Long which were in the minds of the statesmen of 1820 had disappeared.

Clearly evident is the fallacy of the contention that the northern statesmen won on the Missouri Question of 1820. The pro-slavery leaders secured all territory which gave evidence of future settlement. The rest of the Louisiana Purchase was "uninhabitable," a part of the "Great American Desert." The soil of freedom was "sterile" soil. Not until the prairies were settled, not until the enterprise of the American western pioneer had built homes and reaped harvests, did the East acknowledge and the South recognize that the soil of freedom north of 36° 30′ was fertile soil. Then grew the tradition of the northen victory of 1820.

Another tradition rising from the Missouri question relates to the significant strength of the anti-slavery or slavery-restriction sentiment in Missouri. The only reliable measure of such sentiment is the campaign and election of the delegates to Missouri's constitutional convention of 1820. Only in 1820 was there open discussion pro and con of slavery itself in Missouri. There was no hedging, not even an attempt to arouse passion for slavery on the basis of digging up old anti-Congress arguments.

One editor, the veteran Charless of *The Missouri Gazette*, led the slavery-restrictionists. They could not complain of lacking a leader of ability, courage and integrity. But their defeat was decisive. Out of over eight thousand votes they polled about 850. There were eight pro-slavery voters to every slavery-restrictionist voter. Not a single avowed restrictionist delegate out of forty-one was elected. Pro-slavery sentiment in Missouri in 1820 was overwhelming. Missouri's 10,000 slaves, her 10,000 pro-slavery French inhabitants, her 40,000 southern settlers, gave economic and social bases to pro-slavery public opinion. Justice and humanity were on the side of the restrictionist, also the far-sighted logic of the future was theirs, but self-interest and the logic of the present fought on the side of the pro-slavery party.

A popular tradition, widely reproduced in speeches and text-books, concerns the election of Missouri's first United States senators, Barton and Benton. This tradition says that Barton was unanimously elected and that after several days of balloting Benton was elected. The records of the Missouri Senate show that Barton was not unanimously elected and that both he and Benton were elected on the same day and on the same ballot. Another tradition, this one illustrative of pioneer economy, gives the cost of Missouri's first constitution as $26.25. This was merely the amount of the secretary's contingent bill. The actual cost of the constitution was about $8,800. Even this amount was only one-third the cost of Missouri's first volume of session acts.

A tradition has arisen to the effect that altho Missouri had her state government in operation nearly a year before she was admitted, Missouri did not have her courts in session. This position is unfounded since both state circuit courts and the supreme court handed down decisions prior to August 10, 1821. A more widespread tradition isolates Missouri's struggle for statehood as unique in American history and makes Missouri's political condition from 1820 to August 10, 1821, as being without parallel. Missouri's struggle for statehood and her *de facto* statehood prior to admission are unique *only* in duration of time and simply furnish to the historian an interesting western state type study. Another tradition has attempted to relate the Missouri Question with the so-called Texas Conspiracy of the slavocracy. There is no substantive evidence to support this legend or to support the charge of a Texas conspiracy in the 20's on the part of the statesmen of the South. There are, however, out of the mouth of Stephen F. Austin, the leading Missouri colonizer of Texas, very plain words to nullify this tradition. Moreover, Von Holst, who gave this tradition respectability, is in error in founding it on the area theory of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. With the American conception of western geography prevailing in the '20s and '30s the South could have had no fear of northern expansion on the plains and the north could have entertained no hope of such expansion. The settlement of Texas was based on cheap land, its independence and acquisition was a classic example of the aggressive West expanding and conquering.

The last tradition of the Missouri Question indicts Congress for error and the Missouri Legislature for blindness concerning the compromise of 1821. In Missouri's constitution of 1820 was a clause commanding the Legislature to pass laws prohibiting free negroes from coming to and settling in Missouri. This clause was part of the 26th section of the 3rd article of the constitution. Congress objected to this clause and imposed as a necessary condition of admission the passage of a solemn public act by the Missouri Legislature pledging the State never to construe this clause so as to abridge the rights of citizens of other states. The Missouri Legislature in special session of 1821 complied with the condition, passed the solemn public act, and on August 10, 1821, Missouri's admission was declared complete by proclamation of President Monroe. The tradition arose that the clause as *indicated* by Congress was not and could not be identified with the objectionable free negro clause of the Missouri constitution. The original Missouri edition of the constitution and all the revised statutes of Missouri were consulted and compared. Sure enough, Congress had made an error, said tradition. The truth was, Congress had been accurate. The Missouri constitution as printed in Washington, D. C., by Gales and Seaton differed from the Missouri edition in the indentation of clauses of section 26. Congress worked with the Washington, D. C., edition, Missouri had always worked with the St. Louis or Missouri edition. Tradition had also said that, strange as it seemed, neither the Missouri Legislature nor Missourians of 1821 noticed this error of Congress. The fact is that Henry S. Geyer of St. Louis, the author of the solemn public act, not only noticed the seeming error of Congress but called the attention of the Legislature to it and thereby facilitated the passage of the act. Moreover, disclosure was publicly set forth in the *Missouri Gazette's* report of proceedings of June 13, 1821. So the error of Congress becomes an accurate statement, and the blindness of the Missouri Legislature becomes keen-sighted policy.

Is Missouri alone the state of paradoxes and traditions? Or is she like all of the West, the victim of misinterpretation, the hoax of "A Great American Desert" myth, the joke of an outlaw and banditry tradition, and the sacrifice of her own all too late appreciation of the permanent value of sound historical studies? I advance the proposition that those states stand highest in general renown which have stood highest in popularizing their true history. Such states may have blots on their commonwealth escutcheons but these blots assume greyish tints in the halo of widespread historical appreciation. Other states may have produced an advanced civilization and a galaxy of truly eminent men but without a popular appreciation of history based on scholarly research these states rely on tradition, which, seeking always the spectacular, heralds only the striking, whether it be helpful or harmful, important or insignificant.

The West regards itself as broad-minded, light-hearted and very democratic, and forgets that these attributes are attained only after long and hard striving. Broad-mindedness comes only with study and cosmopolitan association. Light-heartedness comes only with culture and refinement. True democracy, not hero-worship, is founded only on conservatism. It has been but recently that these conditions had widespread existence in the West. Pioneer life is serious, sacrificing, isolated. The specialist, whether historian or scientist, is taboo. Such a life is conducive to hero-worship, to snap-movements, to nostrums. Immediate action is demanded, evolution is ignored. Tradition displaces the historian; oratory, the scholar; and wit and sarcasm, the great leader. As education, culture, and popularized history grow, conditions change. Traditions give place to accurate history, the people's pride in their past increases, new data is brought to light and after careful weighing is given proper place, the spectacular is found in the truly significant, and the exceptional—the historical sports—is isolated. The Missouri Question instead of revealing an intense sectional hostility stands rather as revealing only *tendencies* towards a breach between slave-holding and nonslave-holding states. The geographical victory of the North in 1820, becomes a pronounced Southern victory. "The Great American Desert" becomes a harmful myth. The restrictionist sentiment in Missouri in 1820 becomes insignificant without power, influence, or sustaining foundation. The mistake of Congress in 1821 becomes an accurate statement of fact. Within fifty years, a mere pause in history, the traditions of the Missouri Question will pass, for today Missouri's people realize that facts are better than legends, and that history compiled by scholars and popularized throughout the commonwealth is superior and more profitable in every way than stories, features and myths.

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

By Wiley Britton

SECOND ARTICLE.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FAMILY MENU.

With very few exceptions the early pioneers settled near a good spring in the Ozark region, so that the family could be supplied with abundant pure water, and have a spring house for keeping milk and butter. The spring house was generally a few feet below the spring, its waters running through the spring house were so cool that they kept the milk and butter sweet in the summer and prevented them from freezing in the winter.

During the spring, summer and autumn, the cows lived on the wild grass on the range. We fed our milch cows in the spring and summer of evenings on corn meal and bran, slightly salted and mixed up with water, which not only had the effect of improving the richness of the milk and butter, but also of having them get into the habit of coming home at milking time.

But during the winter nearly every family fed their cows on corn, corn meal and bran and hay or fodder. In some families the cow was almost next to the mother of the children in supporting and bringing them up, and it was often interesting to see a couple of little tots, each with a tin cup in its hand, eagerly peering through the spaces between the rail fence, watching their mother milk the cow in the lot, ready to have their cups filled with warm milk.

In some families the male members did the milking and in other families the female members. When the cows were milked the milk was strained into an earthen crock, which was placed in the spring house in order that the cream might rise. The cream was put into a larger crock and when filled the cream was put into a churn ready for churning and making into butter. The churn was a wooden vessel made of cedar staves and bound around with smooth wooden or brass hoops; was covered with a movable lid at the top that had an inch hole in the center for the dash stick; the lid fitted into a space in the upper ends of the staves. The dash was a smooth round stick as large around as a broom stick and about three feet long, and had fastened on the lower end two pieces of wood that crossed each other, and in churning the dash stick was seized with either hand and moved up and down slowly or rapidly as required, until the butter was separated from the cream, leaving buttermilk.

Corn was the main crop raised by all the pioneers, and corn bread was the principal bread used at the meals morning, noon and evening, for it required a quicker and simpler process of getting it from the corn on the stalk to the mill ground into meal ready for baking, than wheat-flour bread, which took a more complicated process of getting it from the grain.

It is known to those who have studied the dietary effects of different foods, that corn bread is digestible in almost any form prepared; but our mothers of that day knew how to prepare it in several palatable forms, plain corn bread or pone; light corn bread, and corn bread made with shortening from the renderings during the winter season when the fat hogs were killed. Nearly every man kept a few hogs, and early in the fall put up in a pen two or three to fatten, feeding them on corn and swill until the early part of January, when they were killed and dressed and the different parts salted down in barrels.

But in a month or so after the brine formed, preserving this meat, it was taken out and hung from poles in the smoke house, and a slow fire built under it and smoked for several days; giving the owner the consciousness of having a good supply of fine bacon, sides, hams and shoulders for his family the coming year.

That there might be as little waste of the edible parts of the slaughtered hog as possible, such parts as the ears and feet were made into souse, a kind of pickle, and other parts into

GREER OR BIG OZARK SPRING, NORTH OF ALTON, OREGON COUNTY, MISSOURI.
REPORTED TO BE THE LARGEST COLD WATER SPRING IN THE WORLD.
FLOWS 435,000,000 GALLONS EVERY TWENTY-FOUR HOURS.
(Courtesy Springfield, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce.)

BENNETT SPRING, BETWEEN BUFFALO AND LEBANON, IN DALLAS COUNTY, MISSOURI.
(Courtesy Springfield, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce.)

sausage, both of which could be kept for some time; but other parts were not so easily kept, as the ribs, and part of the menu of the family was likely to be "spare ribs," a delicious morsel, for a few days until they were exhausted,

From the region of the kidneys were taken thick folds of fat which were rendered into lard of the finest quality and put up into earthen jars, which the mistress of the house could point to with genuine pride, when she desired it in making light, feathery biscuits. But the people did not use pork and bacon altogether; a fat young beef was killed now and then by one of several neighbors and quartered and divided between them, which each was expected to pay back in kind when he slaughtered his beef, so that nearly every family had fresh meat when they desired it.

There is another part of the family menu not yet named, and that is the chicken, and sometimes turkey, for the mistress of every home raised chickens and turkeys and had eggs and chicken when they wanted them.

But it was when the preacher came home with the father and mother from meeting on Sundays that the chicken was at its best; it was then that the mother fried it or stewed it or made chicken dumplings and put it on the table, which was dressed with her finest linen and her best dishes, the proper ones loaded with fruits of the season, honey and sweet butter, white feathery biscuits and home-made sauces for seasoning, strong coffee with rich cream turning it to a golden color; and it was then that after all the grown folks had sat down to the table and the preacher had returned thanks to the Giver of all good things, that he complimented the hostess for the bountiful offering spread before them.

And it was then too, that the children who were obliged to wait for the grown people to dine and looked on with watering mouths and hungry expressions, impatient of the delay that was keeping them from the feast, which was late when it began. It was then after father and the preacher had got up from the table and strolled about the place in friendly conversation about the crops and the seasons and the topics of the times, while the children were dining and the dishes cleared away, that they returned to the house and took their seats and commenced the discussion of religion in general, and certain doctrinal points in particular, as salvation by faith and repentance, the merits of baptism by sprinkling or immersion, infant damnation, the Resurrection, and other kindred subjects of dispute between different denominations of Christians, all of which lasted up to the time of going to the evening religious services which might be several miles distant.

But the family menu has not yet been exhausted, particularly in regard to the every day substantials, and special extras, for at intervals we had other good things to eat than those we have named. Practically every family raised white or Irish and sweet potatoes, sage, red pepper, string beans, roasting ears, onions, peas, pumpkins and squashes, cabbages, turnips, beets, peaches and apples, and all these formed a part of the family menu of the average family when they were in season, and most of them were preserved in some form or other during the winter. When the first frost came and killed the pumpkin vines, the pumpkins were hauled from the field and covered up in an enclosure where they would not freeze and at leisure taken out and peeled and cut into rings and hung on poles in the smoke house to dry, which, when cooked later into a thick sauce made excellent pumpkin pie, not such as the pumpkin pie of later times, but such only as the mothers of those times knew how to make, baked in ovens heated with living coals of fire. And the sausage after the hogs were killed, how delicious to the healthy child, as made of the trimmings of the dark meat mostly, but not ground with a sausage grinder as in later times, but with sage and pepper and salt added at the proper time, beaten on a solid block of wood until thoroughly macerated, and then removed and put away in jars or crocks, or put up in the intestines of hogs, after thoroughly cleaning, and hung up in the smoke house until needed.

When a change of menu was desired, baked white potatoes or sweet potatoes with sweet milk and butter, were considered appetizing and satisfied the pinch of hunger; or if something more rugged was required, due to weather or other conditions, corn bread and pork and beans, or pork and cabbage might be introduced at intervals for the dinner meal, with such accessories as apple sauce or peaches and cream.

There was another item of the family menu that was popular at intervals for supper, and that was milk and mush; the mush was made of corn meal well sifted and put into boiling water and boiled down to the proper consistency and then taken out and placed in a large dish and passed around in a saucer or bowl to each member of the family who was supplied with rich milk to pour over it, when it was ready to be eaten with a spoon. When the family had mush and milk for supper, there might be other food on the table, but very little else was consumed, except perhaps pumpkin pie, or some kind of cooked fruit, which was generally prepared for either meal of the day.

For breakfast, every family, no matter what was their condition, used coffee, particularly the father and mother; but if they kept cows and had plenty of milk the children were encouraged to use it, so that in some families at least, part of the children grew up without having acquired the habit of using coffee. At other meals coffee was rarely on the table except when the family had company, and then a good strong cup of coffee with rich cream, was considered appropriate to serve the guest, who, though not using it at home at other meals than breakfast, appreciated it as a compliment.

We had in that region what we called spice wood or spice bush that grew in the bottoms and along the streams, attaining a height of six to eight feet, and a thickness of an inch or more, from which tea was sometimes made, and with a little cream and sugar sweetening, was quite pleasant as a drink. There was little India tea used, but every year in the early spring, for a few weeks, the morning menu was slightly changed in many families, and they had in lieu of coffee and milk, sassafras tea, which, with proper sweetening and cream to improve the flavor was pleasant to the taste and acceptable as a change.

It was a belief entertained by many in that section that sassafras tea used for a few weeks during the month of March was beneficial to the blood; but no one could say that the theory was based on observation; no one could say from tests as to whether his blood was any thinner after using it a couple of weeks than it was before that. The bark was stripped from the roots of the smaller growths of the tree, which were found in great abundance on arable land or on cultivated land that had been turned out for a season or so, and dried, and the smaller roots without being stript of their bark, were also cut and dried and laid away until they were needed.

Each of the seasons had its particular wild fruits, berries and nuts, as spring with its strawberries, sarvis berries, dew berries, raspberries; summer with its blackberries, huckleberries and fox grapes; autumn with its pawpaws, persimmons, hickory nuts, walnuts, chinquepins, hazel nuts and wild grapes, smaller than the summer grapes, all of which the people shared with the birds and animals in appropriating to their use.

As a part of the family menu, meat was a feature in nearly every family, and in some families a very important feature, for if the head of the family passed most of his time in the woods and forests hunting, his family depended not only for their meat supply on his success in hunting and killing and bringing home wild game, but also for other supplies, as corn meal and flour and other items of food which he did not produce and for which he must exchange so much of his wild game as he did not actually need.

His neighbors who devoted their lives to farming and had a surplus of the products of the farm, were generally ready to exchange with him any of the items of food for part of a venison or wild turkey gobbler. Those who devoted little of their time to hunting, were not in all cases dependent on the hunter for wild game that furnished a part of the family menu, for along the fence rows and in the woods and thickets near their farms, there were flocks of quail, and in the autumn and winter there were flocks of prairie chickens, and alighting in their farms, there were flocks of quail, and in the autumn and winter there were flocks of wild geese and ducks.

Almost every farmer boy twelve years of age could tell you of his luck in trapping quail, half a dozen to a dozen at a time in his figure four trigger trap, and he could also tell of his success in trapping prairie chickens in a larger trap of the same kind as that set for quail, in a field near a corn shock. Many farmers kept a gun, rifle or shotgun, and when a flock of wild geese or ducks alighted in his meadow, the farmer could generally approach it from the windward and nearly always succeeded in hitting one on the ground or on the wing as they rose to fly away.

After the western part of the Ozark region gradually became more settled and the farmers had emerged from earlier pioneer conditions, in normal years they raised a surplus of corn and wheat, cattle and hogs and horses and mules, for which they had a kind of home market, particularly in the southwest part of the State, disposing of their corn and wheat to their neighbors who were generally short on these products, and to the Cherokee Indians who always had money paid to them by the Government and purchased liberally of our farmers, corn, wheat and flour. These Indians had a fine grazing country and every year raised great herds of cattle and horses that required very little attention, but found some sale with the Missouri farmers.

Every spring drovers came around and bought up of the farmers of our section all the steers they could get to drive to Independence as soon as the grass would afford good grazing.

From the early fifties on up to the war, Independence was an outfitting point for the western forts, for the trappers of the Rocky Mountain region; for the Santa Fe and Salt Lake trade, and for the California emigrants, and every spring and during the summer, many wagon trains were fitted out there with supplies for those posts.

There were some lean years as well as fat years, when there were seasons of excessive rains and seasons of excessive droughts, almost destroying the crops and imposing hardships upon all and restricting the family menu in many respects.

CHAPTER X.

HOMEMADE CLOTHING.

The pioneers were dependent upon their own resources for clothing, food and shelter, which they were obliged to provide with such skill as they possessed, often of a rude kind.

Every pioneer came into the country from the east driving a two-ox or two-horse team, the wagon containing the belongings of the family, and the mother and children, while the husband and father walked beside his team, the left side, to guide it and pick out the road, which, in those early days was little more than a bridle path, badly washed out in places by heavy rains. On reaching the intended destination, the pioneer sought and camped near a good spring and immediately commenced to provide shelter for his family by cutting and hauling logs from the forest to build a log house, which he asked his neighbors to assist him in raising.

There was hardly any family completely independent of their neighbors; but most of them were able to supply their own wants in the way of clothing and food after they became settled.

Every father made and repaired the shoes of his family; made the ox-yoke and the bows for it for his pair of oxen; made the hames and collars for his pair of horses; but the leather for making and repairing shoes and for making and repairing his horse collars had to be obtained from the tannery; the ring and staple in his ox-yoke had to be obtained from the blacksmith, and if he had a damaged wheel on his wagon, he had to take it to the wheel-wright to have it repaired.

On coming into the country from Indiana, father entered an eighty-acre tract of land on Shoal Creek near the present

NIANGUA RIVER EMPTYING INTO THE OSAGE
(Courtesy Springfield Chamber of Commerce.)

GRAND FALLS, THREE MILES SOUTHWEST OF JOPLIN. ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL NATURAL WATERFALLS IN THE COUNTRY. SHOAL CREEK PASSES OVER THESE FALLS.
(Courtesy Joplin News-Herald.)

site of Neosho, and after putting up a log house and moving into it and raising a crop of corn, started a tannery which supplied the neighborhood with leather.

Thus it was that there were in every neighborhood men sufficiently skilled in the different vocations and crafts to supply the wants in every department of a primitive community.

Nearly everybody raised a few head of sheep and a patch of cotton, the sheep for wool for making into clothing, blankets and stockings, and the cotton to mix with the wool as warp when weaving cloth for the family. When the sheep were sheared in the spring the wool was washed and the burrs picked out of it, and when other work was not pressing, carded with hand cards into rolls ready for spinning into thread for hanks of yarn for the loom or knitting into stockings.

When the cotton, which had been planted, was picked from the stalk in the latter part of the summer or autumn, it was brought in and stored in a dry place, and at leisure the seeds ginned out with a hand gin, which consisted of two upright pieces of wood about two and a half inches square and perhaps fifteen inches in length, and about twelve inches apart, the lower ends fastened into a block or bench, and the upper ends firmly fastened to a cross piece. An inch or so below the cross piece two holes were bored one above the other in each of the side pieces, into which were fitted two rollers about one and a half inches in diameter, and on to the ends of one was fitted a handle or crank for turning it, which also turned the other at the same time. As the rollers were fitted close together, a person could sit down in front of the gin and with the right hand turn the handle or crank, and with the left hand feed the cotton so that the lint or fiber passed through between the rollers, leaving the seed to fall down in front of the gin.

This was a slow process of cleaning the cotton of the seeds, and could be performed by the children above ten years of age; but it effectively separated the fibre from the seeds, and it was the process used in preparing the cotton for the hand cards to be carded into rolls; it was an almost exact replica of the modern wringer used in forcing the water out of the clothes that have been washed.

We always spoke of the hand cards as a pair of cards, as it took two to card wool or cotton into rolls, using one in each hand. Each of the cards was about twelve inches long by five inches wide, with a handle on each four or five inches long, and glued on to the inside of each was a piece of leather of the length and width of the card into which was fastened thickly over it pieces of wire, perhaps not more than a quarter of an inch in length, called the card teeth, and when wool or cotton was placed on one and the other drawn over it, tended to straighten out the fiber into a soft fluffy mass, that was easily manipulated by the carder into a roll of the length of the card, and as large round as a sperm candle.

As fast as the rolls were made they were laid away in bundles ready for the spinning wheel, which might be operated by the mother or daughter of the family while another did the carding. The spinning wheel used for spinning wool or cotton was the larger one as distinguished from a smaller wheel used for spinning flax into thread for making linen, and was also found in many homes. But the larger spinning wheel was of simpler construction than the smaller one; it was made of a block of wood about four feet long, eight inches wide by two inches thick, and had fastened into a two-inch auger hole in it, somewhat to the right of the center, a three-inch round upright post about two feet in length, the lower end sloping to fit into the two-inch auger hole. An inch below the top of the post was fitted a smooth steel spindle, perhaps half an inch in diameter, for the wheel which had a hub or nave with boxing like an ordinary wagon wheel, from which radiated twelve to sixteen spokes, larger than the little finger, to the rim, which was about the circumference of a buggy wheel, say three feet in diameter, and was about two inches wide, a quarter of an inch thick, with a fluted groove in the outer center half an inch wide, and an eighth of an inch in depth, around the rear of which the band of belting passed around the small steel spindle in front and to the left, which was about six inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter, the left end tapering to a point.

Near the left end of the four-foot block, which was the body of the spinning wheel, there was an inch auger hole into which was inserted a turned piece of wood about fifteen inches long or high, on to which it fitted into an inch auger hole in the center of a turned piece of wood about six inches long and two inches in diameter. Near the ends of this turned piece of wood there was a half-inch auger hole into which were fitted two turned pieces of wood about six inches in length near the upper ends of which passed through the steel spindle which was fastened into a roller or wheel, around which the band or belting passed from the large wheel, so that one revolution of the large wheel made many revolutions of the spindle.

The four-foot block on which the spinning machinery rested had three legs, one long leg in front and two much shorter legs in the rear or right, the lower ends of which sloped to the left and right. In spinning the operator stood on the left of the big wheel and the spinning gear in front and turning the big wheel with the right hand, held one end of a roll to a piece of thread attached to the spindle, and when united, walked backwards a few steps to draw out the thread and then forward to run up the thread on the broach.

Those women who had become expert in spinning could perform the work almost automatically, for during the years of my childhood I have seen my mother day after day and frequently far into the night, spinning cotton or woolen rolls into thread on her spinning wheel, and sometimes in humming an air or tune, it seemed to blend with the whir of the wheel as she walked backward and forward in the rounds of her work. The whir of the wheel as she turned it with the right hand in walking backward three or four steps to draw out the thread with the left hand, after the lapse of many years, comes up as vividly in my mind as when I saw her at work, for indeed it was a task for any mother with a family of several children to spin and weave the warp and woof of the cloth she made for clothing for her family.

It was interesting as a child to watch her unite the woolen roll with the scrap of thread at the end of the spindle and then draw out the thread until it was sufficiently twisted and then run it up on the broach on the spindle. When the broach on which the thread was coiled was considered large enough it was removed with the sheath from the spindle and ready to put on a reel to make into a yarn hank, and the process of spinning thread and coiling it into broaches to put on the reel and made into hanks continued until it was estimated there were enough of them to make a given number of yards of cloth.

But there was much work yet to be done before the hanks or skeins were ready for the weaver; it had to be determined whether the cloth to be woven would have a warp of cotton, or whether it would be all wool and have a warp and weft of wool.

This matter having been determined, the yarn hanks had to be prepared for the warp to go around the big beam or roller, which was about four feet long and six or seven inches in diameter, on the back part of the loom, the width of the intended cloth, and the loose ends fastened in front of the sley.

Other hanks had to be prepared for the shuttle, which carried a bobbin containing the yarn of the weft or woof, and was thrown from one side of the web to the other between the thread of the warp, which passed through the sley or rather two sleys, made of thin strips of reeds about six inches in length set into a frame whose length was the width of the loom.

There were two treadles attached to the sley which the weaver from her seat could press upon with her feet, but one at a time would lower a sley, or releasing the foot from the treadle would raise the sley, half of the threads of the warp being held down and the other half being held up about two or three inches above the lower ones, between which the shuttle with the bobbin containing the thread of the weft passed, when the lower sley was released and the upper one pressed down, making a perfect crossing of the threads when the last thread of the weft was pressed close to the previous one by the teeth of the sley.

The sleys were fitted into the lower part of a frame, the upper part of which operated on pivots on the top of the loom, allowing the lower part to be moved backward and forward at will through a space of ten to twelve inches, and each movement was accompanied with the sliding up or down of one of the sleys when the pressure of the foot of the weaver was put on one of the pedals or released from it. A good weaver might weave two and a half yards of cloth in a day if she had some one to fill the bobbin, carried by the shuttle with yarn for the weft; but it would keep her busy from morning until night.

If the cloth to be woven was intended for pants or coats for every day use, it was generally colored brown by a concoction of boiled walnut leaves, bark, or hulls from walnuts after they had fallen from the tree, and the process of coloring could be while the yarn was in the hanks for the warp and woof, or it could be attended to after the cloth had come from the loom.

When the cloth was intended for the women or girls of the family, it was generally striped linsey and the yarn hanks had to be dyed the desired colors before going into the warp and woof in the weaving, and when plaid linsey was to be made, the warp and woof both had to be dyed in the hanks of the desired colors, before the weaving commenced.

Madder, indigo, copperas and green were the dyes used for getting the colors of the cloth to be woven, and every housewife knew how to prepare them to get the best results by patience and indefatigable industry. When the weaving of a piece of cloth was finished, it was taken out of the loom and laid away to be made into clothing and the warp and woof prepared for another piece, so that the loom was sometimes kept in operation the greater part of the year, with only short intervals when other work was pressing.

Every mother was the family tailor and cut and fit and made the clothing for her children and for herself and for her husband, and knit the socks and stockings for the family, leaving her as the only time for recreation going to church on Sundays, to which she might have to ride on horseback ten to twelve miles, leaving at home the older children to take care of the younger ones.

It was quite a task imposed upon every mother to look after and keep in repair the clothing of the family, for garments which she had handled in every step from the wool growing on the sheep's back on up through the loom to their giving warmth and protection to the bodies of members of her family, could not lightly be cast aside after so much toil and patience on account of being slightly or considerably worn. Nearly everybody of those days wore patched clothing, and I remember on more than one occasion, when, on someone coming to our house of running and hiding on account of being ashamed of my patched pants. There were no sewing machines in our section at that time, and the mother had to so all her sewing and mending by hand, and when one looks back over those times, with the primitive methods and processes in use, it seems marvelous that the mothers succeeded as well as they did in keeping their families clothed.

And then there was the bed clothing for keeping the family warm in winter, that claimed her attention, from the weaving of woolen blankets to the piecing and quilting of quilts, and the raising of geese and ducks for their feathers for feather beds and pillows. Every scrap of good cloth in worn out garments was cut out and laid away to piece into quilts, and when one was completed and the cotton batting and lining prepared, there was usually a quilting and the neighbor women invited, which meant a good dinner by the hostess to her guests.

This incessent industry of the mothers naturally carries with it a tendency to take care of everything useful, so that there was very little waste in the economy of the household, an important factor in bettering the condition of the family each succeeding year.

The homemade clothing provided by our pioneer mothers, for comfort and durability, could not be surpassed, and satisfied the aesthetic taste of that region; but when we recall the infinite patience and toil and slowness with which it was produced, it challenges our admiration for the sturdy, industrious, honest people of that time.

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING AND TRAINING.

It could not be truly said that religion was neglected by the pioneers of our region, for practically every family in the community where members of some of the Christian denominations of the country. When any community was too thinly settled to have a church or meeting house, services were held in the homes of the members. The congregations in the homes of members were generally small, sometimes not exceeding ten to fifteen persons, and if they had no regular preachers some member known for his ability to talk or exhort, was called upon to officiate.

While country preachers were licensed to preach, which carried with it authority to unite persons in marriage, they had no regular salary, but gave their time and services to their followers without demanding compensation. But the members were not generally entirely unmindful of his sacrifices in their behalf, and perhaps as often as once or twice a year they might have a meeting and decide to make up something for him, consisting of corn, wheat, pork, bacon and other products of the farm of which he likely stood in need.

The preacher may have been a man of whom we heard of many, who considered himself specially chosen to go out and preach the Gospel, regardless of his fitness for the work, as judged by the standards of later times.

In that section, the preacher, generally called parson, was not a man of classical education; but a man who rarely read any other book than the New Testament or Bible, for the reason that the simplicity of the people did not demand a broader culture. Indeed there were preachers who could not read at all; but preached from the words or texts of the

Scriptures as they had many times heard them read or quoted by other preachers in their sermons. In the discussion of doctrinal points, nearly every one interested in religious matters, had heard read or quoted many times, whether he could read or not, the gist of the subject under discussion.

In those early days there was no newspaper in our county and the only books generally found in the homes of families, were the New Testament and Bible and some of the Hymn books used by the different denominations in their religious services. There was no discussion of scientific questions and very little discussion of political questions until the slavery agitation came up, for no one knew anything about science or politics.

Religious thought had the field and it was confined to a narrow channel; each individual gave his own interpretation and made his own comments on disputed points of doctrine without the assistance of Ecclesiastical Commentaries, or other illuminating works, such as were found in the libraries of men who had attended Theological Schools to prepare them for the work of the ministry. The preachers and people were superstitious in regard to many things for it was the general belief that the appearance of a comet was a sign portending war, and that all calamities and disasters, such as cholera, epidemics of all kinds, earthquakes, destructive floods, were evidences of Divine displeasure and sent upon the people as a punishment for their sins.

This idea that the Deity was always ready to punish a nation or community for the sins of omission or commission of a few individuals prevailed amongst not only the illiterate preachers and their followers, but it was preached by the most eminent divines of all orthodox denominations throughout the country, and the man who dared to offer a scientific explanation of an epidemic or any other disaster that had or was afflicting any community or country, or who would have suggested preventive measures for dealing with it, was looked upon as a man who proposed to thwart the will of the Deity.

Nearly every body believed in ghosts, and the wiser heads

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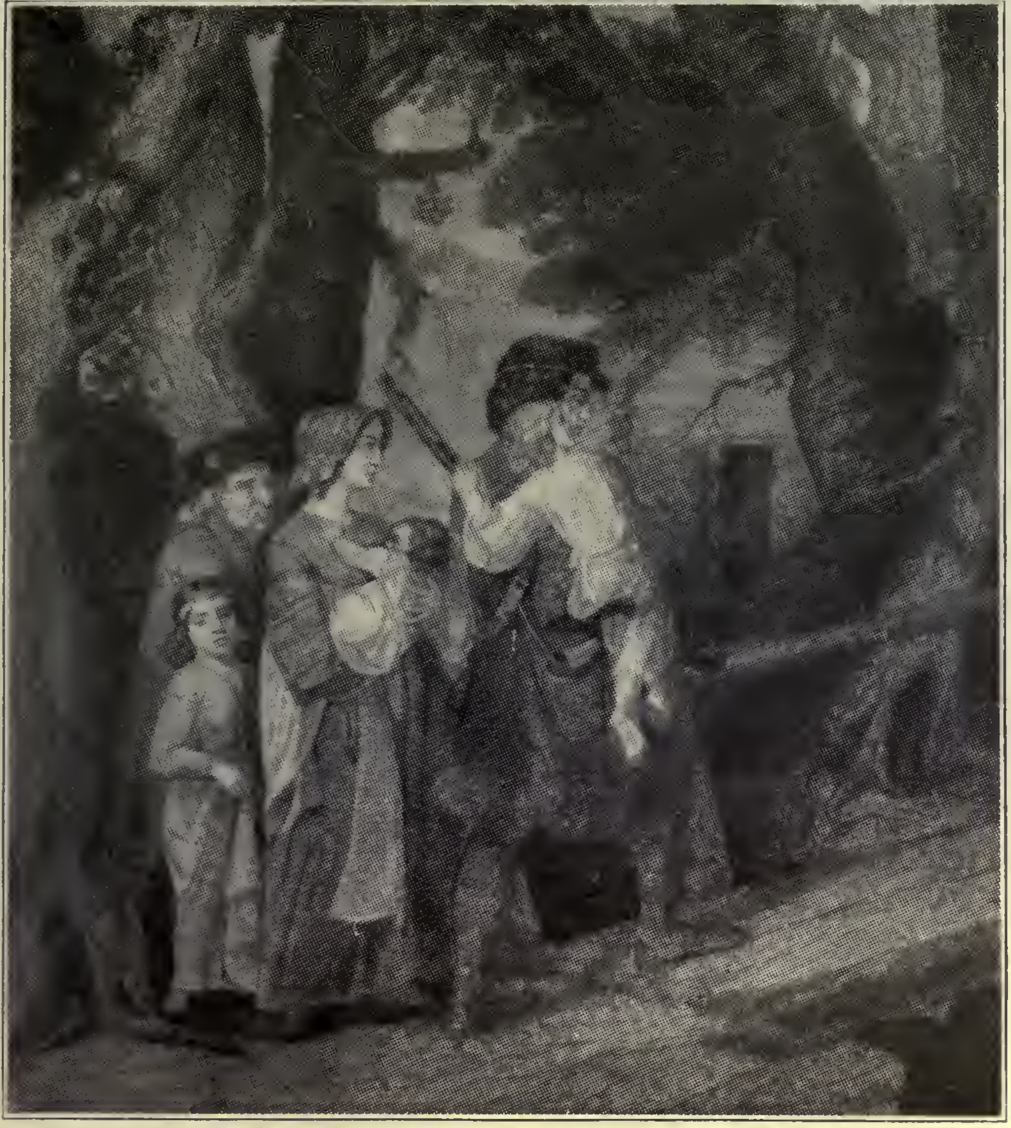


WORSHIP IN THE WOODS.

BEAUTIFUL VALLEY.

could quote passages from the Bible in support of their contention that ghosts rise up from grave yards at night in white robes and walk abroad, and many old ladies could testify to having seen them, when the question came up for discussion of evenings in families. Any of the older people brought up in the country of the ante-bellum period, would doubtless be able to recall, how, as children, on listening to ghost stories during an evening, they covered their heads on retiring.

When one looks back over the extemporaneous preaching of that period, it impresses us that it was more effective in rousing people to a sympathetic response to the speaker than the polished written sermons delivered from the pulpits in later times. Very few of the people ever heard a written sermon delivered, so that it became the custom to deliver sermons extemporaneously in all rural localities.

But in all the discourses of these preachers, there was a kernel of truth in their talks, and that kernel of truth was that "we should love one another" and that "we should treat others as we would wish others to treat us," which are expressions of the highest form of ethics enunciated by the philosophers of any age. It has always seemed fortunate that the preachers of that period dwelt so much upon these splendid ethical principles, for it probably had a tendency to soften the effect of their vehement preaching against unbelievers in certain teachings of the churches.

Even before the war, our slow-going conservative region began to tolerate a more liberal interpretation of religion than we had been in the habit of hearing. For many years before the war the Universalists had been interpreters of more liberal thought in religion, particularly in Illinois, and several years prior to the war, quite a number of their members and some of their ministers moved to Southwest Missouri, and into our neighborhood six or seven miles northwest of us, and among them John Baxter, a Universalist minister, who sometimes had religious services in his home.

The Universalists were generally intelligent and well-informed on religious subjects, good controversialists, rather aggressive and delighted in debating with any one who desired to enter the lists as an adversary, so the neighbors were kindly invited to attend the services or meetings at the Baxter home, which were generally on Sundays. There were very few among us who knew anything about the Universalist doctrine; but we knew that they held that all men would ultimately be saved and find happiness in a future life, by the Power of Infinite Goodness.

As Mr. Baxter had a family of bright intelligent boys and girls, some of them grown, quite a number of the young people of the neighborhood accepted the invitations and attended the meetings, at first, more out of curiosity than the expectation of becoming interested; but gradually took more and more interest until the meetings were well attended in spite of the admonitions of some of his orthodox neighbors to beware of his teachings. He had an organ in his home and books and newspapers, evidences of broader culture rarely found in country homes in that section at that time, and members of his family could sing and play and entertain their guests with music or in the discussion of current topics.

It was about this time, or perhaps a little earlier, that the alleged phenomena of Spiritualism invaded our section, and many sittings were had around the tables of Mr. Baxter's home for manifestations, some of which, according to reports, were truly wonderful. As the spirit manifestations always failed to materialize in the presence of the writer, it is needless to give the subject further attention.

But Mr. Baxter was a man of considerable force of character and his living among us was distinctly beneficial in bringing about broader religious and political toleration among the people in that section. It may be stated incidentally that a year or so before the war he moved to a point on Spring River on the Military Road from Fort Scott to Fort Gibson in the southeast corner of Kansas, with his family and took up a claim on which there was a large spring of pure water, and that during the war the Federal troops and escorts to trains marching from Fort Scott to Fort Gibson and to points in the Indian Territory, nearly always arranged their marches so as to camp at the noted spring, and called the camp Baxter Springs.

The early history of the place was one of tragedies; in the fall of 1860, Mr. Baxter was shot to death by a neighbor in a dispute about a claim his widowed daughter had sold to a neighbor who refused to pay for it, and when he fell, his son Thomas Baxter, who was with him, opened fire on the neighbor and killed his son and man living with him.

In the family government nearly every one believed in corporal punishment in bringing up children, and if one plead for a milder form of control, he was certain to be met with the quotation from Solomon, "Spare the rod and spoil the child."

We must restrain our indignation in reflecting over the harsh and cruel customs of family control we have retained in emerging from primitive conditions, for we are growing out of that kind of control, and must completely grow out of it as we become more civilized, more intelligent. Under our free form of government flogging was permitted in the army and navy of soldiers and sailors up to August, 1861, of the Civil War, when it was abolished by Act of Congress, humane sentiment of the country having outgrown the practice.

It was the custom of the country that prevailed in practically every family, for the head of it to have family prayer before retiring at night, and on sitting down to the meals on the table at morning, evening and noon, he asked the blessing or returned thanks to the Heavenly Father for the food of which we were about to partake. If a preacher or brother in the church dined with us he was always asked as a courtesy to say the blessing or return thanks to our Heavenly Father, and if he did not have the form at his tongue's end, or was not in the habit of returning thanks at the table, he courteously declined.

When friends of different denominations met each other, a Methodist and Baptist for instance, they were full of argument in discussing their respective forms of baptism, whether it should be by sprinkling or by immersion, each supporting his views on the subject by quotations from the Scriptures.

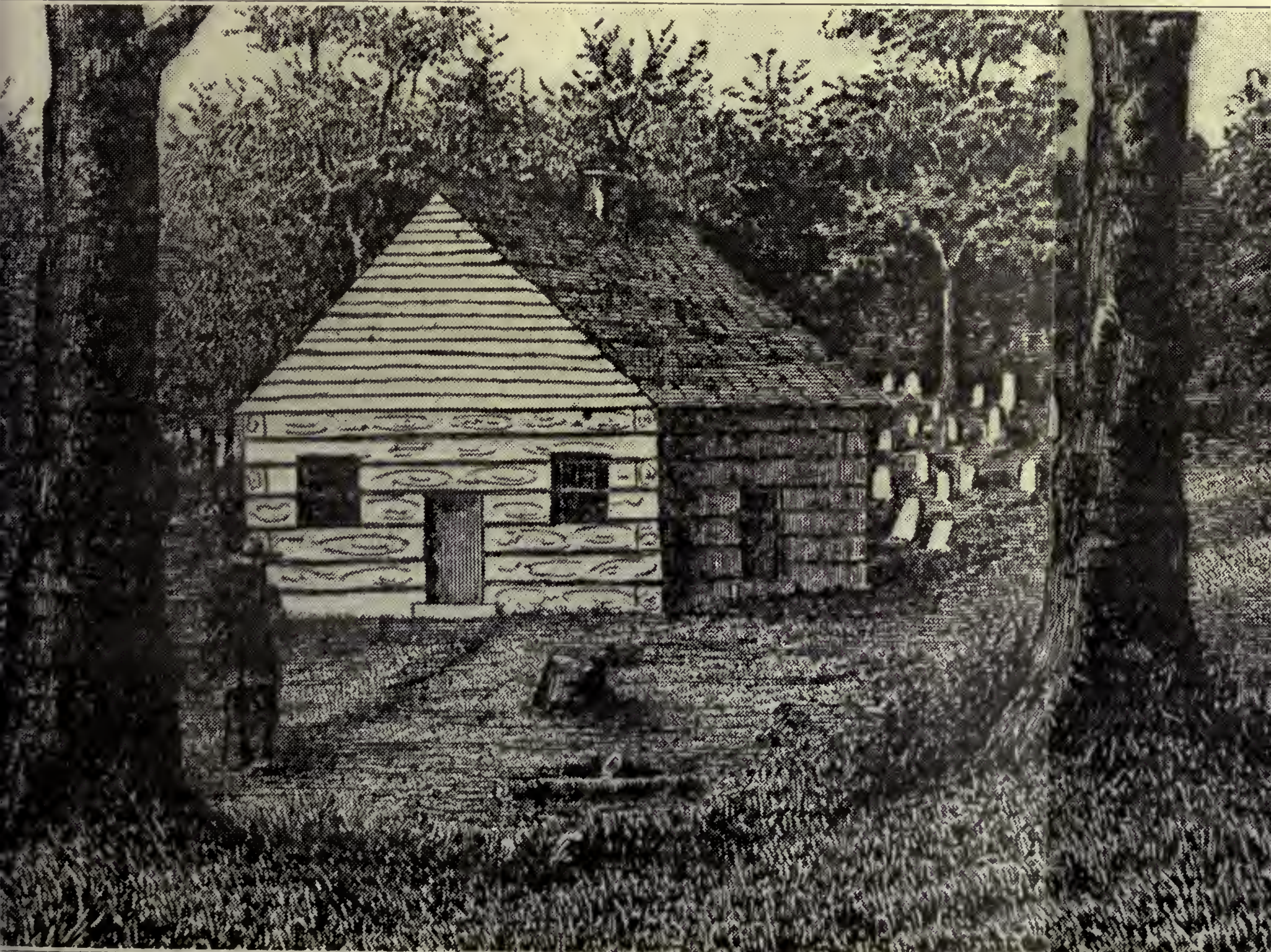
It sometimes happened that a meeting was at our house, or in the immediate neighborhood, and that a preacher or brother in the church stayed all night with us, which meant that after supper he and father would commence talking religion and keep it up until I dropped off to sleep, in spite of my efforts to keep awake and hear all that was said. The children did not usually accompany their parents to the services in the meeting house, or when they were in the home of a neighbor; but when the preaching was in their own home, they heard and absorbed all that was said and done.

These meeting houses or churches in the country increased in number with the increase of population and prosperity of the people, and were places not only of religious teaching, but had a social feature about them and were places where the young people met and were introduced to each other, starting courtships that ended in marriage. Such places encouraged thrift, sociability, cleanliness and neatness, for the heads of every family worth speaking of, had pride and self respect enough to wish to see their sons and daughters appear to the best advantage at such gatherings, where they might get acquainted with others of their own ideas of taste and social standing.

But the Camp Meeting was the religious feature of the year. These meetings were arranged to commence the latter part of July or early weeks of August after the corn was laid by and other crops out of the way, and usually lasted several weeks if the season was favorable for living out of doors. They were located in shady groves near a good spring and clear running stream so that the multitude from the surrounding country, attending, might have the comforts and convenience of living out in the open air for a season, a change likely to be beneficial to those who made proper preparation for camping out.

Those who came from such distance as to make it inconvenient to return home every day, came prepared to camp out until the end of the meeting, using bed quilts and blankets

A TEMPLE OF THE PIONEERS.



BAPTIST CHURCH.

for tents, or their wagon covers to protect them from rain or rays of the sun or dampness at night. Benches made of sawed slabs were arranged in rows with aisles between them in front of the platform for the preachers, afforded seats for the assemblage.

Men who were familiar with the sermons of other great preachers, and who had devoted their lives to preaching and stirring up religious assemblages, could draw very realistic pictures. It was not an unusual thing to hear a scream out of some terrified heart, and to see a pale face falling over in a trance or swoon. Most of the people of that region were simple-minded and honest and looked at everything from the realistic standpoint, and were easily swayed by the power of an eloquent preacher.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LOG HOUSE.

Most of the people in the country in the Ozark region up to the war lived in log houses and it was no lack of courage and fortitude in one's parents in striving for better conditions to have been born in one, even a round log house. From the first settlements in the eastern parts of the country, as fast as settled up and the best land was taken and the population gradually increased; there were tenant farmers and landless men who were ambitious of having as good farms as anyone about them, and as they constantly heard of the fine farming lands in the new country in the west that they could possess in their own right by moving to and living on them, they determined to make the change, no matter what hardships and dangers it involved.

This is the spirit that has followed the settling of the country from the first, and it often involved the emigrant in many dangers and hardships before reaching the land of promise, for in their paths were mountains and rivers to impede their progress, and treacherous Indians might attack them at any moment after passing into the wilderness or region of uncivilized life. In many instances several families moved to the new country together, and if we could have a picture of the scenes of their route, we should only faintly realize the struggles of early pioneer life, struggles that have made that life grand in the history of the country.

Despise not the log house, for one of the greatest and best men of this or any other age, the immortal Lincoln, was born in a log house, and a round log house at that, and so we find that the births and early lives of many great men were in the midst of humble surroundings. As far back as I can remember our family lived in a hewed log house up to the Civil War, with a cut-stone chimney, arch, jams, facings and hearth of cut stone; in fact it was a double log house with a space between them eight to ten feet wide for hanging on the walls on each side of the doors opening into each house, saddles and cushion seats of the carriage. This space we called an entry and it had a hard wood floor and was under the same roof that covered the two houses, but was never used as a living part of the premises.

The spaces between the hewed logs of hewed log houses like ours, were chinked and daubed or plastered with mortar, so that the house was fairly warm in the winter, and protected the family from storms and inclement weather; the mortar covering the chinks was white-washed with lime and gave the house a neat appearance, as contrasted with houses that did not have the mortar covering the chinks white-washed. A hewed log house chinked and the chinks plastered with mortar and the mortar white-washed, with cut-stone chimney, open fire-place with cut-stone jams and facings and hearth, is a comfortable house if one is living in the country, even in these progressive times.

If the houses of the pioneers were not ventilated according to the latest sanitary requirements, still it may be said that they were not without effective ventilation, for in the winter when the doors were closed, the chimney performed the function better than many would suppose; its strong draft taking out the used-up air and replacing it constantly with fresh air.

The flaming fire in the fire place and the draft of the chimney drew to it the minute particles of dust and the stagnant air of the room, so that there was no great risk of the family inhaling disease germs, with which dust particles are so often laden, during the season when it is necessary to keep the doors closed. Even today with the many conveniences of modern progressive life, wood fires in grates or open fire places, are preferred by some people for health and comfort, to other forms of heating. And while our mode of life at that time may seem primitive, yet it was productive of health, for perhaps no age produced a more healthy, robust young people who performed their parts splendidly when the crisis came upon us in 1861, for both sides were lavish in their praise of their western troops for their valor and endurance in the war.

There were probably not as many round log as hewed log houses in our section up to the war, for as a rule the pioneers of thrift and who were ambitious of improving their surroundings, were able in a few years to replace their round log with hewed log houses, using the former for stables and cribs, or as an addition to the new house. While there was little distinction of social status in the community, yet the family living in the hewed log house was generally regarded as holding a higher social status than the family living in the round log house, for usually the home and surroundings of a man were looked upon as an index to his character and energy.

A house raising, whether it was a round log or a hewed log house, was a notable event in which the neighbors, both men and women for several miles around were invited to participate, the men to assist in putting up the logs and notching and fitting them into position, and the women to assist the hostess in preparing and serving the dinner, or sometimes to engage in quilting a quilt. There was always due preparation for the event, the owner having cut and hewed and hauled the logs to the place where the house was to be put up, and the wife, the hostess, having pieced the quilt and placed it in the frame ready for quilting when the guests arrived.

There was nearly always some rivalry between the men in regard to their skill in fitting the logs into position on the corners, the notches on the saddles, and between the women displaying their skill in quilting or in dressing the table.

There was usually one or two in each of the parties of men and women who had some reputation as to skill and efficiency in his or her line of work, the man for the skill with which he fitted his corners with neatness, and the woman for the skill and neatness with which she did her work in quilting.

A good dinner was prepared by the women and a long table improvised so that all the men could sit down at the same time to satisfy their hunger, and after some brother on request returned thanks to the Giver of all good things, one of the guests was asked to do the carving of the turkey, chicken or venison.

On such occasions the table was bountifully supplied with fried chicken and stewed chicken and dumplings, fresh beef, venison and wild turkey, and cakes and pies and fruits of the season, some of the menu of which some of the guests frequently generously contributed, particularly venison and wild turkey which the host would not likely have on hand and which could be accepted to grace the occasion. It was always known which of the guests had contributed special parts of the menu, as the women the jellies and preserves, and the men the venison and wild turkey, and each came in for compliments during the dinner as to the delicious quality of the part he or she had sent.

There was never any envy among the guests, for if some of those present had not sent anything, it was recognized that they were not in position to do so, and no excuse or apology was needed to explain why they had not done so. In those times a neighbor was glad to show his good will on such occasions, and it was spontaneous, for all recognized that mutual dependence in many things made life sweeter in the struggles that lay before them. When the notches were fitted smoothly on to the saddles, the ends of the logs sawed off so as to show no projections and giving the corners an even appearance, a hewed log house with shingle roof of proper slope, was not only a comfortable house for a family to live in, but made a pleasant impression on the artistic eye.

We who were born and lived in log houses, know that they have been the dwelling places of the pioneers of civilization, who, through many struggles and hardships and dangers, have carried the torch of liberty and light through desert and wilderness from the shores of the Atlantic, westward across the Continent to the Golden Shores of the Pacific.

As years passed and the family increased and the head of it became more prosperous, an addition was built on to the log house and a barn was constructed, consisting of a stable for horses and cows, crib for corn and hay loft, all under one roof.

The addition to the dwelling sometimes consisted of a hewed log house built on to an old round log house, the latter being used for a kitchen and dining room, and sometimes the addition was of hewed logs, making the dwelling a double hewed log house. In those times both the round log and hewed log houses, usually had only one window with four panes in it, say ten by twelve inches in the sash on the side near the door, so that the houses were poorly lighted.

Before water power mills were much in use, most houses had puncheon floors, which were made of a given length of tree split open and the inner sides of the halves hewn straight and the under sides chopped and hewn off to make each puncheon of the required thickness. This kind of floor was not satisfactory to families ambitious of having the best to be had and were replaced in a few years by sawed plank floors, for there was good water power on nearly every stream and saw mills put up and sawed enough lumber to meet the demands of the people.

Here, as in many other cases, there were men among the pioneers of sufficient skill and common sense to construct and run a saw mill of the old-fashioned kind, with the saw fixed in a frame three or four feet wide and six or seven feet high that moved up and down with an attachment connecting with the water power wheel that also moved forward and backward the truck or carriage with small iron wheels on which rested the log to be sawed. This saw in a frame was later superseded by a circular saw that did much more efficient work than the old style one and was fully as simple to handle, and with its introduction there was an increased use of sawed lumber in the homes of the people; but it was always undressed, the planing mill attachment coming later. We have been speaking of the average log houses and the average intelligence, energy and thrift of the people of that region; there were some homes above this average, and there were some that fell below it, and it is unpleasant to dwell on the conditions of those whose natural endowments unfitted them to meet the requirements of their environments as well as their neighbors in the struggle for existence.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

SEVENTH ARTICLE.

GERT GOEBEL.

Among the many who were attracted to America by Dr. Gottfried Duden's "Report" were David Goebel and his son Gert. They were members of the Giessen Emigration Society* and landed in Baltimore in the summer of 1834.

The elder Goebel was a splendidly educated man, who had held the chair of mathematics in the Gymnasium of Koburg, Germany. Of him Friedrich Muench said: "Professor Goebel was one of the most cultured and most excellent men that ever set foot upon the soil of the New World." His chief study had been in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, chemistry and geography. All of this fine, thoro academic attainment was of extremely little value to him when he came to wrestle with the pioneer conditions in Missouri. Realizing his inability to adjust himself to such primitive environment as then obtained in the forests along the Missouri, he removed to St. Louis, where he lectured, taught in the public as also in private schools, and finally secured a good position in the Surveyor General's office, which had in charge the survey of the western states. He died on February 5, 1872.

Gert Goebel** was born at Koburg, Germany, April 1, 1816. It was therefore at the age of eighteen that he came to Missouri. In the Gymnasium of his home city he had devoted himself especially to the study of agriculture, mathematics, French and drawing. With his parents he settled on a farm at Newport, near the present site of Dundee, Missouri. While his father was unusually impractical, Gert Goebel adjusted himself amazingly rapidly to his new environment. He learned to wield the ax and use the rifle like his most expert backwoods neighbors, among whom he was held in the highest esteem. During the time when his father served as public surveyor, the youth assisted him. His knowledge of the woods and his fine sense of orientation were of inestimable value in the prosecution of the work. From 1851 to 1855 Gert Goebel held the position of public surveyor. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was very active in the organization of homeguard regiments. In the autumn of 1862 he was elected to the State Legislature. In 1864 as also in 1866 the counties of Franklin, Gasconade and Osage sent him to the state senate. Upon the expiration of his term of office he was for two years chief clerk in the office of registry of lands for Missouri. After that he retired to his country home, where he was chiefly occupied with literary work. In 1842 he married Caroline Becker, who having been born in Niedergemuenden, Germany, in 1824, immigrated with her parents to America in 1834, and settled in St. Charles county some two or three miles northeast of the Femme Osage post office. She died in March, 1864. To this uinion there were born ten children, three of whom died in infancy. The seven remaining children are: August, Julia, Emilie, Cecilie, Adolph, Carl and Edward.* Gert Goebel died on his farm on September 8, 1896.

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*A detailed account of this society, under the guidance of Friedrich Muench and Paul Follenius, will be given in connection with the life of Mr. Muench who was one of the most prominent of the followers of Duden.

**Cf. G. Koerner's Das deutsche Element in den Ver. Staaten, pp. 312-313.

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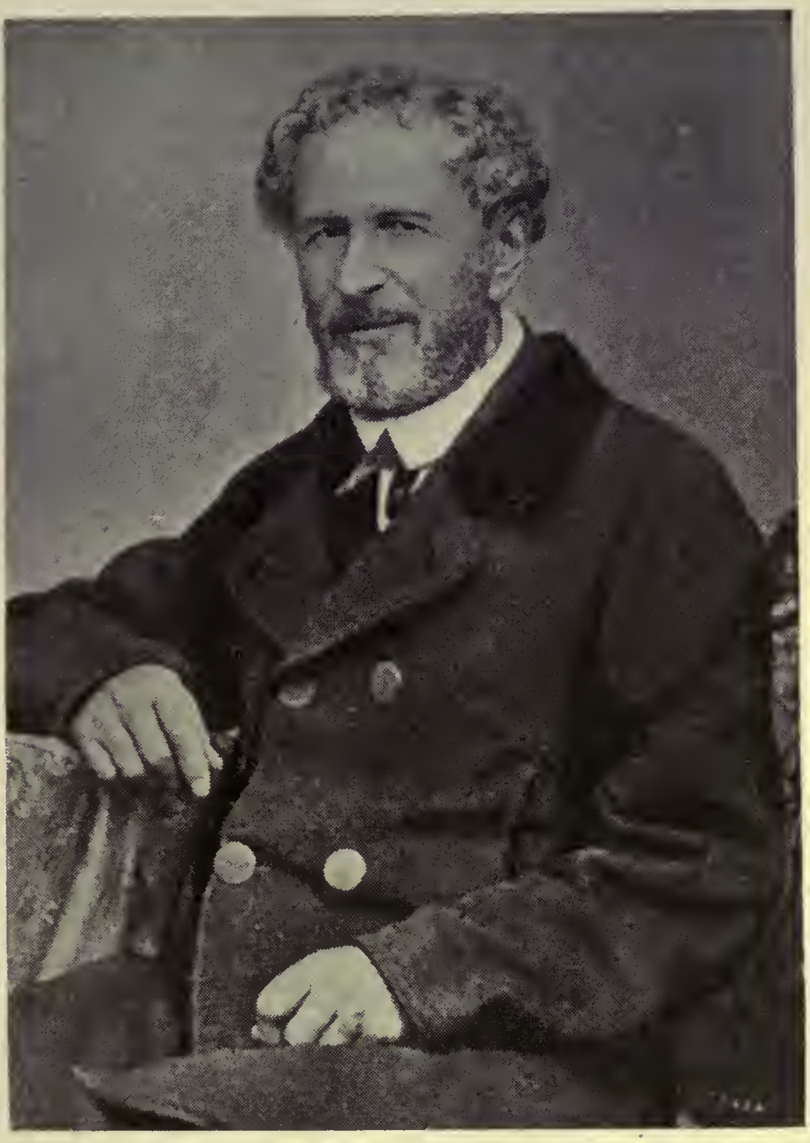
*The date concerning Gert Goebel's wife and children were kindly contributed by the old pioneer's son, August Goebel of Union, Mo. Of himself he says that he enlisted in the Missouri Reserve Guard on June 2, 1861. Upon being discharged from this service he served at various times as guide for U. S. troops till the spring of 1865. In that same year he was married. He is the father of four daughters. In 1888 he was elected collector of revenue in Franklin county and served in this capacity for three terms. Of Julia Goebel, he says that she married Major August Spinner in 1864, and became the mother of two sons and one daughter. Emilie Goebel married Benton Osterwald, a blacksmith by trade. They had three children. A son Julius became a civil engineer and died in Old Mexico. Cecilie Goebel married J. F. Lindauer, a farmer, and lives in Washington, Mo. Adolph Goebel entered the mercantile business at Chamois, later went to North Dakota, Colorado, Utah and finally to New York where all trace was lost of him. Edward Goebel became a druggist and had his business in Louisville, Ky. He is now dead. One daughter survives him, she is living in Portland, Oregon. Carl Goebel became a farmer. He passed away some ten years ago. His son Erwin has three sons who at present represent the youngest members of the Goebel family.

Concerning Gert Goebel's friends his son August writes that they in-



PROFESSOR DAVID GOEBEL

The most notable product of Gert Goebel's pen is a book entitled: "Laenger als ein Menchenleben in Missouri."** It is a record of impressions and experiences gained during his long life in Missouri, as also of the most important events in the political life of the state. Gustav Koerner, in the work cited above, calls it "An incomparable depiction of the life of the first German immigrants and of the American backwoodsmen. The greatest truthfulness is here combined with the most interesting depiction.... It is a genuine treasure-house for old pioneers and their descendents, and an interesting contribution to the cultural history of the western states, and to the political history of Missouri."

Mr. Goebel's book being indeed replete with interesting, fascinating and now scarcely obtainable facts and accounts, the major portion of it will here follow in translation.***

In the first part of the introduction to his work the author speaks of the scarcity of authentic accounts of the many expeditions which must have been made by the Spaniards, and in their turn by the French, during their respective occupation of the Louisiana territory. He calls attention to the fact that the names which these adventurers gave to places, creeks and rivers testify to the fact that their wanderings must have been extensive indeed.

Of the first American pioneers he says: "If these old

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cluded the names of Friedrich Muench, Emil Pretorius, Doctor Weigel, Richard Bartholdt, Ludwig Muench, Dr. Ludwig Ruge, Sr., Franz and Julius Wilhelmi, Franz Siegel, Julius Schmidt, a forty-eighter, his nearest neighbor, and many others. In fact everybody was his friend and he was everyone's friend.

**Freely translated this title reads: "Longer than a Lifetime in Missouri." The book contains 234 pages. It was published by C. Witter, St. Louis, 1877, and is dedicated to his friend Freidrich Muench. In 1879 Mr. Goebel made an English translation of this book. This translation, however, was never printed. The manuscript came into my possession thru the kindness of the Hon. Richard Bartholdt of St. Louis, after I had translated the major portion of the original for this piece of work. Mr. Goebel translated the very euphoneous title of his work into the rather less striking "The Development of Missouri." In handling the theme I have taken the liberty of rearranging the order of the chapters somewhat to give greater continuity, and have left out certain parts that seemed unessential.

***The chapters dealing with the immigration of the forty-eighters as also that dealing with the Giessen Immigration Society are not translated, since their substance fits better into a later part of our account of "The Followers of Duden."

adventurers had known how to read and write, perhaps the most interesting and remarkable accounts might have come down to our own time. Of these accomplishments they were ignorant, however. They were indeed able to put a rifle bullet on a given spot, but they were not always successful in putting their signature, consisting of a most imperfect cross, under a written document. All that we know from those times consists of the unmistakable traces which these men have left in the primeval forest, and the oral transmissions which we have from their descendents. I myself have known many an old hunter, whose youthful recollections extended to the close of the last century. The hours which I spent in the company of these people I do by no means reckon among those wasted. A brief account of the life of one of these old hunters may exemplify their mode of living.

"James Roark came, at the beginning of this century, with his wife and a troop of small children from Kentucky, and settled on Berger creek, in the present county of Gasconade. In his former home he had been a zealous hunter, and here in Missouri, where beyond a few miles from his new home everything was a trackless wilderness, he did not give up the hunt. He often told at great length concerning negotiations for the purchase of a couple of fat hogs, which trade was never consummated, because he never had enough money, tho the purchase price was very low. He was embarrassed as to whence he should procure meat for his family. There was no lack of deer, but venison was not considered meat but bread, since it was usually consumed in the dried state. Since he had been in his new environment only a short time, he did not know of the abundance of game. Soon he found some bear tracks and now there was no more lack of meat. During the course of the fall and winter he shot sixteen bears.

"His favorite occupation was the hunting of fur-bearing animals, chiefly the beaver and the otter. Since these animals were not numerous in his neighborhood, he went all alone on horseback, with his traps and his rifle, to the far west, which was at that time entirely unexplored. For months his family heard nothing of him. Finally he returned as quietly and silently to his homestead as if he had left only that morning. So he carried on for years, and the recital of his journeys and adventures held the interest of his listeners, to which I frequently belonged, for hours. In that part of the great west, which now lies within the boundaries of the states of Kansas and Nebraska, he, no doubt, strolled thru valleys, which no white foot had trodden before him. When he found the tracks of Indians and did not know whether they were friendly or hostile, he dared not fire a shot or build a fire for days for fear of attracting the attention of the natives. To get away from such a dangerous situation, he would hide in the bushes during the daytime and ride during the night, being guided by the north star. The gift of orientation of these old hunters is for those, who have not hunted with them, almost unbelievable. Where the layman sees absolutely nothing, there such hunters read whole stories in the prairies and forests. Later when the settlements were pushed farther out, and he could not stand the riding any more, he carried on the hunt in a different manner. He packed his traps and hunting equipment in a canoe and rode down the Missouri and the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the St. Francois or the White rivers, up these rivers he went and spent the winter in the immeasurable swamps in the southeastern part of Missouri or the northeastern part of Arkansas. There he set his traps, which together with the skinning of the captured animals and the drying of the skins and pelts took up all his time. In the spring when the pelts of the animals began to be thin, he packed up his booty, drifted down the Mississippi and took passage on the first passing steamer going to New Orleans. There he sold his pelts and often came back with a neat sum of money. The money he divided among his children, his wife having died long ago. He kept for himself only so much as was necessary to restore his extremely modest wardrobe, a few dollars for the purchase of powder and lead, and occasionally for a jug of whisky. The latter he was very fond of, but he never became intoxicated. Such hunting expeditions he undertook regularly till he was seventy years of age, after that he hunted deer in his neighborhood. To his eightieth year he used the rifle. About this time his youngest son, himself a gray-headed man, rented a farm in my neighborhood, and the old man made his home with him. Even there he still followed the hunt, but because his sight was not sufficiently good to use the rifle, he purchased an old, long shotgun, with this he shot his last buck. He died in his eighty-ninth year. In spite of the fact that he had earned much money in his life, he left nothing save his old clothes, a few traps and his old shotgun. As long as he had anything he was willing to share it with others. He never thought of himself but of others. He died a poor man, but a very good man.

"Below the mouth of the Gasconade river there is a large island in the Missouri called L'outre island. An old friend of mine, Dr. Elijah McLean, related that when his father came with his family to Missouri in 1810, only seven families lived west of this island. From there to the Rocky mountains no one knew of any white man who had made a permanent settlement. Only daring hunters ventured to penetrate into the wilderness.

"These first outposts of civilization suffered much from roving Indian bands. Dr. McLean said that as early as 1811 and 1812 many settlers came to the region in which his father had settled, so that they were able to build small forts as a protection against the Indians. The women and children remained within these forts, while the men worked in the fields, which were sometimes several miles from the forts. Many of these lonely workers were killed by the Indians. The Indians were, during the war with England, incited by the English against the settlers. Spies often brought back the news that they had seen officers in red uniforms among the natives. It is amazing how quickly the Indians heard about the defeat of the English at New Orleans. Before the settlers heard of this event, the savages had suddenly disappeared.

"I myself know of only one murder which was committed in our settlement by the Indians. It was a certain Ridenower

(Reidenauer) who was shot. Ridenower had settled on a little creek which empties into the Missouri, not far from the present boundaries of St. Louis and Franklin counties. A small band of Indians had come into the settlement and had stolen some horses. In the pursuit Ridenower was slain.

"In all probability it was William Hancock, who in 1796 was the first to settle in the great bottom opposite the present town of Washington. His youngest son, also called William, was a gray-haired man when I learned to know him in 1834. He related, that for many miles around them there were no human habitations, when his father erected his first hut there, and that his father was extremely surprised and interested when one evening his boys, returning from a stroll to the Missouri, told him that they had heard dogs bark on the other side of the river. This man also related that at the time of settlement his father still had eight dollars in coin, and that for ten years he had no opportunity to spend the last remnant of this small sum.

"Year by year the settlement grew, but only in the Missouri bottom and in the smaller bottoms of the streams that were tributary to the Missouri. The land of the bottoms alone was thought worth cultivating. The hills, even tho they had rich soil to their very summits, it was thought, would be perpetual hunting grounds and immeasurable pasture land.

"Later accounts will show how bitterly these old backwoods men were disappointed in the above assumption. When a neighbor comes so close to a genuine backwoods man that he can hear the former's roosters crow and his dogs bark, he considers it the highest time to move on, and he will sell his possessions if he can possibly do so. My first and earliest neighbors were almost all people of such a breed and such a frame of mind. Many of them rest beneath the sod, many others moved on, and the very few that remain from those early days can not adjust themselves to the present conditions. It seems as if they were awakening from a beautiful dream when they are reminded of the old times. These veterans, so still and reserved under ordinary circumstances, become animated when they meet some one who can talk with them about the old times. The scant remnant of the old backwoods men does not feel at home any more and cannot find pleasure in the activity of the present generation. I must confess, I feel the same way.

THE OLD AMERICANS.

THEIR MODE OF LIVING, CUSTOMS AND USAGES.

"The clearing of the land has been described so explicitly by so many writers that it will be unnecessary to bore the kind reader with another account of it, for this reason it will suffice to say something of the kind of agriculture that obtained in the pioneer days in Missouri.

"Actual farming still lay in its swaddling clothes. Indeed, the people had not advanced far beyond the era when the soil was scratched with a pointed piece of iron or even with crooked tree trunk. The old 'bar-shares' were at that time still in general favor. The share of such a plow consisted merely of a three-cornered piece of iron, which was sharpened on its longest side. This share, fastened to a simple wooden frame, sometimes with and again without a straight moldboard, constituted the plow. The old 'bull-tongues' were still considered a superior implement for the first breaking of new land. The share of such a plow did have some similarity with the tongue of an ox, it was long and narrow, it was sharpened on both sides, and the point was somewhat bent forward. Occasionally a 'colter' was used. Such a plow only stirred up the soil but did not turn it. Shovel-plows presently also came into use and were especially fine to destroy the weeds in the corn fields. By and by the turning-plow made its appearance, but was looked upon with suspicion by those who considered the old 'bar-share' the acme of plow manufacture. The first turning-plows were very clumsy affairs, but they were provided with a curved wooden moldboard. A few years later factory-made plows, the so-called peacock plows, made their appearance, and tho they were heavy and awkward, they were a boon to man as well as beast.

"Harrows were not used at all when we first came. The few acres of oats that were sown in those days were dragged in with heavy thorn bushes, drawn by horses or oxen.

"The plowing of the land was done in a very slovenly manner. The share rarely went deeper than three inches, and at that not all the ground was touched by the plow, for if the entire field was merely covered with clods and loose ground, it was considered a satisfactory job of plowing.

"Corn was the most extensively cultivated crop. By frequently cultivating the corn field till the plants were from six to eight feet high, the superficial plowing of the land was, in a way, made good, and on the new very rich soil very abundant crops were raised.

"The raising of oats and wheat were considered merely side issues of farming, and their cultivation was done in the most slovenly manner. Wheat was usually sown in the corn fields. The sowing was usually done as follows: a man mounted a horse, took a large basket filled with wheat on his lap, and riding thru the rows of corn scattered the grain among the corn stalks. Another man drove a one-horse plow a couple of times between the rows and the seeding was done. In the winter, when the ears of the corn had been gathered, the stalks were cut down close to the ground and allowed to remain on the fields where the young wheat grew up among them. It is manifest that under such conditions only small harvests could be expected. Ten bushels per acre was considered a big wheat crop, while the average yield was much smaller.

"These old farmers were very mediocre agriculturists, but they had but little inducement to improve their methods, even if they had known how. There was scarcely any demand for their produce, and transportation was out of the question in most cases. If they raised enough for their immediate needs it mattered little whether it was produced on five or ten acres. In our forests no one had any idea of world commerce. At one time we considered it extraordinary when one of our neighbors raised nearly 100 bushels of wheat, and one man remarked that it was no wonder that wheat was so low in price, if the market was glutted in such a manner.

"The threshing of the grain was a disagreeable piece of work. Hardly anyone had a barn where such an operation could be carried out, tho the Germans very soon began building such. Most of the threshing, prior to the coming of the threshing machine, was therefore done in the old fashioned way. In the field a circular threshing floor was smoothed down. Then the grain was hauled to it on wooden sleds, arranged in a certain way upon this circle and then four, six or even eight horses were driven two abreast around in a circle, over the grain, till at least most of the grain was tramped out. Sometimes a man stood in the middle of the circle, and with lines and whip kept the horses in the right place and on the move. More frequently, however, a small boy was put on each saddle horse, and when a householder did not have enough boys of his own, he borrowed the required remainder from the progeny of his neighbors. The separating of the empty straw from the mixture of grain and chaff was a toilsome piece of work and required practice and skill; one not endowed with such skill threw more grain into the straw than upon the threshing-floor.

"During dry weather this method of threshing went on fairly well, but it happened quite frequently that heavy showers of rain fell upon the half threshed wheat, in which case serious losses were unavoidable.

"Very imperfect, hand-driven fanning mills were used to separate the grain from the chaff. The end-product of this process of fanning often represented a gruesome mixture of good and bad wheat, chaff, remnants of straw, and the seed of weeds.

"All stock that was not used for work ran at large in the woods, and was only fed when the snow was deep, or during severe cold weather. Only the horses, when they were used for cultivating the corn, were given a few bundles of oats in addition to their ration of corn. When the cultivation of the corn was over, even the work horses were driven into the woods, and only when they were to be used again, were they hunted up and driven home. It was not hard to find them, since their runs were known, and the sound of the bell, which one of the horses usually had on, was known. This hunting of the horses was an opportunity much coveted by the half grown youths, who then were allowed to take their father's rifle and occasionally they came back with a deer tied on the back of one of the horses.

"Potatoes, cabbages and beets were raised only in small quantities, just enough for the household. Pole beans were planted in the corn field. Pumpkins grew on newly cleared land and were given no attention, only the watermelons were cultivated.

"The gardens scarcely deserved the name. A small piece of land, situated as close as possible to the house, was plowed up, and without smoothing the surface, onions, a little lettuce, a few ornamental plants and flowers were planted, and that was all. The weeds were not kept out carefully.

"Only a few settlers planted cotton, and then only for their own use.

"The fine wild pastures in the woods made pastures seeded by man superfluous. Forage crops, as for example clover, were not raised at all. At the time of our arrival the wild pastures were still very good, but not nearly as fine as, according to the oldest settlers, they must have been at the beginning of the century. At that time all lowlands are said to have been covered with rushes which remained green the whole winter thru, and these rushes were extremely nutritious for horses and cattle. This plant is still found in wet places, but only in small patches.

"At the time of our coming the live stock still found abundant pasture, even in the comparatively densely settled regions, but, of course, so much the more abundantly beyond the settlements. For this reason many Americans drove their live stock to the 'range', as it was called, which was sometimes thirty miles from home. There the stock received salt from time to time, the farmer being careful to leave it always at the same place. Sometimes the salt was placed there by an acquaintance who happened to live closer to the range, and who was usually glad to accommodate the owner, or who received a small compensation for this service. More frequently the owner or his oldest sons attended to this matter themselves, if for no other reason than that the ride to the range afforded a fine opportunity to hunt. Frequently they found deer grazing with the cattle, for the game frequented the saltlicks almost as regularly as the domestic animals.

"Sheep had to be kept in the neighborhood of the farms in the early days on account of the wolves, and later on account of the many stray dogs which were almost more harmful to the flocks of sheep than the wolves. For this reason the frontiersmen, who rarely went beyond his immediate homestead without his rifle, waged relentless warfare against all stray canines.

"The breed of hogs which was found on the frontier was admirably adapted to the wilderness. These animals were short and narrow, had very long legs, a high sharp back, a disproportionately large head with a long, thin snout and pointed upright ears. Under the long stiff bristles their body was covered with a very coarse wool. This wool caused the butcher much trouble if at the scalding the temperature of the water was not exactly right. These hogs were wild, shy, and could never be tamed. If they were not regularly fed near the farm, they were frequently not seen for months. Only extreme hunger during cold weather sometimes drove them to the farms. If the woods were full of acorns, they paid no attention to the farms and became altogether wild. When they had become fat in the fall they would neither come when called, nor would they allow themselves to be driven. As soon as they saw a human being the herd darted away in every direction, wildly snorting. When in the winter they were to be butchered, it was necessary to wait for a snowfall to be able to track them. Sometimes a great number of them slept in the same place, which place was habitually frequented by them. It was therefore a question of finding such a place, a hunt which was entirely pleasing to the young men. It was necessary to start early in the morning, before the hogs had gone far from their sleeping places and had become scattered. The dogs were put on their tracks, and usually it did take long till the terrible squeals of one of the porkers indicated that he had been caught. Now the butchers had to come quickly, for the other hogs came dashing, mad and foaming, upon the dogs, to liberate their captured comrade. Often they were successful in this if the dogs were not unusually brave. During this tussle the riflemen shot several hogs thru the head, but only a few shots sufficed to scatter the remaining herd again. A little time was given them to re-assemble, when the chase began anew. If, however, after the third or fourth repetition of this act the desired number of hogs had not been killed further pursuit was futile, since they had scattered to the four winds and could not be found again.

"Such hogs were commonly called hazel-splitters. The origin of this name is the following. Many of the bottoms of the countless small creeks were covered with extensive thickets of hazelbrush, which in places were almost impenetrable. During the season when the ripe hazel nuts fall out of their husks, these thickets were the favorite feeding places for the hogs. While the larger breeds of hogs would have had great difficulty in penetrating such a thicket, these hogs, with their thin bodies and pointed snouts, slipped thru everywhere with ease, and because of this proclivity received the name hazel-splitters.

"In the same manner that the pioneer farmer neglected the breeding of his hogs, he also neglected the breeding of his cattle, horses and sheep.

THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE OLD AMERICANS.

"The domestic life of the old American was almost as simple as farming and stock raising. Those who had some knowledge of and felt some need for household comforts, and who could afford it, lived in good substantial log houses of hewn timbers. Adjacent to such a house they had one or more rooms which usually served as bedchambers. Close to the dwelling house proper, which usually contained only one room, and which was rarely more than a story and a half high, there was, as a rule, another smaller house, which served as kitchen, where was also the loom, an instrument which was never lacking in a well regulated household. Many also had built two log houses of the same height beside each other and had covered the intervening space of 12 to 15 feet with a roof. A wide projecting roof extended the full length of the house and occasionally even along two sides of the house. The crude verandas were justly considered indispensable for the comfort of the householders, who, during the hot weather, occupied them the whole day long.

"After these, the best farm houses of that time, came others, which step by step became poorer, down to those wretched huts which hardly deserve to be called human dwelling places. Obviously the new settlers in the forest, whose first duty it was to clear the ground to provide food for their families, could not think of erecting spacious dwellings. They were usually impecunious, but they could at least, with little trouble and small expense, make the walls tight, so that their dependents should find some comfort during the inclement weather. But among these newcomers there were so many who belong to the so-called "poor white trash," who were too indolent to exert themselves sufficiently to protect their wives and children against the blasts of the storm. There were people among them, who would rather move from one part of the room to the other to avoid the dripping rain, rather than exert themselves a little to repair the roof, who would rather wrap themselves in their blankets than chink their walls, and who never thought of providing fuel until the last chip had burned in the fireplace.

"A little anecdote will illustrate the life philosophy of this class of Americans better than a long description. A traveler who was surprised by a rainstorm, came upon a wretched hut which he regarded as uninhabited, because it was half fallen to pieces and had only a part of the roof left. However, as he rode by, a voice called from the old shack: 'Get off your horse and come into the house, out of the rain.' Surprised at this invitation he stopped his horse, and curiosity impelled him to enter this thing, which the man had just called a house. There a man, a woman and several children crouched on the floor under the remaining fragment of the roof. With genuine backwoodsman's politeness he was greeted and invited to sit down. He took his seat on the floor beside the host. After a while the stranger could not refrain from asking: 'My good friend, why don't you put a roof on your house?' 'Because it is raining now,' was the laconic reply. The stranger remarked: 'But it does not always rain.' 'If it does not rain, I need no roof.' With this statement the contented man put an end to this theme. This man might have been called a modern Diogenes if his striking answer had been dictated by an excessive contentment, but his arguments were only the expression of boundless indolence.

"In most of the American households there obtained great cleanliness and exceptions to this rule were very rare. Even in most modest and poor dwellings there was rarely reason for complaint on account of untidiness and lack of order.

"Of people whose immediate ancestors had spent their entire life in hardship, privation and danger to life and limb, one could not reasonably expect a high development of the culinary art. The kitchen of the old Americans was indeed very simple, and the preparation of the food was not always according to the taste of pampered Europeans, but as soon as one had adjusted himself somewhat to their mode of living, their dishes were quite palatable. The operations of cooking, baking and frying were all done on the fireplace, for at that time they did not know what a range or oven was, and the kitchen utensils consisted only of a few cast iron pots, skillets and pans, which were used in a great variety of ways. The German housewife, who knew only her own, in part rather complicated method of cooking, was therefore very much surprised when her American neighbor, in such unbelievably short time, could provide the table with a variety of well prepared foods.

"The influence which the American and the German housewives had upon one another was for both parties most advantageous, and led to mutual advancement in the culinary art. It was a common observation that frequently the best educated German women made the best farmer's wives, were most unpretentious and modest, and never demanded of their husbands comforts and conveniences to which they certainly had been accustomed, but which the financial situation of their husbands precluded. These women, who never lost from view the preservation of their womanly dignity, considered it no disgrace to do their own washing and scrubbing, to milk the cows, in other words, to do work, the like of which thay had previously never been obliged to do. They never lost the respect in which they were held by others thereby. On the contrary, sensible people who had known their former circumstances and who were familiar with their American situation, esteemed them only so much the higher.

"Since I have no intention of writing a backwoodsman's cook-book, I will mention only a few things that struck me as remarkable during ny first years of residence here. Soup, in the generally accepted sense, was not served at all. What the old-timers called soup was usually only a rather thick mixture of meat broth and bread. It was not served at the beginning of the meal, but beside each plate a bowl of this food was placed, and just as one now and then takes a sip of wine at a German meal, so one took a couple of spoonsful of this so-called soup now and then during the meal.

"Lettuce was usually put on the table without any dressing, but with young, uncooked onions, and each person prepared his lettuce with a little bacon grease and salt to suit his own taste.

"Coffee was the regular drink for breakfast. In many households it was also customary to serve coffee at the noon-day and evening meals. This drink was sometimes so strong that it produced dizziness.

"The first settlers were, of course, frequently without coffee. They therefore prepared substitute drinks from various roots and herbs which they found in the forest. This old custom still obtains in many families to this day. The sassafras tea was the most common substitute and many Americans still use it every spring as a blood purifier. Besides this they used spice and tidney tea.

"Since I am no botanist and so do not know the scientific names, therefore I can only use those terms which are customary here. The spice bush is found only on very rich ground. The young branches have a rather agreeable odor and taste. The thin brittle ends of the young twigs are broken in small pieces and are then scalded like ordinary tea. Tidney is a low plant, about eighteen inches in height. It has small lanceolated leaves and a small bluish-white flower. The leaves are used for the preparation of tea. This plant has a peculiarity which I have observed in no other plant. In the winter, usually a short time before a snow, beautiful ice-colored blisters develop around the thin stem of the plant.

"The work in the simple kitchen, the washing of the clothing and the cleaning of the few rooms left the women a lot of time, which they by no means spent in idleness. They carded the wool and cotton almost all with the small well-known hand-carder, for machines, driven by horse or water power, were at that time scarce and often far away. Flax was spun on the small, ordinary spinning wheel, but for wool and cotton they used very large spinning wheels, of which the large wheel had a diameter of from four to five feet. This wheel was set in motion by a short stick, especially made for this purpose. The young girls often displayed great grace as they stepped back and forth, making lively movements with their arms in the operation of such a wheel. The women also knew the art of dyeing very well. To produce a blue color they made use of indigo; for black, brown or gray they used the bark of various forest trees.

"Most of the women and grown girls knew how to weave, and tho their weaving was not as handsome as the product of the machine loom, it was nevertheless very strong.

"The clothes of big and little of both sexes were likewise made in the home. Only rarely did a tailor get to make a coat for a man. There were no slaves of fashion, so the style prevalent at the close of the past century, tho it was not very attractive, prevailed far into the present century.

"The men who were much engaged in hunting wore short, so-called hunting shirts. They extended half way down the thigh, and were buttoned in front like a coat. They had a collar which just covered the shoulders. The outer seams were fringed. The material for these shirts was either jeans, which was colored brown like the dry leaves of the forest, or they were of buckskin leather.

"Also leggins and mocassins were formerly commonly worn by hunters. Leggins were buckskin breeches which were worn over the ordinary breeches and reached from the foot far up the thigh. Around the foot and below the knee they were fastened with buckskin straps. Moccasins were buckskin leather shoes, which because of their lightness and their pliancy were an excellent footwear for the hunter. With such moccasins one can acquire an almost inaudible manner of walking. I have often been forced to smile when I saw how a neighbor, wholly unconscious of the approach of any one, suddenly was startled when a hand was laid on his shoulder and a 'good morning' sounded in his ear.

"This half Indian costume, which gave a handsome appearance to well-built men, has now almost entirely disappeared, but formerly it was customary among hunters.

"On rainy days, and sometimes in the evenings, the father of the family and the oldest sons made the shoes for the entire household. The shoes for men, women and children were all made according to the same pattern. They were quite strong but by no means noted for their elegance.

"In the summer the evenings were spent on the great veranda, and in the winter around the fireplace. Frequently some of the young men of the neighborhood came at such times, especially if marriageable daughters were in the house. The matron of the house then usually sat in a definite corner beside the fireplace, smoking tobacco, but rarely mingling in the conversation. The father sat beside her, and if he happened to be in a talkative mood, would for hours relate interesting episodes of his earlier life, of the life of his friends and neighbors, and many of these stories indeed deserved that they be chronicled for posterity.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Are there pride and profit to a state and its citizens in possessing high rank in intangible assets? Does a state profit from first rank in education as it profits from first rank in agriculture or manufacturing? Are good library facilities profitable assets? Is widespread knowledge of state and local history invested capital bearing interest? The farsighted leaders of Missouri thought, enterprise and business answer, "Yes." Why?

These men know from wisdom and conviction that the greatest assets are the intangible assets. Faith and character and knowledge are hardly material objects, but these form the basis of credit. Without credit modern finance would fall. These men know that the spirit of a people is more important than their gold and possessions. These men know that churches and schools, libraries and historical societies, cultivate faith and courage, disseminate knowledge, instill industry, and foster pride in the annals of state and nation. Enlightened, industrious, public spirited citizens are a nation's real assets. To obtain these, education and pride in a people's past are necessary.

One of Missouri's greatest undeveloped assets is her history. If five per cent of our citizens would co-operate to intensively exploit this asset, the returns would be out of all proportion to any other equal money investment. Do we want good state and local government? Then diffuse information about our two centuries of history and our hundred years of statehood. Do we want to retain on our soil the present and future generations born and reared here? Then cultivate and nurture knowledge of our forefathers, foster pride in our ancestors, and develop the spirit of loyalty and love for our state and our community. Do we wish to attract new settlers and increase our population? Then, know first the vital truths, not traditions, of Missouri's greatness so as to be able to confidently and intelligently present your case to strangers.

The Missouri Historical Review believes in the cultural, educational and practical value to Missouri and Missourians of education in State history and development in State pride. Missouri has little need, and less profit, to ignore historic facts. Truth and knowledge alone are necessary for her progress. Missourians today are of native American stock. This is the most fertile soil for planting the seeds of state history, state pride, and state progress. On the past, build the future. The past is capital inexhaustible. The present furnishes the opportunity to invest this capital. The future is the interest bearing time, the harvest time. Righteousness, knowledge, poised pride in your state and people—these mean a citizenry filled with faith, courage, wisdom and patriotism.

Every reader of this magazine is urged to consider these truths. If endorsed, co-operate. Select some person, explain the work of this Society and the character of this *Review*, and obtain his application for membership. To advance Missouri to first rank is the purpose of every loyal Missourian.

COMMENTS.

The Missouri Historical Review is one of the "newsiest" publications that come to my desk and I enjoy every issue of it.—WALTER J. GRESHAM, Editor and Publisher, The Lexington News, Lexington, Mo., August 17, 1921.

If you will send me a few blanks, I will try and get you some more subscribers to *The Missouri Historical Review*. It should be in the hands of every Missourian.—GEO. A. MAHAN, Lawyer, Hannibal, Mo., November 21, 1921.

It affords me pleasure to nominate the gentlemen below named. Please find my check to your order for their first year's dues.—E. G. MERRIAM, Ass't Gen. Solicitor, Missouri Pacific Railroad, St. Louis, Mo., November 22, 1921.

We are very much pleased with the magazines.—MRS. CLIFFORD HUDSON, Neosho, Mo., October, 1921.

I enclose check for sum due. Enjoy getting *The Missouri Historical Review* very much.—J. M. CARNAHAN, New York City, N. Y., October 23, 1921.

Please find enclosed a year's subscription to *The Review* beginning with the October number. Our Society has taken the *Review* during the past year and has found it very interesting and helpful in our meetings. Something from it has been used in every program. We consider it our chief textbook. Our subscription expired with the July number and we do not wish to miss the October one. So please mail it as soon as it is published.—Mrs. E. D. Ebright, President Chartered Missouri Society, Wichita, Kans., October 2, 1921.

The magazines which you sent me were splendidly edited. Mr. Walter B. Stevens' "The Missouri Tavern" article especially pleased me. If more of his articles are published, I should like to read them.—Harry B. Epstein, St. Louis, Mo., September 17, 1921.

I want to say a word of appreciation of *The Missouri Historical Review*. We all read it and were especially interested in the Railroad Bond articles as that is a subject that has interested every citizen of Macon County, who owns property, for a great many years. We are looking forward to the October issue.—Mrs. J. F. Richards, P. E. O. Chapter, Bevier, Mo., October 7, 1921.

I have greatly enjoyed reading *The Missouri Historical Review*, and I consider each number a valuable addition to my library.—Loyd Collins, Clinton, Mo., November 8, 1921.

In comparatively recent years such want of knowledge as is above complained of has been well supplied through the agency of a considerable number of State and other historical magazines which have delved into ancient records, family letters, personal diaries, tavern blotters, etc., and afforded to the reading public information that otherwise would have never come to the light. A most notable publication of this character is *The Missouri Historical Review* for January of the present year, a centennial number commemorative of the hundredth anniversary of the Admission of Missouri as a State of the American Union, and compiled by Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.—*Americana*, October, 1921, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 354f.

I wish to say that the *Historical Review* is growing in value and interest with each issue and should be a welcome visitor in every home of this and other states.—Mrs. Lura B. Tandy, Columbia, Mo., September 27, 1921.

I am enjoying very much the numbers of *The Missouri Historical Review*.—(Miss) Villa McCune, Vandalia, Mo., November 22, 1921.

I have just returned to Albany, Oregon, from an extended business trip of two months. Find herein check for my annual dues and do not forget *The Missouri Historical Review*, which publication I much appreciate as a Missourian born in old Randolph

County.—George W. Wright, Attorney at Law, Albany, Oregon, December 2, 1921.

During my year as a member of this Society I have been greatly interested in the work that you are doing for the benefit of the people of this State. Have greatly enjoyed affiliation with this institution and have found much of interest and value in its publications. The people of Missouri can hail with patriotic pride the achievements of our ancestors who have made possible the position that our State holds today. I consider *The Missouri Historical Review* a valuable publication and do not want to miss a single issue of it, for it contains much relating to the annals of our Great State.—Loyd Collins, Teacher, Clinton, Mo., November 8, 1921.

I congratulate the State Historical Society for its large and enthusiastic membership and its splendid publication. As one who grew up in grand old Missouri, I am proud that the society is taking first rank among those of sister states.—J. P. Renfrew, Journalist and Postmaster, Alva, Okla., October 18, 1921.

Am going to get as many subscribers as I can for *The Missouri Historical Review* and I always ask them if they want back numbers.—Mrs. Joseph Tolson, Fayette, Mo., October 21, 1921.

The Missouri Historical Review publication still looks good to me and the news therein is fresh and fine.—John A. Oliphant, Lawyer, Tulsa, Okla., December 20, 1921.

I am enclosing herewith the form which was attached to your letter. I am glad to observe that you are making a campaign for members, for if everyone could appreciate the real enjoyment there is in reading the *Review* you would be snowed under with applications for membership.—John J. Nangle, Attorney at Law, St. Louis, Mo., September 10, 1921.

I have the current number of *The Missouri Historical Review.* I regard it a most useful publication and a distinct credit to the Society.—Virgil M. Harris, Trust Officer, The National Bank of Commerce, St. Louis, Mo., September 12, 1921.

I take pleasure in enclosing annual dues for year ending July 31, 1922. In this connection I wish to express my very great appreciation of your work in connection with the State Historical Society of Missouri. We lead. Others must be content to follow.—W. L. Nelson, Associate Editor, *Farmer and Stockman,* Columbia, Mo., September 2, 1921.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY SECOND LARGEST IN MEMBERSHIP.

On January 1, 1922, the Society's active pay membership totaled 1,589, exclusive of exchange and editorial members. This is a net gain of 579 members or 57% during the last twelve months. So far as our statistics show, The State Historical Society of Missouri ranks second in the United States in active membership compared with all state historical societies. For this rank and honor credit is due those public-spirited Missourians, both men and women, who have co-operated in enlarging the field of service of this institution. A continuation of this support will eventually result in Missouri taking first rank. Why not?

The true enlightened Missourian desires to see his state advance. He hopes to see that day when the children in our schools are instructed in the annals of their forefathers. He loves Missouri and her history and realizes that only thru a central historical agency can that history be disseminated. May the year 1922 equal in historical fruits the centennial year 1921.

A REAL MISSOURIAN.

This letter breathes a spirit of state pride and loyalty that is an inspiration to all lovers of Missouri.

> Am sorry not to be able to send the name of a friend who would be interested in Missouri, for all my old friends there have passed out or moved somewhere else and I have been too ailing for years to keep up communication. So would not know how to address any of them. I trust you will understand my position.
>
> Enclosed please find one dollar. I wish it could be more—perhaps you could find some one. I wish great success may attend your efforts and that dear old Missouri may come to be the first State in the Union. Pennsylvania is my native State but I spent the greater and best part of my life in Missouri.
>
> With best wishes for the coming holidays.
>
> Sincerely, JESSIE E. FOSTER, Fruitvale, Cal.

NANCY COONSMAN HAHN TO CREATE MISSOURI'S WAR MEMORIAL SHAFT.

Mrs. Nancy Coonsman Hahn, 6171 Delmar boulevard, yesterday was selected by a jury to design and complete a shaft to be erected in France in commemoration of Missouri's participation in the late war.

Mrs. Hahn is to receive $7,000 at once. When the contract for the commission is signed she will be requested to furnish a guaranty bond of $10,000 for completion of the work, following which she will be paid $3,000 as a retainer. The remainder of the award will be paid when the memorial is in position in France. All expenses of material and transportation are to be borne by Mrs. Hahn as the winning sculptor.

The jury, composed of Lorado Taft, widely known sculptor; Irving K. Pond, architect of Chicago, and Ralph Elmer Clarkson, painter, also of Chicago, selected Mrs. Hahn from among seven contestants.

The Legislature on May 5, 1919, appropriated $25,000 to provide and have erected in France a statue or shaft typifying the part played by Missouri in the war. The contest was restricted to residents of Missouri, who were to submit models. The names of sculptors submitting entries were unknown to the judges.

Mrs. Hahn's model is that of a shaft surmounted by a figure of victory. The model is in a scale of two inches to the foot. The actual memorial will stand about eighteen feet high. The shaft, according to Mrs. Hahn's plans, will be of gray granite with a female figure typifying victory poised at the top.

In the right hand, held high above the head, there is a wreath of laurel and in the left a palm, symbol of victory, is held. The figure, in bronze, is placed facing the rising sun, its drapery flowing in the breeze.

The shaft will be mounted on a base of concrete about thirty feet square. On the face of the shaft, beneath the figure, is the coat of arms of Missouri, and below this is the following legend:

"In grateful memory to the sons of Missouri who helped bring victory to the allies and peace to humanity in the Great War."

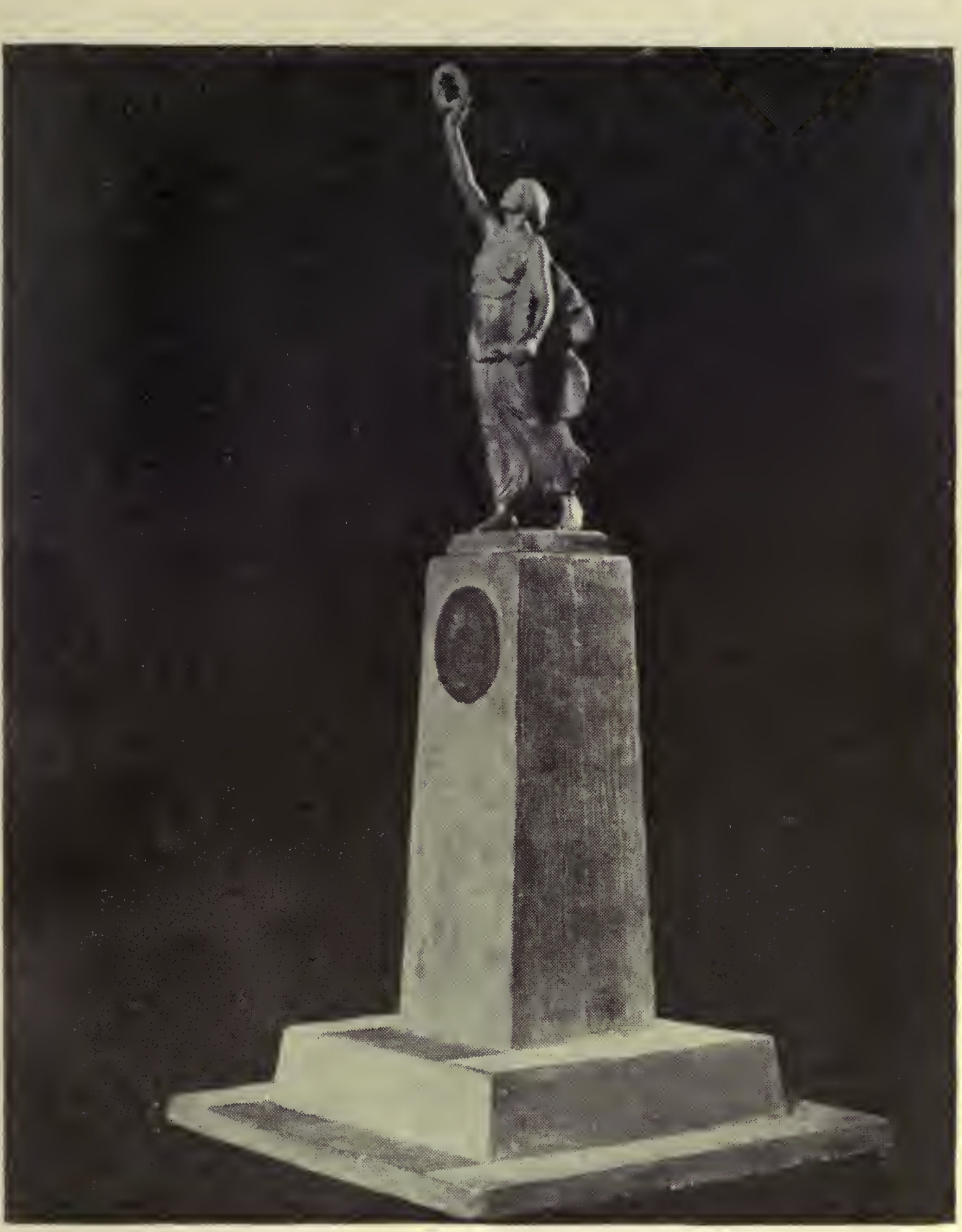
The second prize of $300 was awarded by the jury to Frederick C. Hibbard, formerly of Missouri, but now living in Chicago. His model shows a male figure in bronze seated before a broad background of red granite. The figure, nude, holds in its hand an unsheathed sword.

The state, by the terms of the contest, reserved the right to use any models which might be awarded prizes for statues or shafts to be erected elsewhere than in France.

Other models were submitted by Robert P. Bringhurst, Victor S. Holm, Adele E. Schulenburg and Erhardt Siebert of St. Louis, and by Robert Merrell Gage of Kansas City. (*St. Louis Star*, November 13, 1921.)

FINANCE AND HISTORY.

The National Bank of Commerce of St. Louis has the distinction of being the first financial institution in Missouri, every officer of which is a member of the State Historical Society. For years the president, Mr. John G. Lonsdale, the cashier, Mr. R. F. McNally, and the trust officer, Mr. Virgil M. Harris, have been members of this Society and readers of the Review. From time to time each has co-operated in extending the field of service of this institution. The extent of this co-operation is best indicated by the recent action of Mr. Harris, the trust officer. As a 1921 Christmas remembrance, Mr. Harris gave a year's membership in this Society, including the issues of *The Missouri Historical Review*, to 22 of his friends and associates. Such co-operation and appreciation is the greatest source of satisfaction to those truly interested in the annals of our people.



MONUMENT TO BE ERECTED IN FRANCE BY THE STATE OF MISSOURI IN MEMORY OF THE SONS OF THE STATE.
NANCY COONSMAN HAHN, ST. LOUIS, SCULPTOR.

MISSOURI'S FIRST THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

The following letter is well worth reproducing. The *Review* welcomes such communications. The first Thanksgiving proclamation issued in Missouri, so far as the Society has been able to determine, was by Governor Reynolds, dated October 16, 1843.

May I call your attention to an error which occurs in Stevens' *Centennial History* and also, I believe, in various other Missouri histories? The statement is made that to Governor Stewart belongs the honor of issuing the first Thanksgiving proclamation in Missouri. This is incorrect. Governor John C. Edwards appointed Thursday, December 3, 1846, as a day of general prayer and thanksgiving throughout the state and it was observed as such. My authority for this is the issue of the *St. Joseph Gazette* for November (the last week), 1846.

Another error, a trifling one (if any error in historical data can be called trifling), is to be found in Mr. C. L. Rutt's *History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph.* Mr. Rutt asserts that the first telegraph line built to St. Joseph was completed March 3, 1853. (Page 200). The files of the *Gazette* show that the first message was received here December 17, 1851, a difference of more than two years.—LOUISE PLATT HAUCK, St. Joseph, Missouri, November 9, 1921.

OBITUARY.

JAMES ENGLISH COWAN died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. O. G. Selden, in St. Louis, on the morning of December 2nd, 1921, in his eighty-eighth year. He was a son of the Rev. John Fleming Cowan, a pioneer Presbyterian Minister of Missouri, who held charges at Caledonia, Auxvasse, and, at the beginning of the Civil War at Carondelet. John Fleming Cowan was born May 13, 1801, died September 29, 1862. He married Mary English, November 30, 1830. Two of his sons became Presbyterian Ministers. The elder, John F. Cowan, was in 1888 elected to the Chair of Modern Languages in Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri; and his youngest son, the Rev. Edward Payson Cowan, was for many years Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The Cowans were prominent pioneer members of the famous Upper Octorara Presbyterian Congregation in Chester County, Pennsylvania, where the Rev. John Fleming Cowan was born and reared.

Their emigrant ancestor was Hugh Cowan who applied for land in Salisbury Township, Chester County, Pa., in 1734. This Hugh Cowan married Mary Scott and dying in 1781, left a large family. His son Robert married Margaret Hope. He died in 1774, leaving seven children. Adam, son of Robert, born about 1760, served in the War of the American Revolution as Lieutenant in Capt. Gibbs Company, 8th Battalion, during the year 1777; in 1778 he was an Ensign in the same Company. He married Elizabeth Withrow. Died in 1802 and left three sons of whom John Fleming Cowan was the father of James English Cowan, the subject of this sketch.

James English Cowan was born at Apple Creek, Cape Girardeau County, Missouri, October 13th, 1834. In 1849, he removed to St. Louis and became a clerk in a book store, with which business he continued his connection until 1858. When the Civil War came on, he enlisted at the call of Gov. Gamble, serving under Col. Stafford as his Adjutant with the forces opposing General Price on the Southern Border of the State. Receiving his discharge in 1864, he again connected himself with the firm of Keith & Woods, Booksellers, with whom he continued until 1871. In that year he became agent for the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co., of Springfield, which agency he held until 1874. In 1872 he entered the Fire Insurance business in which he continued until his death. For many years he occupied an office at No. 222 Pine street with C. L. Thompson. Later he was joined in business by his son, J. Edward Cowan. For seventeen years he was the Treasurer of the old St. Louis Board of Fire Underwriters. In 1858, he married Henrietta S. Quinette, eldest daughter of Francis A. Quinette. She died several years after celebrating their Golden Wedding. Of their children, three survive, J. Edward Cowan, J. Mortland Cowan and Eleanore C. (Mrs. O. G.) Selden. His church connections date back to the Carondelet Presbyterian Church of which his father was pastor. He later was an elder in the Westminster Presbyterian Church, and in the Lafayette Park Presbyterian Church. At the time of his death, he was a deacon in the Compton Hill Congregational Church for which he wrote the constitution.

He was noted for his life-long work among boys and young men. For many years he devoted his Sunday afternoons to conducting religious services at the St. Louis House of Refuge, of which institution he was one of the Board of Managers.

He was remarkable for the extent of his acquaintance and for being a ready speaker possessed of a keen sense of kindly humor.

Among his many friends he was known as a poet of considerable ability.

Wm. Clark Breckenridge, St. Louis, Mo.

MISSOURI WOMAN RECEIVES HIGH APPOINTMENT.

On January 5, 1922, Mrs. A. H. Brueggeman of St. Louis was appointed by President Harding chairman of the United States Employees Compensation Commission. This is one of the highest positions in the Federal service held by a woman.

DATA COMMITTEE FOR MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

On January 3, 1922, Governor Hyde appointed the following persons as a committee to gather data for the forthcoming Missouri constitutional convention: Dr. Isidor Loeb, University of Missouri, Columbia; former Judge R. L. Good, Washington University, St. Louis; Miss Laura Runyon, Central Missouri State Teachers College, Warrensburg; Assistant Attorney-General Merrill Otis, Jefferson City; Hon. Samuel O'Fallon, Oregon; Dr. W. H. Black, Missouri Valley College, Marshall.

MISSOURI'S CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION IN KANSAS CITY.

BY LUCILE TAPPAN MORELAND.

It was most appropriate for Kansas City to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of Missouri's birth on Missouri Day.

The Kansas City Centennial Association comprising sixty-five patriotic societies chose the originator of the celebration idea for their chairman, Mrs. C. C. Allen of the United States Daughters of 1812, whose plan for a parade, pageant and ball depicting the history of Missouri was admirably carried out.

The close of the playing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" was the signal for the parade to start. The disabled overseas veterans who led were greeted with cheers, while hearty applause and complementary remarks were given the various divisions by the throngs who lined the streets along the route. The Camp Fire Girls and Boy Scouts in their characteristic dress were interspersed among the hundreds of school children.

Indians from Haskell Institute in war paint and tribal costume, and pioneers in stage coaches recalled to the minds of grey-haired spectators the early days of Westport Landing. "Diamond Dick," the sole surviving member of Buffalo Bill's scouts, vied for honors with Henry Avis, the last living rider of the pony express that operated over the Santa Fe Trail from Westport Landing to Albuquerque.

A "one hoss shay," a prairie schooner, a tallyho, a bicycle of the 80's, elicitated from the kiddies the question "What is that?"

Salvation Army lassies and Gold Star mothers were accorded reverent silence from the ex-service men who stood with uncovered heads while they passed by.

The gaily decorated cars with flags and insignia banners flying filled with members of the Colonial Dames of the XVII Century, Colonial Dames, Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of 1812 and other patriotic organizations featured the history of Missouri when a territory. The story of her admittance into the Union was told to the throngs of spectators in Penn Valley Park (the terminus of the parade), when in the presence of her twenty-three sister states, the crown of statehood was placed upon the brow of Miss Ouri by President Monroe.

"Backward, turn backward, O Time, in your flight,
Make me a child again just for tonight!"

That couplet must have flashed through the minds of many persons in Convention Hall the night of October 3rd, 1921, as they witnessed the dances of the century just past.

Two small pages in the costume of Uncle Sam were the official announcers of each dance as they carried the placards down and back the length of the dancing floor.

The stately Minuet de la Cour under the chaperonage of the Colonial Dames danced by the belles and beaux in flowered dresses and powdered wigs of 1800 was followed by "La Pavanne" of 1805.

The war spirit of 1812 was characteristically portrayed in the "Lanciers de Millitaire," danced by members of the society "The Daughters of 1812." Following this was the

"Varsouvienne" of the year of 1820 danced under the chaperonage of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The period of 1830 was designated by the rendering of "Believe Me If All Those Endearing Young Charms," by Mr. Clyde Matson.

The Rye Waltz of 1840 by the laddies and their lassies—in pantalettes—was followed by the singing of the "Last Rose of Summer" by Mrs. J. A. Railey, dressed to represent Jenny Lind, after which came the pipers, drummers and dancers whose Scottish dress, "Reels" and "Flings" were a fitting prelude to Mr. Ottley Cranston's perfect rendition of "Annie Laurie."

The Virginia Reel—and hoop skirts—came next, followed closely by "Balance all—swing yer pardners." And the Daughters (and Sons) of Old Westport were off. With every movement of the quadrille was the silent accompaniment of many feet, and laughter and applause as the dances were "called off."

A medley of old-fashioned dances by the pioneer families of Kansas City led up to the last number—the fox trot of the cabaret.

After the singing of "The Birthday" by Mrs. Allen Taylor, beautiful Miss Ouri, who had been crowned earlier in the day, with her attendants, reviewed the dancers during the Grand March which was lead by President and Mrs. Monroe.

BUCHANAN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Through the courtesy of Colonel Joseph A. Corby and Mr. William F. Dyer, president and secretary respectively of the Buchanan County Historical Society, data has recently been received showing the progress made by that institution. The Buchanan County Historical Society is one of the most forward-looking local institutions of the state. Its membership includes 161 of the leading citizens of St. Joseph. These public spirited men and women have shown a spirit in keeping with the high annals of their city. If this interest is maintained, as the present plans seem to indicate, it is not too much to expect a worthwhile going historical society in St. Joseph in the near future.

JAMESPORT (MO.) FORTNIGHTLY CLUB.

An example of the new spirit of co-operative work is shown by the recent action of the Jamesport Fortnightly Club. Jamesport is a city of 611 in Daviess county, Missouri. Ten of the members of the Fortnightly Club have recently affiliated with The State Historical Society. An entire year will be devoted to the study of Missouri history.

THE JUNIOR CLASS OF THE MONTICELLO (MO.) HIGH SCHOOL.

A new spirit of state pride is in the making. For years the only members of the State Historical Society were individuals. Many institutions and organizations took little or no interest in the annals of our people. Presently, colleges and women's clubs requested affiliation with this Society and began heartily to stimulate interest among others, and the movement spread until the Society's roll today carries many such organizations and institutions.

On November 3, 1921, a new organization of a different character applied for membership and requested the Missouri Historical Review. The application and the request were unsolicited by this Society and it does not know how the new organization learned of this work. It was because of this that the application of the Junior Class of the Monticello (Mo.) High School was so heartily received. Someone in Monticello has been talking state pride and state history to the teachers and the school children and both fell on fertile soil. The Junior Class of the Monticello High School deserves signal mention and commendation in being the first in the state to request in a body affiliation with the State Historical Society and receipt of the Missouri Historical Review.

FIRST PROTESTANT SUNDAY SCHOOL WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

I am under obligation to my friend, Charles E. Rendlen, for enclosing my name as a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri, as I am very much interested in Missouri History.

I am a relative of the first Senator from Missouri, David Barton, and my great-great-grandmother, Sarah Barton Murphy, organized probably the first Protestant Sunday School west of the Mississippi River at Farmington, Missouri, in about the year 1800, my grandfather coming to Missouri with her at the age of ten years. My father was born in St. Francois County in the year 1824 and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1865 that abolished slavery in Missouri, and I have in my possession a diary kept by him from about 1838 up to about 1870. He was a member of the State Senate from 1866 to 1870, from the 22nd Senatorial District.

Therefore, you can see that I am a Missourian from way back and am very much interested in all that pertains to our magnificent state. Enclosed find check for membership. Thanking you for your courtesy in the matter, I am,

Yours very truly,

H. D. Evans, Jefferson City, Mo., Sept. 6, 1921.

PERSONALS.

Judge Theodore Brace: Born in Maryland, June 10, 1835; died at Paris, Missouri, May 26, 1921. He came west as a young man and at the outbreak of the Civil War raised a company of men for the southern cause, being elected its captain. During the war he was promoted to colonel. At the close of the war he returned to his home at Paris and in 1874 was elected to the State senate. In 1878 he became probate judge of Monroe county; in 1880 judge of the sixteenth judicial circuit; in 1886 judge of the supreme court of Missouri. To this office he was re-elected in 1896, serving then as chief justice. He was a past grand master of the grand lodge of Missouri A. F. & A. M.

Hon. James Cowgill: Born April 2, 1848, in Henry county, Indiana; died at Kansas City, Missouri, January 20, 1922. He served in the Civil War with company K of the

Ninth Indiana Infantry, and came to Caldwell county, Missouri, shortly after the close of the war. For many years he engaged in farming and stock raising, and was still interested in that business at the time of his death. In 1882 he was elected presiding judge of the county court of Caldwell county. In 1890 he was elected a State representative from that county. His election as railroad and warehouse commissioner in 1892 was followed by his removal to Kansas City, where he has since resided. He served as city treasurer of Kansas City in 1900-04 and as State Treasurer in 1909-12. He had been mayor of Kansas City since 1918.

Judge John D. Lawson: Born at Hamilton, Canada, March 29, 1852; died at Chicago, Illinois, October 28, 1921. He received the degree of LL. B. from Osgoode Hall of the University of Toronto in 1875. In 1876 he came to St. Louis, where he practiced law until 1885. From 1876 until 1881 he was also editor of the Central Law Journal in St. Louis. He was judge of the Civil Court from 1886 until 1891. In the latter year he came to the University of Missouri as a professor of contracts and international law. In 1903 he became dean of the school of law, serving in that capacity until 1912, at which time, because of failing health, he resigned. However, he continued to teach for several years, finally being forced to give that up also.

Hon. George W. Martin: Born near Sardis, Ohio, December 30, 1838; died at Brookfield, Missouri, December 18, 1921. As a young man he taught school in Missouri and Ohio, but at the outbreak of the Civil War enlisted in company B, 25th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. During his service he received several promotions, and was mustered out a first lieutenant. In 1865 he returned to Missouri and in the fall of 1868 was elected assessor of Linn county. In 1870 he was elected county clerk and in 1874 was re-elected to that office. He was Republican nominee for State auditor in 1888, served as department commander of Missouri, Grand Army of the Republic, in 1891 and 1892, and represented Linn county in the general assembly of the State in 1907. For many years he had been editor of the Brookfield *Gazette*.

Hon. W. S. Pope: Born near Thomasville, North Carolina, July 10, 1847; died at Jefferson City April 13, 1921. He came to Missouri in 1866 and shortly thereafter settled at Hartville in Wright county, where he began the practice of law. In 1872 he was elected a representative in the general assembly of the State from Wright county. In 1873 he moved to Jefferson City and served as Cole county's representative in 1877 and 1879. He continued the practice of law in Jefferson City and at the time of his death was president of the Cole County Bar Association.

Judge M. G. Reynolds: Born at Bowling Green, Missouri, November 19, 1854; died at St. Louis, January 10, 1922. He was graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1874, but resigned from his command after serving three years and entered the practice of law in St. Louis. In 1904 he was elected judge in the circuit court in St. Louis, resigning after four and one-half years in office. Under Governor Hadley he served as president of the Board of Police Commissioners of St. Louis. He also served one term in the general assembly of the State, having been elected in 1880 from Pike county.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.

Compiled by J. Willard Ridings.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF MINES AND METALLURGY.

From *The Missouri Miner*, October 31, 1921.

In 1862 the Congress of the United States passed a bill which gave to all states that would establish at least one scientific college, especially devoted to "agriculture and the mechanic arts," a grant of public land, depending in size upon the total number of senators and representatives in Congress from that state. In 1870 the general assembly of the State of Missouri passed a bill taking advantage of the act of Congress. This bill provided for the establishment of an agricultural and mechanical college, to be located at and be in connection with the State University at Columbia, and for a school of mines and metallurgy, also to be a college of the University, to be located "somewhere in the mining district of the State," in the county that would give the largest bonus to the school.

Two counties, Iron and Phelps, put in bids. That of Phelps county exceeded that of Iron county by something like $17,000, and this county was awarded the location. Rolla, being the largest city in the county, and the county seat, was the city selected.

This was in June, 1871. Immediate arrangements were made for opening the school and advertisements for students were issued. The regular course was to be three years in length, and was to lead to the degree of Mining Engineer. Prof. Chas. P. Williams accepted the position of director of the school. Prof. Williams was at that time professor of chemistry and assaying at Delaware College, and was well known as a chemist and assayer.

The formal opening of the School of Mines took place on November 23, 1871. Prominent speakers from all over the State took part in the exercises.

During the early years of the school it was much handicapped by the lack of funds. Its real development dates from 1890, since which many buildings have been erected and much valuable equipment added.

Prof. Williams was succeeded as director of the school in 1877 by Charles E. Wait. Next came William H. Echols, who served until 1891. From 1891 to 1893 Prof. Elmo G. Harris acted as director. The position was filled in 1893 by Walter B. Richards, who served until 1897. From that year until 1907 Geo. E. Ladd was the incumbent of the office. He was succeeded by Dr. Lewis E. Young, who served until 1913. Prof. L. E. Garrett was acting director from then until 1915, when Dr. A. L. McRae took the post. He was succeeded in 1920 by Dr. Charles H. Fulton, the present director.

The school years of 1871-72 saw an enrollment of 28 students: 8 regular, 3 special and 17 preparatory. The first commencement was held in June, 1874, and there were three graduates. The year 1894 marks the beginning of the four-year curriculum of thes chool, and was the beginning of the present system upon which the school now operates. This gradually increased the enrollment of the school until it reached the present figure of 562. This number includes 200 vocational students.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

JULY-DECEMBER, 1920

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Ledger*

July 1. Solomon See, a pioneer, tells of bloodless battle. A Civil War incident.

Nov. 25. R. S. McKinney, county surveyor, tells of experiences in Civil War.

Barton County. Lamar, *Democrat*

Aug. 26. A glimpse of 50 years ago. Description of business section of Lamar in 1870.

Sept. 9. Ye Old Time Pedagogues of Barton county. Some reminiscences of 40 years ago.

Boone County. Centralia, *Fireside Guard*

Sept. 24. Hallsville in 1853.

Oct. 1. School days of 1857.

Centralia Massacre. Story of the tragedy of 1864.

Oct. 8. Prices here in 1852.

Oct. 29. From Harvey Hulen. Interesting description of country life in Missouri in the '50's and '60's. Continued in issues of November 5, 12, 26, December 3 and 31.

———— Columbia, *Evening Missourian.*

July 19. State constitution century old today. Review of incidents surrounding adoption of Missouri's first constitution.

July 24. R. B. Price tells about early days in county.

Aug. 12. Missouri's struggle for statehood long. Short sketch of Missouri's admission into Union.

Aug. 14. From Smithton to Columbia of today. Sketch of Columbia as pioneer settlement.

Aug. 26. Columbia mansion is remnant of past. Description of General Odon Guitar home, built during Civil War.

Sept. 2. *Missourian* in its 13th year. Sketch of growth of *Evening Missourian.*

River freight hauled over old plank road. Some facts regarding Columbia-Providence road, built about 1853.

Sept. 3. Columbia church history. Early record of various denominations.

Sept. 7. Origin of State seal was in 1820. A short sketch.

Sept. 15. Presbyterian Church is 92 years old. Some facts regarding Columbia denomination.

Oct. 2. What election day was like 100 years ago in Columbia.

Oct. 5. House with secret chamber was home of county prisoner. The story of Eli Bass, a citizen of Boone county.

Oct. 6. Three R's taught for 40 years in Missouri's only school. Some facts about early-day schools in Missouri.

Oct. 9. "Most Unscholarly Student" in M. U. won fame by inaccuracy. A short sketch of Eugene Field.

Oct. 15. University columns are only reminder of fire in 1892. Story of burning of old administration building.

Oct. 21. Switzler Hall is alive with M. U. history. Sketch of university building built in 1871.

Oct. 25. Going back 100 years in Boone county. A number of important events of early days.
Nov. 6. Curators, with grave misgivings, admitted women to M. U. in 1870.
Nov. 11. Crimes and feuds held sway in '80's. Story of the lawlessness of the Bald Knobbers in the Ozarks.
Nov. 12. Curious wills found in old legal records. Some extracts from book on "Ancient Curious and Famous Wills," by V. M. Harris.
Nov. 15. Gin burners in the south recall the days of the Bald Knobbers. Some recollections of their activities in south Missouri.
Nov. 23. University band formerly wore Prince Alberts and "stove pipes." Story of the development of the university's band.
Southern states influences Missouri's first constitution. Some facts about the making of the State's first constitution.
Nov. 26. "Columbia" is world queen, child of sky. When Boone county towns were organized and how they got their names.
Dec. 27. Historical lore is connected with Mineola. Some interesting facts about picturesque village.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*
July 25. Entrance of Missouri into Union, 100 years ago a stormy affair.
Aug. 22. Musty city ordinances relate story of bygone days.
——— ———, *News-Press.*
Aug. 26. In St. Joseph 71 years. Some recollections of early days, by John Harnois.
——— ———, *Observer*
Sept. 4. Wild and wooly days of the "Council Bluffs." Recollections of early-day railroad.
Dec. 25. When the "Hopkins" reached the Iowa line. A story of railroad development of 50 years ago.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Missouri Telegraph*
Sept. 9. Some old papers found. Copies of the *Missouri Telegraph* of 1861.
——— Mokane, *Missourian*
July 16. Missouri will pass century mark Monday. Some early history. Reprinted from St. Louis *Globe-Democrat.*

Cape Girardeau County. Cape Girardeau, *Southeast Missourian*
Aug. 12. Captain fiddled while boat sank. An early-day river event.
Aug. 19. River tramp paid benefactor for ride. More reminiscences of Missouri river life.

Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*
July 8. Memories of Harrisonville and Cass county. Continued in issues of July 15 and 22.
Sept. 2. Frank H. Brooks reminiscent. A story of early newspaper days in Harrisonville.
——— Pleasant Hill, *Times*
Dec. 10. Some political history. Henry county recollections. Reprinted from Deepwater *World.*
——— Belton, *Herald*
Dec. 10. Some Missouri corn history. Reprinted in Pleasant Hill *Times*, December 17th.

Chariton County. Keytesville, *Chariton Courier*
Dec. 31. 100 years ago tomorrow. Some facts regarding the organization of Chariton county.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier*
July 2. Chapter of Clark county history. Continued in issues of July 9, August 20, September 3, 17, December 24 and 31.
Oct. 8. Address of J. W. Murphy. Reminiscences of early days in Clark county. Continued in issues of October 8 and 15. Also printed in *Gazette-Herald.*
Dec. 17. Churchville a busy town during Civil War years. Memories of the old town of Churchville.
Becker family of Churchville—a short history.
——— ———, *Gazette-Herald*
July 2. Chapters of Clark county history. Continued in issues of July 23, August 20, September 3, 17, November 5, 19, 26 and December 31.

Clay County. Liberty, *Advance*
Aug. 23. Missouri City's old days. Memories of steamboats and sugar-making times. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star.*
Aug. 30. Circuit Rider was here. Historical data on Clay county, collected by the "Circuit Rider." Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star.*
Sept. 6. Early history of Platte. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star.*
Sept. 27. Baseball 35 years ago. Reprinted from the Smithville, *Democrat-Herald.*
——— ———, *Tribune*
Sept. 3. Clay county pioneers. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star.*
Nov. 19. Its beginning and end. The past glory and romance of steamboating. Reprinted from the Memphis (Tenn.) *Commercial Appeal.*

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Cole County Weekly Rustler*
Dec. 31. Jefferson City man gives a historical scrapbook to C. W. Some extracts from same, giving facts about Missouri State Guard.
——— ———, *Missouri State Journal*
Nov. 20. Third assistant postmaster general. A sketch of Alexander M. Dockery.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Weekly Advertiser*
Oct. 1. A tribute to Missouri. By Wm. H. Wallace; reprinted from a campaign speech of 1892.
——— ———, *Central Missouri Republican*
Nov. 4. Steamboat's heyday was 1850 to 1860. Description of river activities.
——— Bunceton, *Eagle*
July 9. History of Mt. Nebo Baptist church.
Dec. 3. How population changes. Some data concerning citizens of Bunceton 35 years ago.

Crawford County. Steelville, *Crawford Mirror*
Dec. 30. First Baptist church—some historical facts.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Dade County Advocate*
Dec. 2. Ozark College. A short history of defunct institution.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat*
Nov. 25. Governor Alexander M. Dockery. A biographical sketch by Matilda W. Gantt. Reprinted from *Missouri State Journal.*
Dec. 30. Alexander Monroe Dockery, a biographical sketch by Rollin J. Britton.

Douglas County. Ava, *Douglas County Herald*
July 22. Missouri passed century mark as a State. Some facts regarding admission.
Aug. 19. Douglas county. A brief historical sketch.

Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin Democrat*
Nov. 5. The New Madrid earthquake of 1812. A description taken from a letter written in 1816.
Dec. 24. Early days in Pemiscot county. Reprinted from the Caruthersville *Democrat.*
Dec. 31. As a citizen views it. A few recollections of early days, by Virgil McKay.

Franklin County. Union, *Republican-Tribune*
Oct. 8. Sketch of the life of Alfred A. Vitt, Union veteran.
Oct. 29. Photograph of Franklin county courthouse, bulit in 1848. Political reminiscences of F. W. Pehle, by Clark Brown.
———— Washington, *Franklin County Observer*
July 23. Missouri a State of Union for 100 years. Some historical facts.
Sept. 24. Sketch of the life of F. W. Pehle, former county official and State legislator. See also Washington *Citizen* for September 24th.

Gasconade County. Hermann, *Adveriser-Courier*
Oct. 20. Sketch of the life of Carl F. Klick, Union veteran.

Gentry County. King City, *Chronicle*
Aug. 27. Sketch of the life of George C. Strock, founder of the *Chronicle*, and former editor of the Albany *Ledger*. See also King City, *Tri-County News* for August 13.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*
Nov. 24. The last wild pigeon hunt ever staged in the Ozarks.

Harrison County. Bethany, *Clipper*
Nov. 10. In a reminiscent mood. Recollections of 1887.
Dec. 15. M. P. McNamee writes of early days in northwest Missouri.

Henry County. Windsor, *Review*
Dec. 2. In the '60's around Windsor.

Hickory County. Hermitage, *Index*
Dec. 16. Wm. Q. Paxton, while in the army in 1864, writes sister at home. Some description of army life during Civil War.

Holt County. Mound City, *News-Jeffersonian*
Aug. 27. The county seat question. With some historical date on Holt county courthouse.
———— Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*
July 23. Sketch of the life of Warren B. Davis, Union veteran.

Sept. 3. The truth half told. Historical data about courthouse of Holt county.
Sept. 10. Holt's temple of justice. Some early history of the courthouses of Holt county.
Sept. 17. Holt's beauty spot. More courthouse history.
Nov. 26. Sketch of the life of Josiah W. Batcheller, pioneer citizen and Union veteran.
Sketch of the life of Levi Oren, Union veteran.

Howard County. Fayette, *Advertiser*
Oct. 28. Sketch of Dr. Edwin Boone Craighead, president of Central College.
———— ————, *Democrat-Leader*
July 8. Probably oldest in Howard county. Some historical data concerning Mt. Moriah Baptist church.
July 15. Fayette and Howard county. A historical and descriptive sketch.
Some facts about Howard-Payne College.

Jackson County. Kansas City, *Post*
Aug. 1. Billy Reedy, writing man, and his home town. A short sketch of famous St. Louis journalist.
Aug. 22. Genesis of law in Jackson county, built 93 years ago, to be preserved. Sketch of first courthouse of Jackson county.
Nov. 14. LaPlata police chief, former friend of Jesse James, John F. Givens, relates tales of Civil War days.
———— ————, *Star*
July 4. General Grant's Fourth of July visit to Kansas City in 1880.
July 19. Missouri is at the century mark today. Story of State's admission into Union.
July 21. Passing of the Robidoux store, famous western Kansas landmark.
Aug. 22. A sugar camp of long ago. Recollections of early days in Clay county. Continued in issue of August 29th.
Sept. 2. Platte county boasts America's premier fair. Random historical notes on Platte City and Platte county.
Sept. 4. Sketch of the life of J. C. Tarsney, Union veteran and former Congressman.
Sept. 9. Missouri's tobacco center. Description of tobacco industry at Weston, Missouri.
Sept. 11. How Mark Twain "roughed it" in Nevada. Reprinted from the *Saturday Evening Post.*
Sept. 19. Historic Lexington remembers the duties of the present. Notes on early days in Lexington.
Sept. 24. Honey bees blazed the trail for Nodaway county pioneers. Facts concerning pioneer days in Nodaway county.
Oct. 3. Discovering the Ozarks. Some description of south Missouri.
Others may be the best, but Saline is the banner county. Historical, geographical and other facts about Saline county.
Oct. 20. No rivalry among towns in Ray county. Facts about county.
Oct. 24. Carroll county was the Egypt of refugees under Order Number 11. Descriptions and reminiscences of Carroll county.
The Missouri river as the early explorers found it. From the journal of Lewis and Clark in 1804.
Oct. 31. St. Joseph forgets the Pony Express to boost good roads. Some sidelights on St. Joseph and its people, past and present.

Nov. 7. Fame for Missouri girl. Short sketch of Ivy McCarthy of Kirksville, who has met success as a sculptor in England. Reprinted from New York *Globe*.

Nov. 10. Youth's tribute to Eugene Field. Sketch of the child's monument to Field in Chicago.

Nov. 14. Cass county is like a grand loving cup, filled to the brim. A descriptive sketch.

Nov. 28. Doing something for the Quality Hill baby. A sketch by Eugene Field, reprinted from the Kansas City *Times* of November 25, 1880.

Dec. 5. An ancient sea once raged above Johnson county, Missouri. Interesting facts, past and present, about Johnson county.

Dec. 12. How Homer Croy broke into print.

Dec. 25. Columbia is to Missouri what Athens was to Greece. A sketch of the seat of the State University.

———————— ————————, *Times*

Aug. 17. A pioneer banker dead. Sketch of the life of W. H. Winants, Civil and Spanish-American War veteran and resident of Kansas City since 1865.

Oct. 22. A Missouri centenarian who voted for Henry Clay. Sketch of "Uncle John" Smith of Dixon, Missouri.

Dec. 20. The first act of secession paved sixty years ago. Story of the secession of South Carolina.

———————— Oak Grove, *Banner*

Dec. 24. Sketch of the life of A. T. Duncan, Confederate veteran.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press*

Oct. 14. Twenty-fifth anniversary of courthouse dedication. A historical sketch of event of October 9, 1895.

Dec. 23. Sketch of the life of J. S. Scott, Union veteran.

———————— Joplin, *Globe*

Aug. 29. Special industrial edition. With descriptive articles on Joplin, mining district and neighboring towns.

Johnson County. Holden, *Progress*

July 1. Sketch of the life of W. B. Pemberton, Confederate veteran.

Dec. 2. A lodge's interesting history. Some facts about Gunn City's lodge I. O. O. F.

———————— Warrensburg, *Star-Journal*

Nov. 16. A twice-told tale of old Warrensburg. A tale of a near-tragedy in the '60's.

Knox County. Edina, *Democrat*

July 29. Sketch of the life of L. F. Cottey, former county official, state legislator and member of the constitutional convention of 1875. See also Edina *Sentinel* for July 29th.

———————— ————————, *Sentinel*

Oct. 21. Sketch of the life of O. D. Jones, pioneer attorney and politician.

Nov. 11. Sketch of the life of F. M. Woodward, pioneer and Union veteran.

Laclede County. Lebanon, *Laclede County Republican*

July 23. Sketch of the life of S. V. Casey, Confederate veteran and former county official and the oldest native-born citizen of Laclede county.

Oct. 29. It was speedy then. Recollections of the Wabash "Fast Train" of 40 years ago.
Dec. 3. Recalls Baldknobber. Reminiscences of Ozark outlaw band of the '80's. Reprinted from Columbia *Evening Missourian.*

Lafayette County. Lexington, *Intelligencer*
Sept. 10. Sketch of the life of W. G. Musgrove, former editor of the *Intelligencer.* See also Lexington *News* for September 9th.
——————— ———————, *News*
Aug. 19. Lexington's historic sites.
——————— Odessa, *Democrat*
Dec. 24. The passing of Columbus. Short historical sketch of the village of Columbus.

Lewis County. LaBelle, *Star*
Oct. 1. War veteran. Some facts concerning Felix Scott, a Union Captain in the Civil War. Reprinted in the Monticello, *Lewis County Journal,* October 8th.
——————— LaGrange, *Indicator*
Dec. 2. When the cholera epidemic struck Palmyra (1832-33). Reprinted from Palmyra *Spectator.*
——————— Monticello, *Lewis County Journal*
July 23. Missouri became a State July 19,1819. A few facts regarding Missouri's admission.

Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat*
July 2. Duffy passes century mark. Recollections of pioneer days in St. Louis, by pioneer citizen.

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*
Nov. 6. Back in the '40's. Items from a copy of the Glasgow *Gazette* of January 6, 1848.

Marion County. Palmyra, *Spectator*
Nov. 17. Reminiscences of a pioneer. Some interesting facts of early days. Reprinted from New London, *Ralls County Record.*

Mercer County. Princeton, *Telegraph*
Nov. 3. Sketch of the life of A. J. Jeffries, pioneer.
Miller County. Eldon, *Advertiser*
Nov. 4. Old paper published in 1861. Some items from California (Missouri) *News* of March 2, 1861.

Monroe County. Monroe City, *Semi-Weekly News*
Aug. 10. Patched-up constitution. A short historical sketch of Missouri's various constitutions.

——————— Paris, *Monroe County Appeal*
Aug. 20. Recollections of Paris pioneers.
Sept. 3. Turkeys of 50 years ago. Recollections of wild game in former days.

Montgomery County. New Florence, *Montgomery County Leader*
July 30. Missouri is 100 years old. Some random historical notes.

Morgan County. Versailles, *Statesman*
July 1. How Indians made flint arrowheads. By D. W. Eaton. Reprinted from *Outdoor Life.*

Nodaway County. Maryville, *Weekly Democrat-Forum*
July 29. Missouri is at the century mark. Some important historical facts about State.
Sept. 30. Recollections of pioneer days in Nodaway county. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star*.

Osage County. Linn, *Osage County Republican*
July 1. Missourians 100 years ago. Recollections of pioneer days. Continued in issues of July 8, 15 and 22.
——— ———, *Unterrified Democrat*
July 8. Old-time marriages—1891. A list of marriages of that year. Continued in issue of July 22nd.

Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Twice-a-Week Democrat*
Dec. 17. Pemiscot, back in "ye olden tyme." Interesting items from copies of Gayoso *Democrat* of early '80's.

Pike County. Bowling Green, Times
July 15. History Column. Early days of Bowling Green. Continued in issues of July 29 and October 7.
Aug. 12. When white men were sold as slaves in Missouri.
Sept. 9. The Mason and Dixon line.
Sept. 16. The old Spring Hollow.
——— Clarksville, *Banner-Sentinel*
Sept. 15. 53rd anniversary of the *Banner-Sentinel*. Some facts.

Ralls County. New London, *Ralls County Record*
Dec. 10. The tragedy of Boggs Mill. A traditional love affair of early days.

Randolph County. Moberly, *Weekly Monitor-Index*
Oct. 21. When constitution was framed in 1875. Amusing incidents of convention.

Ray County. Hardin, *News*
Sept. 9. Lavelock cemetery. A short history of Ray county burying ground.
——— Richmond, *Conservator*
Aug. 5. History of Richmond high school. Reprinted from 1920 *High School Echo*.
Aug. 26. History of the State flag of Missouri. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review*.
——— ———, *Missourian*
July 15. A local story of the good old days. A side light on Civil War times.
Nov. 18. Ray county is 100 years old. Some historical facts regarding its organization November 16, 1820.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Banner-News*
Oct. 14. Sketch of the life of Captain James S. Hill, Confederate veteran and Missouri river pilot.
——— ———, *Cosmos-Monitor*
July 21. History of the pioneer Boone family.

St. Clair County. Lowry City, *Independent*
Nov. 11. First steamboat on the Osage. Reprinted from History of St. Clair County, published in 1883.

Dec. 9. Western Missouri in the '60's. Extracts from a letter printed in the Windsor *Review.*

——— Osceola, *St. Clair County Democrat*

Oct. 28. Sketch of the life of C. H. Lucas, editor of the *Democrat.*

——— ———, *St. Clair County Republican*

Dec. 16. Sketch of the life of B. N. Prier, Union veteran.

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat.*

July 13. Missouri will pass century mark Monday. Short historical sketch of events by which Missouri adopted her first constitution.

Nov. 14. Old times on the Mississippi. Reprinted from the Memphis (Tenn.) *Commercial-Appeal.*

——— *Post-Dispatch*

July 18. How first state constitution was adopted at old Mansion House 100 years ago tomorrow. By Prof. E. M. Violette.

July 25. A visit with Louiis Dodge, St. Louis' most successful novelist.

Sept. 19. First governor of Missouri was installed 100 years ago today, with ceremonies, in St. Louis.

Oct. 17. Pulaski county super-centenarian contrasts pioneer days with the present era.

Oct. 31. Poster of old St. Louis and St. Clair ferry recalls the days of 80 years ago

Nov. 7. Builder of Eads bridge one of seven persons elected to Hall of Fame; with short sketch of J. B. Eads and Mark Twain. See also *Globe-Democrat* for November 7th.

——— *Star*

July 29. Anecdotes told by friends reveal Reedy's personality. Side lights on famous journalist. See also *Globe-Democrat* and *Post-Dispatch* for July 29th.

Oct. 23. Bar Association argument for a new State constitution; with history of past constitutional conventions. Continued in issues of October 25, 26 and 27.

Dec. 17. Traditional justice of Franklin county reflected in murder case. Crimes in which death penalty was paid recalled by aged historian at Union, Missouri.

Dec. 28. St. Louis' street names indicate city's origin and development. Historical significance of names.

St. Louis County. Carondelet, *News*

June 25. Comment and chroniclings of the Carondelet of years ago. Random recollections, continued in all succeeding issues.

——— Clayton, *Argus*

Aug. 13. Old time election not unlike present. Notes on the election of John Scott, Missouri's first representative in Congress.

——— ———, *Watchman-Advocate*

Dec. 24. Sketch of the life of Robert B. Crossman, pioneer newspaper man.

Scott County. Benton, *Scott County Democrat*

July 29. Partial list of Scott county officials since 1820.

Shelby County. Shelbina, *Democrat*

Aug. 4. Bill 620 and the "Swamp Angel." Story of the fight for railroad legislation in Missouri.

Stoddard County. Bloomfield, *Vindicator*

Dec. 17. Town of Gayoso was engulfed by river. How the Mississippi destroyed former county seat of Pemiscot county. Reprinted from Memphis (Tenn.) *Commercial-Appeal.*

——— ———, *Stoddard Tribune*

Dec. 9. Stoddard, the greatest county in the greatest state in the Union. A short descriptive sketch.

Texas County. Cabool, *Enterprise-Press*

Oct. 7. Big scoop by country editor. A newspaper incident of Harrisonville some 40 years ago. Reprinted from *The Fourth Estate.*

Dec. 16. An echo of the past. Resume of a copy of the Cabool, *Texas County Populist* of June, 1894.

——— Houston, *Herald*

July 22. Looking backward. Some privations of Civil War times. Continued in issue of August 5th and December 2nd.

Webster County. Marshfield, *Mail*

Oct. 28. Sketch of the life of W. L. Smith, editor of the *Chronicle.*

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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Wiley Britton, author, public official, and Civil War veteran, is a native Missourian. Born in Newton county in 1842, he has spent much of his life in western and southwestern Missouri. From 1871 to 1905 he was special agent of the War Department and later special examiner of the Bureau of Pensions in investigating war claims in Missouri, where he examined fifteen thousand witnesses. Mr. Britton is the author of several valuable works on the Civil War, among which are the *Civil War on the Border* (2 vols.) and *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, 1863.

John N. Edwards (deceased), one of the most widely known journalists of Missouri, was a member of Shelby's expedition to Mexico. He is regarded by some competent authorities as having been the greatest master of journalistic writing that the state has produced.

MISSOURI IN 1822

Reprinted from *The Arkansas Gazette*, December 3, 1822.

Missouri. A glance at the productions and commercial advantages of this state will prove it to be one of the most desirable parts of the union.

1. *Tobacco.*—This great staple is now in cultivation. Many farmers are raising it to a great extent; those who have been accustomed to it in Virginia and Maryland pronounce their crops here to be equal to any they ever saw, both in quality and weight. Inspections have been established by the general assembly at various points on the rivers, to facilitate its export and trade in foreign markets.

2. *Wheat.*—No part of the world produces better wheat. The want of large manufacturing mills have heretofore discouraged its growth. But that disadvantage is now removing. Two extensive steam mills are now building at this place, which will hereafter absorb the wheat of the country, and furnish New Orleans with fresh flour in the fall and winter, when the price is always good and the demand great.

3. *Hemp.*—This article is indigenous to Missouri. It attains its highest perfection here. The breaking and dressing has been the obstacle in its growth. That obstacle will be entirely removed by the introduction of the patent Hemp and Flax Breaker, which saves all the trouble of breaking and cleaning to a mere trifle.

4. *Cotton.*—The southern parts of the state, near New Madrid and Cape Girardeau, have raised this article for thirty years with as much success as the southern states, and it is now growing successfully in the middle parts, and north of the Missouri river from its mouth to the western limit of the state.

5. *Pork, Beef, Fruit, Vegetables.*—All abound here, and may be carried to New Orleans in the fall, when the market is always empty of these articles, the spring being the season for glutting it from Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

6. *Lead.*—Missouri contains enough of this to supply the world. It alone should balance the imports of the country, and might be made to do so. A cent a pound additional duty upon foreign lead, and a facility in obtaining leases by the citizens of the state, would make the product of the mines equal to the consumption of the United States, which now requires from $300,000 to $500,000 annually from England and the Mediterranean; a handsome sum to save to Missouri, more than enough to meet her exports.

7. *Iron.*—Numerous and rich beds of iron ore abound in the country, but not yet worked for want of capital. An inviting prospect is held out to workers in that metal, as they would have the entire market of the state.

8. *Salt.*—The quantity of salt water in Missouri is proverbial. The United States have granted the choice of 12 springs to the State of Missouri, some of which are now worked, and salt is now selling at Boon's Lick at 50 to 62½ cents per bushel.

9. *The Fur Trade.*—This rich vein of commerce is now fully laid open by the abolition of the factories. A large capital is already embarked in it. It is computed that it will employ a million of dollars per annum, and give employment to two thousand men. This is a cash trade in favor of the country; furs being an object of such necessity, both for use and ornament, as to command gold and silver everywhere.

The geographical position of Missouri is favorable for an extended commerce. Her great rivers with her numerous tributaries, open conveyances through the continent. She trades to Santa Fe, to the Rocky Mountains, to the falls of St. Anthony, to the Northern Lakes, to all the states upon the Ohio, and south to all the countries below. Steamboats have annihilated distances, and reduced freights to a trifle. Two and a half cents from New York to St. Louis by New Orleans! In a word, her rivers and steamboats realize all the advantages of a sea navigation, without the danger of storms, of pirates, of privateers, or of interruption from waves.

Enquirer, St. Louis, October 12.

Captain Perkins, of the Missouri Fur Company, arrived in town this week, with a boatload of furs and peltries, worth $14,000 from the Rocky Mountains. Another parcel, belonging to the same company, worth $10,000 is on the river, and expected to arrive in the week coming. The whole has descended the Yellow Stone river, and must have been transported more than 300 (?) miles to arrive at this place; such is the extent of country laid under contribution by the commercial position of St. Louis.

In this first adventure (since the revival of fur trade) to the Rocky Mountains, it is gratifying to learn that no hostilities of any kind have occurred with the Indians, and that present appearances promise great success to the enterprising citizens who are now extending their trade to that remote region.

St. Louis, October 15.

Santa Fe Expeditions.—It is not true, as published some weeks ago, that Col. Cooper's party were robbed by the Indians on their way to Santa Fe. Himself and the greater part of his company have returned, having successfully accomplished the objects of their journey, which were entirely commercial. *They drove three loaded wagons from Boonslick into the town of Santa Fe;* a novel spectacle to the Spaniards of that place, and truly characteristic of the spirit of the western people. They say they had no difficulty in getting along with these wagons, the country being open and level, and abounding with grass for their horses. Fifteen years ago the Baron Humboldt said that carriages would one day run from the city of Mexico to Philadelphia; his prediction is accomplished, but not exactly in the way that he expected. In return for their merchandise Col. Cooper's party brought back specie and some hundred mules, having lost 5 or 6 dozen of these animals by getting dispersed by a herd of buffaloes.

While at Santa Fe, the American character displayed another of its traits; an expedition was going against the

Camanche (*sic*) Indians; it was a chance not to be lost; and several of Col. Cooper's young men joined it. In the action which followed, all fighting to the admiration of the Spaniards, one of them (a son of Col. Cooper) was killed.

The party report that they met with the best treatment from the people of Santa Fe, who showed great desire for a commercial intercourse with Missouri, and inquired for Mr. Baird formerly their prisoner, who had engaged to return with merchandise. (Mr. B. left this place about a month ago with a caravan of sixty pack horses.)

These things compel the reflecting mind to pause and reflect upon the wonderful advantages of our country. Two years ago this paper labored to prove that Missouri would have a commerce with the people of New Mexico for their silver, with the Indians on the Rocky Mountains for their furs, and with China and Spain for the rich productions of the East Indies. Such suggestions were treated by many as chimerical. In the meanwhile the two first are accomplished and the third will accomplish itself in the same way; that is to say, by the bold and silent enterprise of the West, while the learned prejudice of the East is arguing that the thing is impossible, as indeed it would be if such writers had to do it!

Fall Market at New Orleans.—We wish to impress upon the minds of our citizens the immense difference between the *spring* and the *fall* markets at New Orleans. The former is always *glutted*, the latter always *empty*. In the spring, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, pour down their floods of produce. The low state of the rivers prevents the boats from setting out till after Christmas. Then thousands start at once. It is a race all the way to see which will arrive first. Many are stayed in running this race. In February and March they all arrive together at New Orleans; the market is surcharged with their cargoes, and the price of everything knocked down. The summer is coming on, and in a climate so hot and humid, that few articles will bear keeping, the owners are in haste to return to plant another crop. Sales, therefore, are inevitable, and the consequence is that every article must go for the lowest possible price. *Not so in the* *fall.* Then the market is bare, and the river clear of boats. Everything on hand is stale, and more or less damaged by the heat and length of the summer. August and September, so deleterious to the health of the inhabitants, has a real influence upon all the imported provisions which have remained in the city during those months; and in October and November, when sickness subsides, when people again begin to flock into the city, and business to revive, then it is that fresh provisions from the healthy regions of the upper country are in universal demand and anxiously sought after by every one, *and then it is that Missouri should be seen in the market.* Having always the advantage of deep rivers, her citizens can choose their time of departure, and sitting (*sic*) out in Sept. and Oct. they will arrive at New Orleans when the demand is greatest, and when competition from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, is utterly impossible. Pork, beef, chickens, turkeys, bacon, flour, corn, oats, butter, cheese, apples, peas, potatoes, cabbage, turnips, everything that is eatable, is in demand. We are gratified to see that our citizens are already availing themselves of this pre-eminent advantage. Flat-bottomed boats, loaded with the produce of the country, have been passing our town daily for several weeks past, and many others are in a state of preparation for an early descent. From what we can learn about fifty will descend the Missouri, thirty or forty will come from the Upper Mississippi, and upwards of twenty from the counties below. This is a good beginning, which we may expect to see doubled or trebled next fall, and if the cargo of each boat only averages five or six hundred dollars, the effect on the prosperity of the country must be decisive and instantaneous.

Cotton.—Since we have taken notice of the growth of this article in this state, we have received accounts from various places which prove that it grows well both in this state and Illinois, even as far north as the forty-sixth degree of latitude. Crops are now growing in the Salt River country, a degree and a half above St. Louis; on the Illinois river as high as Fort Clark, and on the Wabash above Vincennes. At Boon's Lick it is raised in quantity. We hear of one farmer who is gathering a crop of 25,000 lbs. and another is gathering 12,000, and a large proportion of the farmers are making enough for their use, and some to spare. Many parcels of home grown cotton are now advertised in the St. Louis market for sale. Let it be so with what we eat, and drink, and wear; and in two or three years, Missouri, now destitute of a currency, her rich lands going a begging, will find her dark night of depression joyfully succeeded by the sunshine of prosperity.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

THE AMERICAN AS A NEIGHBOR.

"As a rule the mutual neighborly relations were very amicable and the German settlers were by no means excluded therefrom. On the contrary the Americans were glad if the newcomers did not exclude themselves from intercourse with their American neighbors, in spite of their ignorance of the American idiom.

"According to the local usage it was customary for the natives to visit their new neighbors and to invite them to a return visit. If they found mutual pleasure in each other during this first visit, a good neighborly relation was forever initiated. However, there existed in some localities old feuds, which sometimes lay smoldering under the ashes for a long time. When some occasion gave rise to an outbreak, they resulted in bloody quarrels, which, tho apparently settled, still left behind a deep grudge, which again led to another outbreak. Only the death or the moving away of one of the parties assured security to the remaining ones. In such a neighborhood it was not well for one, who was wholly non-partisan, to be. If a stranger unwittingly came into such an environment, it was the best policy to observe a strict silence concerning all happenings in the neighborhood, for the most innocent utterance on his part might be misunderstood, and, altogether against his will, might bring him in conflict with one or the other party.

"Toward strangers these old natives were polite and considerate, provided these strangers were decent persons. They never molested them with curious and indiscreet questions. But the newcomers, who had not rid themselves of old absurd ideas of prerogatives of caste and imagined superiority, and those who took American freedom to mean the privilege of being boorish and of showing unbecoming arrogance were treated coolly, and no hindrance was ever interposed to their departure.

"The formerly so customary and well-intended invitation to 'stay all night' caused the first Germans, who did not understand the English language, much perplexity. Since they translated the words 'stay' and 'all', according to their sound, with 'stehen' and 'alle', they could not understand, why they should 'stand all or every' night instead of going to bed.

"This invitation, so strange to the first Germans, dates back to an earlier time. When the settlements were still very much scattered and often separated by great stretches of forest, one could not make short visits. Moreover, it was at times too dangerous to leave the women and children alone for days. The whole family was therefore taken along, and the visits lasted for days. Time was not so precious as it is now. When the corn had been cultivated for the last time, the owner could go visiting for weeks and months without missing or neglecting anything thereby. The preparations for such a visit were soon made. The calves, which were kept in an enclosure, to cause the cows to come back in the morning and evening for the milking, were chased out in the woods with the cows, the fires were extinguished on the hearth, the door, without lock, was drawn shut, the husband and wife mounted horses, the larger children mounted the horses behind their parents, while the little children were held on the laps of their elders. In this manner the journey of sometimes 30 and 40 miles was begun.

"It sometimes happened that several families accidentally arrived simultaneously at the same house for a visit. This did not disturb either guests or hosts in the least. There was no lack of meat and bread, and tho the one bed or sometimes two beds, could not accommodate all the guests, blankets and hides were spread on the floor, where big and little snored on a common bed till morning.

"This custom still prevailed at the time when the first Germans came into these parts, tho at that time none of the dangers above mentioned obtained. Now, however, this custom is decreasing more and more, and is practiced almost only among relatives.

"In the work which was too difficult for the single individual, the settler was dependent upon the co-operation of his neighbors. Such a request for assistance was hardly ever declined. Our oldest neighbors related that at the time, when they erected their larger houses, they had to call together their neighbors for 20 miles around to help in raising the heavy logs. In our time we could get enough helping hands in a radius of three or four miles. In piling the timbers on the clearing, the help of neighbors was also required. The log-rollings increased from year to year in proportion as the settlements grew, so that indeed a great deal of time was consumed thereby. There was a time, when I was invited to more than twenty such log-rollings every spring. Altho, for a long time, I was the only worker on our farm, and consequently all work ceased during my absence, I dared not decline such an invitation, because every year I was dependent upon the help of my neighbors myself.

"The women, too, required co-operation in their work. When, for example, a quilt was to be made, the neighboring women were invited. Likewise, tho much more rarely, cotton pickings were observed, for because of the fact that cotton was not raised in large quantities, the farmers did not have cotton gins, as the larger plantation owners of the south had, to clean the cotton of the seeds. Now and then a farmer made for himself a small hand-driven gin, but in most instances the seeds had to be picked out with the bare fingers. This was a most tedious and toilsome piece of work, which made the finger tips very sore.

"In ordinary cases of sickness the homely remedies of roots and herbs usually sufficed. Excepting the intermittent fever but few serious ailments occurred. The ordinary remedies, which the settlers had, they had acquired from their own experience, or they were a part of their racial tradition. As long as the patient was not confined to his bed, the neighborly sympathy did not manifest itself much. As soon, however, as the physician was called, the case was considered serious, and tho it was not such as yet, it unfortunately frequently became so soon. The neighbors came, inquired concerning the state of health of the patient, and offered their help. When he became worse, so that watchers had to stay with the sick, there was never a lack of neighbors, who relieved one another at the sickbed, until the patient either got well or died. That the women were patient, observant, and loving nurses goes without saying, for that is the nature of women in all civilized nations, but I have often observed and marveled that the externally rough and harsh men of the woods could manifest so much skill, patience and consideration at the bedside of one seriously ill.

"The practical sympathy of the neighbors was no doubt very consoling to the relatives of the patient, but this interest was frequently carried to extremes, to the great harm of the one sick. In the log houses which were often very small and contained but one room, the visitors frequently went in and out the whole day long as in a dovecot. Only the most necessary questions were addressed to the sick. There was no loud talking in the room, and all noise was avoided as much as possible. Nevertheless the patient could not get the undisturbed quiet, which was essential to his recovery. This ceaseless opening and closing of doors, this walking on tiptoes, the many unfamiliar faces, and the uninterrupted subdued whispering was sufficient to drive a sick man insane. Who knows, whether many a one might not have gotten well again, if instead of this unrest, and this harmful excitement, undisturbed quiet and rest had been given him. The loving sympathy of the neighbors was, of course, worthy of appreciation, but their great ignorance in regard to the human organism did not allow them to recognize, that a falsely understood and exaggerated sympathy at the sickbed could only be harmful.

"The physicians of that early time, and even later, were for the most part extremely dangerous fellow citizens. There were, of course, exceptions to this rule, and a few physicians, who lived here a long time, enjoy a good reputation. But these, too, owe their success less to their scientific knowledge, than to long experience, their common sense, and their conscientiousness, which prevented them from doctoring, where they were not sure as to what they were doing. The other, more numerous physicians, which appeared and then disappeared in just as mysterious manner, were of a meaner caliber. The manner in which such so-called physicians, who wished to get rich without hard work, had studied, justifies the poor opinion, which every sensible man had for them. If a young man felt within himself the stuff of which great men are made, and wished to bless mankind as a healer, he went, equipped with the wisdom of the elementary subjects, without any preliminary training to an older physician, and worked under him, for a longer or shorter time, as an apprentice, that is he read the medical books of his teacher, but unfortunately without understanding them. With such preliminary preparation, in which a few Latin phrases, which he did not understand played a great role, he attended the university for a semester, sat in the lecture room, saw a few sections and a few dissections, and a few operations, and then he was thru. But there were also those, who considered themselves physicians of deep insight, if they had only toilsomely stumbled thru some old trashy publication, which dealt with the art of healing.

"If one should undertake to record the countless failures and instances of malpractice of these doctors, he could fill tomes, without having to search far and toilsomely for material. Only a few illustrations will suffice to exemplify the scientific viewpoint of these physicians. A very trustworthy and experienced woman related to me, that she had once visited a neighbor, whose youngest child was very sick, and as was easily apparent, could live but a few hours. The physician, who treated the child, was at the house and seemed to have arrived at the end of his wits. Suddenly he took the dying child out of the cradle, ran with it up and down the room, and shook the poor little one in the most merciless manner. The terrified mother naturally took the child away from him, and upon her question, as to what he meant by such treatment, he said: 'just wanted to make a final effort to put the blood in circulation again.' An old American whom I knew very well, but had not seen for some time met me accidentally on the streets of Washington, (Mo.). As it was the custom, I asked him about the state of health of his family. He told me that his wife had died. Naturally I inquired concerning the cause of her death, and received the following amazing information. He said, that the sickness of his wife had been a very peculiar case, that the physician had told him, that she had been attacked by two kinds of ailments at the same time, and that when he had almost cured her of one of them, she had died of the other.

"When a person had died, with or without the aid of a physician, the whole neighborhood was astir. There were no undertakers in those days, so the neighbors of the deceased rendered him the last service. The women cared for the bodies of the women, and the men for those of their sex. In every community there were some who had a small amount of walnut or cherry lumber on hand, which in case of necesssity could be used for caskets.

"The dead were usually buried within twenty-four hours after their demise. In hot weather the symptoms of decay manifested themselves even after a few hours, and if the patient had been maltreated by his attending physician by being given mercury compounds till his teeth had fallen out and his gums had been perforated, there could be no doubt that death had actually occurred. But still these early burials did seem to be unbecomingly hasty.

"If the body had to remain in the house over night, several neighbors kept watch over him. Banquets and drinking, such as are said to occur at wakes, did not take place. At midnight a cup of strong coffee was taken to keep the watchers awake.

"While the body was being prepared for the burial, others made the grave. Many had on their own land a plot set aside as a burial ground for their own kin. There were, however, also community burial grounds, where not only the dead of several families were interred, but also strangers and new arrivals, who had no land of their own. The graves were made with great care and accuracy. They were usually made in such a manner that the feet of the deceased were directed to the east. When the depth of four feet had been reached, the bottom was carefully smoothed and leveled, and then a depression, called the vault, was dug, which was made exactly of the shape of the casket, but was wide enough so that the casket could be lowered into it without touching the sides. At the bottom of this depression two pieces of wood were laid, so that the casket did not rest directly on the ground.

"When the body was lowered into the grave, a couple of men jumped into the grave and directed the slowly descending casket into the 'vault'. Then boards were laid over the casket and these were noiselessly covered with earth. Not until this had been done did the real filling of the grave begin. A mound was thrown up over the grave, and two small boards were inserted at the ends of the grave. All this was done with great calm and solemnity. Except for the weeping of the mourners scarcely a sound was heard at such an interment.

FESTIVALS AND AMUSEMENTS.

"In those early days, and even later, only the Fourth of July and Christmas were generally observed. Other church holidays, as for example Good Friday, Easter, etc., were not observed. Good Friday was, however, considered a very lucky day to sow flax.

"In the few cities of any importance, chiefly in Jefferson City, the state capital, also the 8th of January and the 22nd of February were observed. The former to commemorate the day of the Battle of New Orleans, where General Andrew Jackson defeated the English, and the latter to observe Washington's birthday. Even in the sixties these days were commemorated in Jefferson City, tho the ceremony consisted of little more than the adjournment of the legislature and the firing of a salute of thirteen guns at the state capitol.

"On the Fourth of July the neighbors of a considerable territory united in a great picnic and barbecue. For such a picnic a beautiful, shaded place, as free as possible of underbrush, somewhere near a farm or at least not far from a good spring was picked out. There crude benches and tables were erected, also a speaker's stand, tho at times a thick tree stump answered the latter purpose. If a national flag could be found in the community, it was hoisted. No cannon being at hand, salutes were fired from anvils and old mortars. About noon most of the guests had arrived. The assembly was called to order, and quiet having been restored, the Declaration of Independence was read from the speaker's stand, and after a few patriotic speeches had been heard, the crowd gathered in groups, chatting and amusing themselves, as it pleased them best. The young people played games, the older ones camped under the trees in social conversation, while the women spread out the contents of the abundantly filled baskets upon the grass. The young folks and strangers, who had brought nothing to eat, suffered no want, for on every hand kind invitations were extended to them.

"For most of the crowd the barbecue was the most excellent part of the feast. In preparation for the barbecue one or more long and rather deep pits were dug. Wood was burned in these pits, until they were filled to a certain depth with glowing coals. Over these coals an entire beef or a couple of sheep or young pigs were roasted on the spit. Negroes usually attended to this work, and it must be said in their praise, that they usually did their work well. If no general table was set, each individual had such portions cut from the roasts as he needed. This meat was then eaten with the supplies which the housewives had brought along.

"Whisky, coffee and fresh water were the only drinks. Of wine and beer the old Americans only knew the names.

"The Christmas celebration was still more simple. There were no church services, no presents were given, and the beautiful German custom of having a Christmas tree was unknown. The natives observed the occasion by shooting. On Christmas eve a number of the young fellows of the neighborhood got together, loaded their hunting pieces, their muskets and old horse pistols, dating back to the days of the

Revolution, to the point of bursting and went from house to house. They approached the house as stealthily as possible, fired a heavy volley, which frightened the women and children. If no one appeared, they fired a second volley. Usually, however, the man of the house appeared at once at the door, fired his own gun into the air, as a welcome to his guests, and invited the whole company into the house. Then the whisky jug made the rounds and also some pastry was served. After chatting for a while the whole mob started off for the next farm, where a like racket was made. In this manner this nonsense was carried on till morning. Since usually a number of such crowds were making the rounds, one could hear the banging and booming in every direction, the whole night thru.

"Some of the revelers bored holes in tree trunks, filled the cavity with gunpowder and drove a plug down tight on the powder. Then they bored a small hole with a gimlet thru the plug, filled this with powder, and attached a fuse of tow, some three or four feet long. This fuse having been set on fire it was a question of getting away quickly, for usually it took but a few seconds till the ground shook under the terrific explosion.

"My old neighbor Bailey, like several of the other oldest settlers, made his own gunpowder, if his supply had been exhausted, before he could replenish it in St. Louis. The mixture no doubt contained the proper ingredients. However, it was not granulated, but consisted merely of black dust. Mr. Bailey often made successful use of this powder for hunting purposes. At one time his boys found a medium sack full of this stuff in the home. This entire supply we fellows shot away in a single night.

"The moistening of such powder-dust, for the purpose of granulating it, and the subsequent drying was a precarious experiment, which did not always turn out as desired and anticipated. In those days a joke was current. It was related that a certain man asked his neighbor: 'Well, how did your powder turn out?' He answered: 'Oh, it burned very well, while drying it, it caught fire and a lot of it burned up before I could put it out.'

"The young men of that time sought to excel one another in wrestling, jumping, and running. Many became very proficient in these sports. Horseshoe pitching was also very popular at times.

"Neither was dancing neglected. However, since only quadrilles and dances of that nature were customary, and since I disliked these dances and therefore never participated in them, I cannot give an adequate account of this form of amusement. The deportment at these dances was always very proper. The ladies were treated with much politeness and deference.

"What they called music in those days would not have been so designated in any part of civilized Europe. The few national hymns, marches and dances which these frontiersmen had, do not sound bad at all, provided they are played correctly and with the proper expression. But if these selections are played on a fiddle that is out of tune, in a maddening tempo, the auditor goes mad. Of the theory of music these backwoodsmen, of course, did not have a ghost of an idea, nor of the laws of harmony, key, or scale, or even notes. The few pieces which they played were played by ear, the knowledge of which had come down to them from former generations as a sort of auditory tradition.

"In justice and reason one ought not to criticise these old settlers too much for this ignorance of things musical, for music is an art which presupposes a higher degree of culture than that which is found in a country where more than the lifetime of one generation had to be spent in the wilderness, where the inhabitants had never heard anything that could even be called relatively good music. Nevertheless it is but natural that the musical productions of that period afforded abundant material for humorous remarks.

"To an ear trained in harmony the old-time music, of course, was torment, but in spite of all the discords it satisfied the dance-hungry youth of that day. Usually the orchestra of the backwoodsman consisted of only one fiddle. When I, for the first time, saw two fiddlers prepare to play, I was greatly pleased, for naturally I expected that one would play the melody and the other an accompaniment. It developed however, that my anticipation had been premature, and that, as far as a musical treat was concerned, I had jumped from the frying pan into the fire. After the two players had tuned their instruments, so that they harmonized fairly well, both started as nearly as they could on the same pitch, and attempted to play the melody in unison. For a while they got along fairly well, but when they attempted to repeat the quadrille, the fingering of one of the fiddlers weakened, and he began to lag behind the pace which the other set. This mere trifle apparently concerned the fiddlers as little as it did the dancers. The speedy player did not slow down, but as soon as he noticed his superiority, he played only so much the more rapidly and was soon far ahead. Finally he indicated by an indescribable stroke over all the four strings, that he had finished. Perhaps half a minute later the other fiddler indicated a similar finale. According to the judgment of the crowd the first fiddler was the better player.

"Another incident will perhaps still better illustrate the musical understanding of that time. A few lovers of music had organized a little orchestra in Washington, (Mo.). It consisted of a first and a second violin, a viola, a 'cello and a flute. They played selections from the operas, that were popular at that time. Even tho most of the players were amateurs, their efforts provided their hearers many a pleasing and enjoyable evening. Among their auditors there was occasionally also an old American physician, a Virginian, who after the conclusion of one of these programs ventured to remark: 'You Germans are queer people. You don't make music as we Americans do. If several of us play simultaneously, we at least play the same melody, but the five of you have each played a different piece.' It was in no wise possible to make that musical critic understand that each had not played a separate melody, but that all instruments had complemented each other in one single selection.

"A so-called 'Vogelschieszen' (shooting at a wooden bird), which was arranged in the vicinity of Washington on the Fourth of July, 1840, is still pleasantly remembered by a few of the oldest German settlers. Probably it was the first shooting match of this kind, which astonished our American friends west of the Mississippi. A representative of a genuine marksman's club of the old country would have observed many incongruities and irregularities when compared with the pedantic etiquette of a regular German shooting match of this nature.

"As I am not aware, whether at the present time such shooting matches are observed anywhere in this country, it may be in place to give a brief description of it for the benefit of those who may never have had an opportunity to witness one of these particularly German amusements. Such a bird, which is intended to represent the effigy of an eagle, with outspread wings, is carved out of substantial wood. It is about the size of a large raven. All the extremities, head, neck, wings, outstretched claws, and tail are carved out of separate pieces of wood, and are then attached to the body, which is known as the 'corpus'. The head is covered with a gilded crown, a ring is held in the bill of the bird, a little flag sticks in its breast, in one claw is held a scepter and a so-called imperial ball, also gilded, is held in the other.*

"The bird is fastened by an iron bar, running thru its breast, to a pole or sapling 20 to 30 feet high, and can be raised or lowered at pleasure. Different premiums are awarded for bringing down the respective extremities. When the bird is cleared of all it appendages, the ambition of all is to shoot off the corpus. The fortunate marksman is the champion, or as he is customarily called in Germany, 'the king'. This honor he holds for one year or to the time of the next shooting match. Such kings, however, have no prerogatives, except that they are subject to sundry expenses in consideration of the honor which has been bestowed upon them.

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*These emblems of royalty and absolutism are very harmless, when only blazoned forth at a shooting match, but may future generations never lose sight of their national honor and of the immaculate patriotism of their ancestors, and thus never become acquainted in reality with these insignias and embellishments of monarchy.

(Mr. Goebel's own note.)

"A rough stand to shoot from was constructed about 70 or 80 yards from the bird. Rustic benches under the trees were provided for the spectators. The assembly was large, when one considers the time, and also many Americans were in attendance. The latter did not participate in the shooting, but came because of the novelty of the affair. Excepting a very few rifles of real marksmen, hardly any guns fit for such purpose were used. There were some antiquated, short German rifles without double trigger, and even double barreled shot-guns, loaded with balls were employed.

"At first tolerable good order was preserved. The names of the marksmen were registered and numbered and no one was allowed to step up to shoot until his name had been called. This discipline did not last very long, however, the impatience of these marksmen of moderate efficiency increased. They stepped nearer and nearer until they stood almost directly before the pole. All orderly firing had ceased, and sometime three or four shots were fired at once. When a piece of the bird was brought down, no one knew whose bullet had taken effect.

"Eventually the bird had been stripped of all of its appendages, so that only the corpus remained. This, however, seemed to be invincible. To make an end to it, the bird was let down and the piece of sheet iron which had been fastened over its breast, to prevent premature demolishment was removed. Several shots had penetrated the sheet iron and had knocked off the black paint of the corpus. The black screw with which the corpus was fastened to the pole now was plainly visible against the white wood. The shooting was resumed with renewed vigor. At times the corpus was made to whirl around by a bullet but without decisive effect.

"Annoyed by the above mentioned disorder, I had discontinued shooting and had seated myself on the ground under a tree, looking on in silence. Presently Mr. Blackmann, our blacksmith, addressed me and urged me to take a hand again, to make an end of it. My constant intercourse with the oldest and best hunters of this whole region was well known, and since my name was frequently mentioned in connection with the names of these hunters, I may perhaps have been considered a better marksman than I really was.

"Upon my demurring he rejoined, 'I have put the irons on that bird and know the condition of the material. It is a piece of tough linden wood, but a frost crack runs right thru the middle of it. If you put your bullet just under the screw the corpus is bound to burst.' I followed his directions and sure enough the corpus burst wide apart, but continued to hang on to its fastenings. My adviser now said, 'My boy, take good care, put you bullet just above the screw this time.' At my next shot the corpus fell upon the ground in two halves.

"A storm of applause followed, then came sincere congratulations without the least touch of envy. A great wreath was hung around me. It reached from my shoulder to my knee. All seemed delighted that the last part of the program, the dance, would now begin soon. Very much to my confusion I was asked to name the 'queen' of the dance, and a delegation on horseback was ready at that instance to bring her to the dance, no matter where she might be. I was shy and bashful. Moreover, I had at that time no intimate acquaintance among the girls, so I simply looked plagued and embarrassed. Someone came to my assistance, saying, 'Will you be satisfied if we go after Minnie?' and another voice added, 'Or after Charlotte?' So I replied, 'Well, well, I have no objection,—but you better bring both of them.' Upon this decision some young fellows galloped off. The girls who had thus been chosen as 'queens' were two very handsome daughters of a German, who at that time ran a mill in that neighborhood.

"It had grown dusk by this time. The older men had gone home with their wives and children. Most of the young men had ridden off to get their girls. The few who had remained, myself included, had stretched themselves under the trees to await the result of our delegation. More than an hour had elapsed, when we saw a little cavalcade emerging from the woods. Two snow-white figures behind two of the riders were proof that the 'queens' had been captured.

"The reception of these feminine dignitaries was not very ceremonious or solemn. They did not approach in a carriage drawn by a foursome. When the horses were reined up before the little group of marksmen, a strong arm was laid gently around the slender waist of each of the 'queens' and thus they were safely lifted off the horses. Amid merry chatting and joking they were escorted to what was to be our dance hall. It was a new log house, near the old Catholic church. Only the upper floor had been finished, and a ladder facilitated the entrance to this part of the house.

"A large, clumsy, double chimney extended thru the middle of this house. One little lamp, in one corner of the house furnished all the illumination which we had. Near this lamp our orchestra, consisting of a violin and a clarinet, had taken position. On one side of this huge chimney it was perfectly dark. Of course, the dancers frequently collided in the dark. The unavoidable and unpremeditated concussions did not cause ill humor or quarrels, but only provoked good-humored jests, and on they went again. Quadrilles were not called for, only waltzes, schottish and gallopades; polkas and mazurkas had not come into use at that time.

"The dancing around the chimney continued all night, until the sun had illumined our little dance hall. It was Sunday morning when we quit. Among our friends and acquaintances in Washington we found refreshment before we started for our homes.

"It was a matter of course that our 'queens' had to be taken home again by a respectable escort. I had the honor to take the younger of the 'queens' behind me on my horse, while my rifle lay across my lap, and thus I delivered my fair charge safely to her parents. At the residence of this German miller the whole escort was treated to a good lunch with strong coffee, whereby the 'queens' officiated as amiable hostesses. Then we took our leave, and each of us took his course towards his lonely cabin in the woods again.

MARKSMANSHIP AND THE OLD-TIME SHOOTING-MATCH.

"A detailed account of the hunt, as it was carried on in the olden times, does not belong to this little work, for a detailed treatment of this theme would, at the most, be of interest only to the friends of the chase, and might bore other readers. But since skill in shooting was an absolute necessity for the genuine backwoodsman, the chapter dealing with this art cannot be entirely omitted.

"Those who gained their knowledge of primitive conditions in the territories and young states only from reading novels, may easily have the erroneous notion that the Americans were the best shots in the world. Such an idea is entirely false, for the mountain hunters in all parts of Europe are, on an average, just as good marksmen.

"In this region the marksmen, who satisfy all the requirement of a good shot, have become very scarce. In the remote western states and in the little known wilderness of the territories there are even now, excellent marksmen, who shoot with a truly fearful accuracy. Thirty or forty years ago such marksmen were no curiosity in the counties, where squirrels and rabbits now constitute the entire game.

"Many people have good eyes and good judgment, but the indispensable quality of a good marksman, calmness and coldbloodedness, which enable him to rely at all times upon himself, are very rare. Hunters who become nervous at the sight of game cannot be recokned among the good shots, even tho they carry away the prize at shooting matches. Calmness and coldbloodedness cannot be acquired by fixed rules, but must be attained by long and continued practice. To shoot at a dangerous animal from ambush is no trick, for even if he misses, the hunter is not in danger, but it requires a hunter of a different caliber to hit an enraged beast, even at a short range, and to hit it in such a manner that death is instantaneous, for if he loses his composure and only wounds the animal, then the hunting knife is his only salvation, and the outcome of such a combat is always problematical. The unshakable calmness and levelheadedness of the old American hunters, qualities which never forsook them, even in the greatest danger, won for them the reputation of being superior shots, a reputation which they fully merited. In the extremely harmless targetshooting there are marksmen in all nations who are their equal.

"The firearms which were in use at that time were long, very long, single barrel rifles of small caliber. Bullets of which 50 to 60 made a pound were very rare. For deer and turkeys bullets, of which 75 or 90 made a pound, were considered sufficient, and for small game a rifle was used which shot bullets of which 100 to 150 and even more made a pound. The barrels of the rifles were from 3½ to 4 feet long, and the walls of these barrels were from 3-8 to ½ of an inch thick. On account of the great weight of these weapons, a special posture of the body, considerable muscular strength, and much practice were required. The grooves in the barrels were wrought with great skill and care. One accustomed to these weapons shot with great accuracy. The gun requiring percussion caps really did not become known here until the first Germans had come into the land, and at first did not find much favor with the old Americans. 'They went off too quick', they said. Strange to say, these old hunters twitched when they fired such a then modern gun, something they never did, when they used their old flint-locks. Upon the short, light German guns, especially the shotguns, they looked with sovereign disdain.

"Good marksmen who shot game on the run or the wing were very scarce, in fact hardly existed at all. This is not surprising, for in the more or less densely foliaged forest there was no opportunity for such practice. Game was never driven but was shot while it was feeding, while it was on the lookout, or even while in its lair. If the approach of the game was observed, and if the wind was not unfavorable, it could easily be made to stand within range of the rifle, by a low call or soft whistling.

"It may be surprising that the old backwoodsmen, who justly had the reputation of being good shots, chose such short distances at their shooting matches. As a rule they did not shoot farther than 40 yards, when shooting offhand, and 60 yards, when shooting from support. Those who shot in the last named manner, lay down on their stomachs and supported the end of their rifle, a short distance from the muzzle, on a fence rail, and braced themselves on their elbows.

"Shooting matches formerly occurred regularly every Saturday, from the middle of June to September. The men gathered either in the neighborhood of some small town or at the farm of some one, who was willing to dispose of a head of cattle. When the value of the steer or heifer had been agreed upon, the names of those who desired to take part in the match were recorded, and also the number of shots, for which each participant had to pay. According to an old custom each shot was valued at one shilling ($16\frac{2}{3}$ cents). Altho this English coin was not in circulation at all, they reckoned according to it for convenience sake, because six shillings made a dollar, and so each one could shoot six times for a dollar.

"Each marksman made his own target. Each took a little board, usually a shingle, poured a little powder on it, moistened it and rubbed it till a little, round, black spot was made. Over this spot he fastened a little piece of white paper, which could have any dimensions or shape, but which usually was square. Then he cut a 'V' shaped piece out of the paper and fastened it over the black spot on the board. Upon the now sharply defined black background he scratched a cross with the point of his knife, and the point of intersection of these two lines constituted the mark from which all his shots were measured. This cross the marksman could make in any way he desired, and on any part of the target that he wished, but the point of intersection, under all circumstances, constituted the center of his target.

"From the crowd two impartial men, who in no wise were participants in the actual shoot, were chosen as judges. These picked out a level, shady place, stepped off the distance carefully, and after all the targets had been handed them, the shoot began.

"There were no prerogatives of rank. Any one who wished to shoot called for his target. One of the judges set it up, usually against a tree, and at the direction of the marksman moved it back and forth, until the most advantageous light was obtained. Then the judge stepped aside a few paces, and when the shot had been fired, the target was taken away and another one, that had been called for, was put up. After every shot the judges announced the result, and it was sometimes highly amusing to observe, what nervousness prevailed among the younger marksmen, when the judges announced 'center broke', or 'dead center', for such a shot was sure to win. In this manner it went on till the last shot had been fired. Then the judges took all the targets and stepped aside, and with pieces of straw or grass made measurements until the five best shots had been determined upon. The decision was announced to the marksmen, who usually accepted it without protest or murmuring.

"While the shooting was going on the beef was butchered. The animal was driven to a suitable spot, shot down, skinned and cleaned where it fell, and divided into four quarters. Each of the quarters constituted a prize, and the skin and tallow constituted another prize. These prizes were called 'choices', because he, who had the best shot, could choose of five 'choices', that which he liked best, then the second best shot chose and so forth. The fifth shot had no choice, but took what the others had left. Sometimes it happened that an especially good shot carried off two or three 'choices', and it even occurred that one marksman won the entire beef, much to the vexation of the others. These were very exceptional cases, however, and it is easily understandable that such shots, however much their skill was admired by the others, were not particularly welcome as regular guests at the shooting matches.

"Of course, there was good and bad shooting, the latter especially if the light and the wind were unfavorable. But even if the shooting was not very good, a shot that missed the center by more than an inch was rarely a winner. When the shooting was good, even a fourth of an inch from the center did not entitle the marksman to a 'choice'.

"Rifle shooting was in general a favorite diversion among the young men. Whenever several of them met, in the woods, on the road, at the farm, it never took long till some one suggested that they try who could shoot best. Often their shots were heard for hours. These young fellows were very cautious, that their bullets should do no harm. During their practice shooting they exhibited the greatest confidence and daring, however. If there was no object handy to shoot at or to fasten the target upon, one would hold the target for the other in his hand. Thereafter the other would reciprocate in like manner. Of course, only those who knew exactly the degree of skill of the others took part in this sort of target practice.

THE OLD MILITIA.

"According to an old law, which was passed after the admission of Missouri into the Union, all men between the ages of 18 and 45, and who were physically fit, were to assemble in their respective counties four times each year for military drill. Whether this law was strictly complied with in all the counties, I do not know. Here in Franklin county these inspections and drill were still customary, when we arrived. In April and September the companies assembled in every township. In May there was battalion drill, and in October the whole regiment was called together. In May, moreover, during a three days' instruction and drill, the higher officers sought to instruct and inform the under officers, from the captain down to the corporal.

"The officers from the major upward were appointed by the governor, those from the captain down were elected by the respective companies. A few of the higher officers seem to have had some conception of military tactics, but most of the lower officers knew hardly anything at all. It is true that the captains were given small books dealing with tactics, in which the commands were given, and the movements of troops were explained, but since most of these officers could not read at all, or at least very poorly, they derived but little light from these manuals.

"In April of 1835, when I had barely arrived at military age, I received my first summons to appear on a certain day at Newport for military drill. In the summons it said: 'Come armed and equipped, as the law directs'. Since no one knew, what the law prescribed, everybody came equipped to suit his own fancy. Some of those, who lived at some distance, brought their rifles, because they were used to carry their guns, whenever they left home. These weapons were, however, not used in the drill, but were set in a fence corner, where they remained to the end of the inspection.

"One of my neighbors, a highly respected and good natured man was at that time captain. He was a very tall and thin man, who in his exterior had nothing that looked military. He carried an old infantry saber, in a leathern scabbard, usually on the proper side. This instrument, however, was very much in his way, for in marching the scabbard occasionally got between his legs, whereby his military grace was by no means enhanced.

"Finally came the command of 'fall in.' However, it took a long time till all were brought together, for the various groups, which were chatting, did not let this command disturb them in the least in their conversation. After some time the 50 or 60 men, which constituted our company, did stand together in a fashion, but a mob it was after all. Some had coats on, others were in their shirt sleeves, while still others wore their hunting shirts, etc., but none had guns.

"Now the captain and the lieutenants sought to place the company in a straight line, in which endeavor they succeeded after much difficulty. This one they pushed back gently, that one they pulled forward slightly by the shirt button. One man, who was endowed with unusual corpulence, could not be made to fit in the front rank at all, so he was placed in the rear rank, because there he had unlimited space for expansion to the rear.

"After all these difficulties had been settled, the captain explained what is meant by 'right about' and 'left about,' the theory was put into practice, and when the company comprehended it well enough so that the majority, at least, turned in the direction that was called for, it was deemed safe to go to the drill ground proper, without the company being in danger of losing all touch with one another on the march. The preliminary instruction had been given on the one street of which Newport boasted. Since every man in the company knew, in which direction the drill ground lay, they all promptly and correctly obeyed the command of 'left about.' Then came the command of 'music,' and finally that of 'march.'

"The music consisted of a drum and a fife. The fearful noise which these instruments produced could not possibly be called music. It was nothing but ear-splitting discords, which the drum accompanied, without the least idea of time. The captain cried himself hoarse, 'Keep time, boys, keep time,' but this was asking too much of a body of men, most of whom stood in rank and file for the first time in their lives, moreover, with such a diabolical noise even a regiment of veterans would have gotten out of step.

"The way led past a spring. There the drummer suddenly placed the drum on the ground, and called out to the company, 'Hold on, boys, I am dry.' The other musician laid his fife beside the drum, and likewise went to the spring. The company remained standing, and the captain, realizing that in hot weather men get thirsty, also remained standing. To utilize the time, however, he took out his knife and cut off a chew of tobacco and began to chew. Since the saber was in his way during this operation, he had stuck it between his knees. Almost the entire company had 'fallen out' and had taken a drink. When they had returned to their respective places, the drummer cried out, 'Come on, boys,' and the captain, in order to give this request the proper authority, gave the command 'march.' On a wide, grassy plain, in part well shaded, we halted.

"The company was divided into four platoons and the drilling began. We tried various marches and counter marches, but if after a march of twenty paces the command of 'halt' did not come forth, the company seemed in danger of dissolving itself into its individual parts. Finally a hollow square was formed, and the captain expressed himself as satisfied with our efforts.

"This hollow square formation served at the same time as a sort of information bureau, for persons who had lost horses or cattle frequently came to these inspections, because men from various parts were there assembled. Before the hollow square was dissolved, the captain addressed the desired question to the men, and frequently the wished-for information was forthcoming.

"What a good influence even reasonably good music has upon even an untutored militia was seen during a more pretentious inspection at Union. It so happened that both the fifer and the drummer were absent. So two Germans, one of whom could play the fife a little and the other, who had been a drummer boy in his youth, were asked to help out. They played simply, but in good time, so that the militia was completely electrified and drilled as they never had drilled before or after. At the close of the inspection the customary hollow square was formed, and the commanding officer, in well chosen phrases, thanked the musicians in the name of the whole regiment. At the same time a collection was taken up for them and the sum of $15.00 was handed over to the musicians. Fifteen dollars was at that time a lot of money, and since these two Germans were beginners in their forest homes, this sum came in good stead.

"Of discipline and military decorum these militia men knew nothing. They offended, however, not because they were wilfully disobedient or intentionally obstreperous, but simply because they had no conception as to what discipline meant. The officers considered these transgressions as perfectly natural, and treated them in the most lenient manner

"The review of a battalion, consisting of four companies, was ordered to take place in the upper valley of the St. Johns creek, in the so-called 'barrens,' that is cut-over land. These 'barrens' consisted of very fertile and almost perfectly level land, with here and there clumps of hazelbushes among the high grass, and in places the ground was almost entirely covered with wild strawberries, for this was the end of May. Besides the company officers, there were present a general, a lieutenant-colonel, a colonel, and several adjutants. The higher officers were mounted, had sabers and wore red scarfs, otherwise their attire did not differ from that of the men. The battalion had 'fallen in,' and a couple of officers rode down the front to count the men, in order to divide them into eight platoons. At the end of the line the count of the first officer did not tally with that of the second officer, the former having a greater number than his associate. A second count was undertaken, but this time the difference was even greater than the first time. The line presented great gaps. The cause of this decimation was soon discovered. Far and wide these independent militiamen crouched and lay among the hazelbushes and picked strawberries. The officer in charge, far from being angered, laughed, and the colonel called to the adjutant: 'Adjutant, go and drive up these strawberry hunters.' When finally the strawberry hunters stood in rank and file, the superior officer merely said: 'Now, boys, behave yourselves, else we wont get thru with our exercise.'

"A few attempts to organize a cavalry company failed completely. The old backwoodsmen were not poor horsemen. They cared nothing about difficulties of terrain, and even thru rather dense forests and overhanging grapevines and branches they wound their way, with snakelike nimbleness, always with their rifle on their shoulder. Their horses, however, knew nothing about things military. These animals accustomed only to the sights and sounds of the forests, were often uncontrollable when on the drill ground. The sight of so many people, the calling and the noise, and above all the terrible music, crazed them, so that many a rider had difficulty to stick to his saddle. For this reason a regulated riding in rank and file, even without arms, was impossible.

"An impartial and competent judge could easily observe, that the drill of that time could never produce effective soldiers. The practice was therefore discontinued after a few years. These inspections really never did have any military worth, they were usually considered a sort of a picnic. But those who judged the defensive ability of these Americans by their militia were very much deceived. In the War of Independence, as also in the second war with England they gave a good account of themselves. An old American, Samuel Phillips, a neighbor of mine, who participated in the Battle of New Orleans, often spoke of General Andrew Jackson, himself a sort of backwoodsman, who relied on his backswoods sharpshooters, largely from Kentucky and Tennessee, and said that after every volley from the long rifles almost the entire front of the enemy was seen rolling on the ground.

THE FIRST GERMANS IN MISSOURI.

"During the first twenty-seven years of my residence here, I went, at the most, three or four times to St. Louis. For this reason I can say very little about that city. In 1834 there were some Germans in St. Louis, to be sure, but since the entire population of that place scarcely amounted to 10,000, there cannot have been many Germans there at that time. Ten years earlier, of course, still fewer, so that it is almost certain, that Dr. Gottfried Duden was the first educated German who came to Missouri.*

"I have known German immigrants, who were so carried away by the account contained in Duden's book, (that is the 'Report of a Journey to the Western States of North America') that they protested against packing up their good featherbeds, prior to sailing for America. They said it was nonsense to take these featherbeds along, since they were going to a Sicilian climate. Fortunately the reverence with which the women regarded their featherbeds triumphed over the illusion of the men, for it did not take long till the women had cause to feel proud of their foresight.

"Duden had almost no other associates near his farm on Lake Creek except sons of the forest. Several brothers

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*At this point Mr. Goebel speaks of Duden and Eversmann, as was quoted under the caption,—"Biographical Facts Concerning Gottfried Duden", *The Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 4, 5 and 6.

named Haun were his neighbors. They were of German descent, but of the language of their fathers they knew only a little of the almost unintelligible Pennsylvania German, and since Duden spoke English with difficulty, their conversation may have been labored indeed.

"German immigration into Missouri prior to the thirties seems to have been very slight, for the oldest Germans, who are still living, when asked as to the date of their arrival, rarely name a date which antedates 1833. What they report concerning earlier times is based on hearsay, but as a rule coincides so accurately with other accounts, that there can scarcely be any doubt as to validity of their report.

"In 1832 or 1833 the so-called 'Berlin Society' came to Missouri settled on the sparsely settled land, on the left bank of the river, a few miles north of the town of Washington, which had then been but recently founded on the south bank of the Missouri. Washington at that time scarcely numbered a dozen houses, and they were of the most modest architecture.

"The members of the 'Berlin Society' did not belong to the working class. They were almost all of them estate owners, bankers, merchants, doctors, and a number of them were actually of the nobility. The latter had no profession except to be noble, and therefore had no substantial basis of existence. Most of these immigrants gathered no moss, but lost the moss which they had brought along, and some of them ended wretchedly. The old Americans observed the doings of these people with dumb amazement, the German laughed at them, for the dignified ceremonials and the rather severe etiquette of their society contrasted strangely with the simple customs of their neighbors.

"One of them, whose name was on everybody's lips at that time, was an eccentric and original but thoroly good old gentleman named Bock.* In Germany he had owned an estate, and is said to have been very rich, when he came to Missouri. On his land he laid out a town, which he named Dutzow after his former estate. He practiced boundless hospitality. Because of the class distinction which existed, his more humble German neighbors avoided his home. The loafers of the nobility, who excelled in nothing but outward good manners, abused his generosity so much the more. Great hunts were inaugurated. Game was abundant and so the results of such hunts were very satisfactory. Hunting, however, is no substantial source of income, and since the farms were neglected by such diversions, all this splendor lasted only a few years. The old gentleman had one son and six daughters, who were very beautiful and much sought for. I knew several of these ladies and can certify that they became highly respected and capable housewives. After their family had grown up, Mr. and Mrs. Bock lived with their married daughters.

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*The writer has tried very hard to get more first-hand information concerning this interesting pioneer. To date, his efforts have not come up to his expectations. He is, however, inexpressibly grateful to a descendant of the above named Mr. Bock, namely Mr. Frank von Borries of Louisville, Ky., who writes the following in a letter to me under the date of December 16, 1918:

"Mr. Bock was a very sociable and agreeable gentleman, very jovial and interesting. He liked to speak of many projects, which he contemplated carrying out, but which all

"My great grandfather was Johann Wilhelm Bock. He lived in Luebeck, one of the Hanseatic League cities, and I presume my grandfather was born there. My grandfather's name was Wilhelm Johann Bock, who owned an estate named Dutzow, situated in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, which he disposed of, when he brought his whole family to the United States, and finally settled in Missouri. My grandmother was Helene Sophie Nanne of Hanover, Germany. My grandfather's family was a large one, whose daughters all married, and whose descendants are scattered all over Missouri. A great many of them are now living in St. Louis. Emilie, born 1812, married Adolf Krueger, a lawyer, and settled in Washington, Missouri. Herman, born 1814, was surveyor and civil engineer, and surveyed most of the state of Kansas; Herman, a town in Kansas is named after him. Helene, born 1816, married Major Mueller of the German army, who later became a forest warden and finally settled in Augusta, Missouri. Minnie, born 1817, married Freiherr von Morsey, a forest warden in Germany, but later an attorney at law, who settled in Warrenton, Missouri. Cecile, born 1819, married Dr. A. Wulkop, a physician, who later moved to Louisville, Kentucky, and finally settled in Evansville, Indiana, where some of the children now live. Julie, born 1923, died in 1835. Charlotte, born 1826, married Eugene Weidner, and lived in St. Charles county, Missouri. Marie, born 1829, married Julius von Borries in 1847, and lived in Louisville, Kentucky, where she raised a family and after the death of her husband made her home with her daughter in New Orleans, Louisiana. She died in her eighty-fifth year. I am the oldest son of Mrs. Marie von Borries.

"The settlement (at Dutzow, Missouri,) must have been composed of many folks of higher education and must have been an oasis of culture in the backwoods of those days. My mother told me many things of those times of that pioneer family."

came to naught, because their execution would cost millions, which he unfortunately could not command. Among his hobbies the following afforded opportunity for many a jest among his neighbors. Lake Creek, which flows past his place, is a very small brook, which can be crossed dry-shod in many places when it has not rained for some time. This brook flows into a small lake, which drains into the Missouri river, two miles distant. This lake he wanted to make navigable and connect it by means of a canal with the Missouri, and in Dutzow a large, fashionable hotel was to be erected. He hoped that then the rich plantation owners and other millionaries of the South would make the little idyllic Dutzow their summer residence.

"The 'Berlin Society' did not further the standing of the German element in any manner. Its members had grown up in all the enjoyments and prejudices of the aristocracy. They did not fit into the environment of a new and just evolving country. The revolutionists of the thirties and forties were people of a different type. Tho some of them failed to adjust themselves to their new surroundings, and consequently led a rather pitiful existence, the great majority became very useful and highly esteemed. In times of great political calamities their influence and service proved to be of the greatest value and importance. The entire German nobility of 1832, if it had organized itself into ever so many 'Berlin Societies,' would not have secured for the Germans in Missouri the respect and recognition which they got thru the deeds of such men as Carl Schurz, Frederick Hecker, Frederick Muench, (A. G.) Finkelburg, Emil Muehl and their numerous friends.

RECOLLECTIONS OF JOURNEY FROM BALTIMORE TO THE WEST.

"On the twenty-third day of July, 1834, a stately three mast sail ship sailed up the Chesapeake bay and lowered anchor before Baltimore. It had on board the second division of the Giessen Emigration Society,* in addition to about 40 immigrants from Wurttemberg and Baden. The organization of the society had already been abandoned and dissolved before landing, so each one could do just as he liked. The whole company seemed, however, to have St. Louis as its objective, for at Wheeling almost the entire group met again. One man by the name of Schmutz, from Altenburg, had died of the cholera a few days after our landing in Baltimore; another man, who had been especially boastful as to what he would do in America had made himself ridiculous by taking a return ship to Germany, while a master baker by the name of Graf had settled in a little town in Pennsylvania. All the rest of our crowd were ready to seek its fortune farther west.

"The few Germans whom we learned to know casually in Baltimore, shook their heads, when they learned, that we intended to go to Missouri. They said, that there we would be in danger of being scalped by the Indians, that the whites were all robbers and murderers, and on account of wild beasts and poisonous snakes it was perilous to step out of the house.

"The journey from Baltimore to Wheeling was made per wagon. Friederich Muench, Heinrich Becker from Nieder-Gemuenden and my father had jointly hired two wagons and decided to travel together. We journeyed very slowly, scarcely making more than fifteen to eighteen miles per day.

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*This emigration society was organized by Paul Follenius and Friedrich Muench in Giessen, Germany. It contemplated emigration on a large scale to the United States. They came in two divisions, one under Follenius going via New Orleans, the other under Muench via Baltimore. The undertaking as a whole was a failure. To be considered under separate heading in connection with the life of Friedrich Muench.

We found the people along the highways very hospitable and kind. The men of our company rarely rode but walked ahead of the wagons. Without any notable event having happened, we arrived at Wheeling on the 15th August. From Wheeling we planned to take the steamboat down the Ohio. The water was so low, however, that only few boats and then only small ones were operating. After a wait of a week, we found a captain, who was willing to undertake the trip with his boat. called the 'Fairy Queen.' The freight belonging to the passengers was loaded on flatboats, which were fastened to the side of the steamboat. The captain was a very kind man who took great delight in the singing indulged in by his passengers. One revolutionary song of thirty-four stanzas, in which each of the German princes was remembered, and one kind of misfortune or another was wished upon him, was very popular among the immigrants. This song we had to sing for the captain every evening from beginning to the end.

"Tho we had been in the country but a few weeks, we had even then experienced a number of disappointments, fortunately of a harmless nature. While traveling thru Pennsylvania, a landlord served some beautiful yellow cornbread. We had never seen this sort of bread, and all thought it was fine cake. After the first bite, however, every one laid it aside in great disappointment. Another incident: When our boat stopped in Cincinnati, several passengers bought a large watermelon at one of the many fruit stands there. Since many Americans eat such melons right on the street, the dealer laid out a long knife and a plate with salt. The American custom of eating melons with salt was unknown to the immigrants, they took it to be sugar and applied it rather generously to the slices of melon. Greatly disappointed they quickly laid down the pieces of melon which they had spoiled, and in addition had to suffer the taunts and gibes of their fellow travelers. Another time, when the boat stopped to take on wood for fuel, some fellows brought from a corn field a melon, which, however, proved to be a pumpkin.

"After we had passed the mouth of the Ohio, and were steaming up the Mississippi, the cry of 'Woman overboard!'

rang out. Rushing to the side of the boat, we just saw the woman disappearing in the water. The crew seemed just as composed as the passengers were excited. The cry of terror had scarcely died away, when a small skiff, well manned, shot like an arrow down the stream, and in a few minutes the woman was safely on board again. It was Mrs. Meiszner from Altenburg. In attempting to dip some water out of the river she had lost her balance. The accident caused her no harm, for a few days later she became the mother of a healthy boy.

EARLY GERMAN SETTLERS.

"Forty-two years ago St. Louis was still a relatively insignificant place. It did not have as many good substantial houses as many a country town now has. Along the steamboat landing there were several large stone buildings, which were used as store houses for freight. On Second and Third streets there were still many unoccupied building lots, and the streets themselves were not very long. Farther back, where the court house now stands, the houses were very much scattered, so that the direction of the streets was poorly marked by them. Farther west came the 'barrens.' By this term one meant a piece of land, which might be called half prairie and half forest. It was covered with grass and low bushes, such as hazel and sumach, and in places were single trees and then again groups of trees.

"While the older members of the immigrants were busy finding homes, we younger fellows roamed over these 'barrens,' and shot the large passenger pigeons, which in that particular fall migrated in such enormous flocks that the sun was frequently shut out for seconds.

"The town had at that time only one market place, and a single ferry-boat established communication between Missouri and Illinois. The place at that time looked bare, desolate and uninviting, so that every one was glad to move on. In the place, where we young fellows went gunning, a good piece of land could have been bought for a few hundred dollars, which to-day would be worth more than a hundred thousand. But no one, least of all new immigrants, had any idea that in a few years this place would become one of the chief trade centers of the world.

"When the company from Geissen came to St. Louis, they found some Germans there, and most of them seemed to be doing well. It is certain from the above that it was not the natural beauty of the place nor the prospect of becoming rich by speculation in land, which had kept the Germans there. What did hold them was the fact, that they could secure a lot of work to do, and the wages which they received were enormous, when compared with those which they had gotten abroad. Provisions of every kind were cheap, and so many a one learned to comprehend the meaning of the ancient adage: ubi bene, ibi patria, and stayed. Many of them indeed became very wealthy in time.

"The members of the first division of the Giessen Society had left St. Louis, when we arrived with the second division. Most of the first group had gone to Illinois, in order not to become citizens of a slave state. A few had remained in Missouri, and several of their friends in our group followed them. As far as I know, none of them went farther west than Warren county on the north side of the Missouri, and Franklin on the south side. Only a few were lucky in the choice of a farm. Eighty or a hundred miles farther west they would have found better land. To the American farmers, who, having come much earlier, and so naturally had preempted the better land, these German pioneers became an object lesson, showing them what diligence, endurance and contentment can accomplish. By and by their little farms were expanded into large farms. By the time the second generation had grown up, these once poor immigrants bought the farms of the old Americans, who earlier prophesied their ruin, and divided these farms among their children. These old Americans could or would not adopt rational and modern methods in agriculture. The consequence was that, when the country settled up and the public pastures were privately owned, they became more and more indebted, had to sell out and move on to regions, where cheap land was still to be had."

Mr. Goebel then tells us how his father, a professor of mathematics, contrary to the best judgment of his friends, decided to go to the country, as Duden had advised in his "Report." "A merchant, Benzen by name, had bought a small 'improvement' in Franklin county, which he offered to rent to my father, in order that he might see, by a practical test, whether he would like the life of the country or not. This little farm was located at Newport, near the present site of Dundee." Professor Goebel and Gert started out on foot to go from St. Louis to Newport, a distance of about sixty miles. On the way they became acquainted with the genuine, whole-hearted hospitality of the real Missouri backwoodsmen. They spent the first night in the hut of one of them, and were feasted on cornbread, pork, wild turkey, wild honey, fresh butter, eggs and strong coffee. Here they met a Pennsylvania German who was building a new house for the backwoodsman, and he served as interpreter. The second night they spent with a Mr. North, near the present site of Labaddie. This man had many slaves. Finally they reached the town of Newport, an insignificant place, consisting of a stone house and a few log houses, several of which were empty, a store, and a blacksmith shop. A few years previous, when Newport had been the county seat of Franklin county, the above named stone house had served as courthouse. When the Goebels arrived there it was occupied by Samuel Rule and his large family. One and a half miles west of Newport they found a Swiss named Wetter. They found the Benzen house occupied by an American, who was later found to be a horse thief and counterfeiter. The house was made of unhewn logs, had no window, only a hole for a door, a puncheon floor, and a defective roof. Having been warned of the condition of the house, Mr. Goebel, Sr., had taken a carpenter along to make the necessary repairs. This man was Jonathan Kuntze who later settled on the Femme Osage in St. Charles county. After viewing the house the Goebels went back to Washington, where they stopped at the boarding house of

Charles Eberius, who years ago had come from Halle, and previous to coming to Missouri had lived for ten years in Kentucky, where he had married an American woman. This man spoke English fluently, and had been made justice of the peace, as Goebel suggests, because he was one of the few in that region who could read and write. Having become footsore the older Goebel found it impossible to walk back to St. Louis. Rafts of timber from the Gasconade pine forests having just tied up at Washington, they decided to return to the city on one of these rafts.

The experiences of this unique journey I shall let Mr. Goebel tell in his own language. Before doing so, however, I wish to let him relate something further about Newport. We read: "It is hard to imagine what induced any one to lay out a town here. Only the hope that this place might become the permanent county seat may have justified this speculation. The little plateau on which this so-called town was located contains space enough for a good size town, the surrounding country, tho hilly, has much good land, but the Missouri was three-quarters of a mile away and the way to the nearest landing was almost unpassable. Since those days the little town has gone back more and more. About all that is left there is a large unsightly brick structure which serves as a Baptist or Methodist church. The building of the railroad ended the last chance which Newport had. A little above the old steamboat landing, the railroad passes over the confluence of the big and the little Boeuf creeks and there we find now the station and an insignificant post-office. Abraham Bailey, who owned the adjoining land, laid out a town there, which he called Dundee in memory of his father's native place in Scotland. The little place after fifty years of growth, boasted of a half dozen frame structures. Perhaps the dozen will be full when we write 1900."

To return to the account of Goebel's return journey to St. Louis, we read: "At that time most of the timber that was used in St. Louis and along the river came from the upper tributaries of the Gasconade. In that unsettled wilderness the lumber was sawed, assembled in small rafts, floated down

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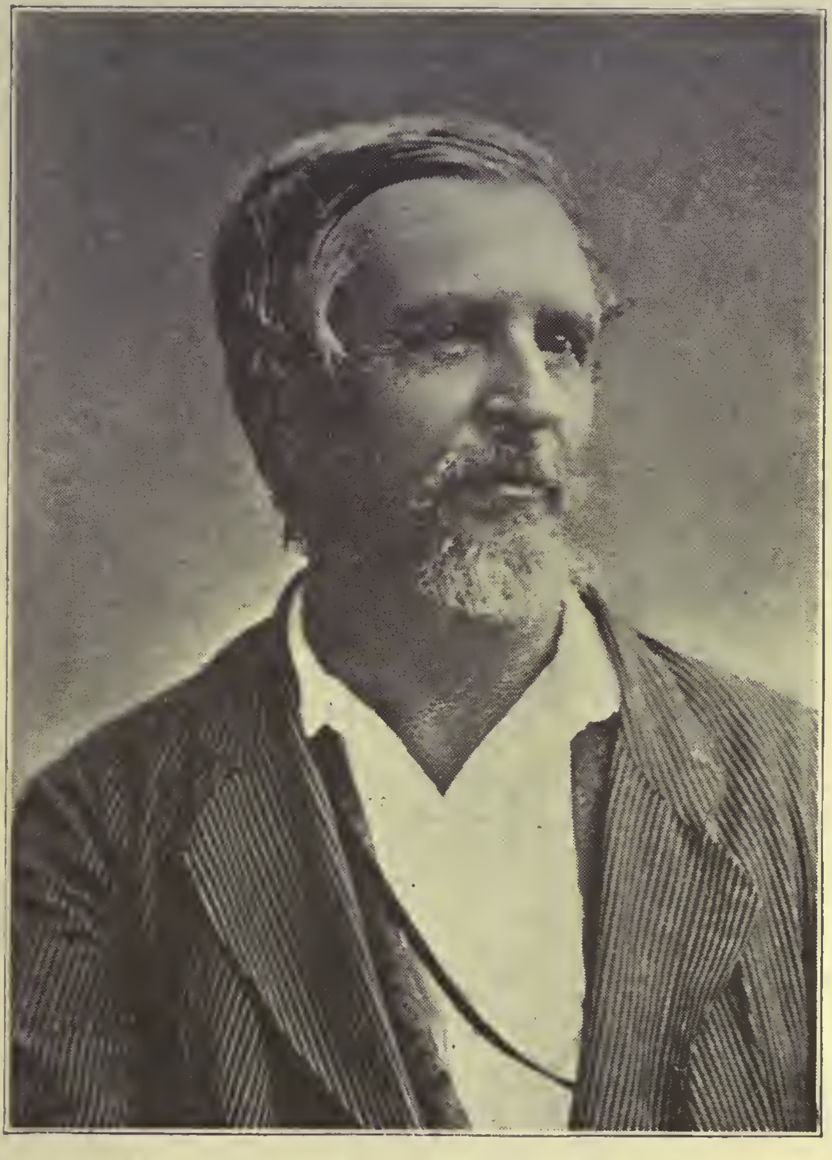

GERT. GOEBEL

the Gasconade to the Missouri, where several small rafts were assembled into a large one. Each raft was manned by six or eight men, who, by means of great oars, kept the raft in the current and off the sand banks. These raftsmen were wild, rough fellows. Most of them had grown up in the woods and on the rafts. They knew no home life, no higher pleasures. Their life afforded them but two alternatives, namely work and hardships of the severest kind or absolute idleness. The fights which they had, at times, with their own fellows, often terminated in the most terrible mutilations. Bitten-off noses, ears and thumbs, loss of eyes, and knifecuts were nothing unusual among them. Strangers who met them kindly, as a rule, had nothing to complain of, however.

"Mr. Eberius, who had secured passage for us on the raft, gave us a large piece of cornbread, a piece of raw bacon, a bottle of whiskey, and a half dollar, for which I left my shotgun as security. Since I do not know if ever before or since a professor of mathematics and ducal court librarian took a trip down the Missouri on a raft, a few words concerning this journey may not be out of place.

"Very early the next morning Eberius took us to the raft and introduced us to the captain and his crew, all of whom shook hands with us. These fellows did not look exactly confidence inspiring. The captain wore a pair of shoes which allowed the toes free play in the open air. Except for these shoes the captain could not be distinguished from his men, who were all barefooted. A shirt that evidently had not been washed, except by an occasional rain storm, a fractional part of what once was called trousers, a piece of felt of indescribable form, constituted all the clothing these men wore. A small heap of old torn blankets lay upon the raft, which, as the occasion required, served as bedding or as rain coats. It was the usual custom of these old raftsmen, after they had reached their destination, had sold their timber and had received their pay, to go to a clothing store and buy new clothing from head to foot. Then they would take these new clothes to some secluded place, preferably below a high river bank, and change their garments. Before they came to view again their old attire could be seen floating down the river. Then they went to a barber shop and presently these wild sons of the woods came forth shaved and perfumed and with their hair cut. The remainder of their pay was often spent in one riotous night. Those among them who were a little more careful, and perhaps had wives and children, bought all sorts of useless trinkets for them. Then they started back on their long, toilsome journey of more than a hundred miles to the wilderness, to start all over once more.

"One ought not to judge men by the clothes they wear. These dangerous looking fellows showed themselves to be kind, polite toward us, and very sympathetic when they observed that we were doing our best to converse with them. I helped them row as much as I could, if for no other reason than to while away the time. My father tried it too, but they soon took the oar out of his hands with the remark, 'That is too hard work for you, old man.' Our small supplies and our whiskey we shared honestly with them, and thereby acquired their esteem in a high degree.

"It is a strange sensation to sit on a raft that is almost level with the water of a great stream. If there is no wind the motion of the raft is not felt at all. Only by fixing ones eyes on some point on the bank does one observe the movement, and it seems as tho a panorama were slowly unrolled before the observer, whose own standpoint is fixed.

"The professional raftsmen knew every house along the river. When the evening of the second day of our journey came, they told us that the new farm of Captain Welker was near by. We hunted the place out and spent the night there. On the following morning we were again floating in the middle of the river before the first rays of the sun appeared over the horizon. The evening of the third day we were back in St. Louis.

"A few days later we steamed up the river on board of the O'Connel. Shortly after passing Washington, the signal for a landing was sounded. We looked about in astonishment. Far and wide not a trace of a house, only a high, precipitous bluff. The boat landed, the gangplank was thrown out, and the hands began to unload our goods. My father protested, but the captain assured him, that this was Newport landing. This gentleman also informed us, that a 'Dutchman' lived beyond the high bluff. Him we now started out to find. It was Franz Boing of Frankfort on the Main. He spoke English rather fluently, and so was a most valuable neighbor. In 1842 he moved to Hermann, where he became a merchant and later probate judge. This Mr. Boing declared that he could take care of my parents and my two sisters, but advised that my friend Ferdinand* and I had better stay with our baggage at the landing. This long lonely vigil I shall never forget. It was not till nearly noon the next day that we saw a two-wheeled cart, drawn by two oxen which were driven by a negro approaching the landing, to haul our belongings to the Boing farm.

"The repairs of our house were begun at once, and little by little we hauled our effects on a one-horse sled to the Benzen place. Such sleds were in common use in those days, in the whole community there were only a few two-wheeled carts and only one four-wheeled wagon. For general purpose such sleds were quite sufficient, for the forest was close at hand and fuel was easily obtained, fence rails were usually made on the field, that was to be fenced in, and for the hauling of corn from the field the sleds were quite adequate.

"Much of the work done by the natives looked so simple, that we thought we could easily do it. We soon learned that every trade and occupation requires a certain skill. For example, we observed how our neighbors cut their corn fodder and set it up in shocks. We undertook to do the same, but in spite of all our toil we had scarcely begun the second shock, when the first had already fallen down. While thus engaged in cutting corn Caleb Bailey, who said he was our nearest neighbor, came over and made us understand, that the dry cornstalks which we were cutting had no value as fodder so we desisted from this irksome task.

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*Gert Goebel's son, Mr. August Goebel of Union, Missouri, thinks that this friend of his father's must have been Fredinand Briegleb, relations of whom still live in Franklin county.

"Another lesson which we had to learn pertained to the simple principle of splitting fence rails. I had suggested to my father that he had better hire one of our neighbors for a day, and let him show us how it was done. My father, however, responded that the splitting of wood was such a simple matter, that with a little thinking, we would soon understand it, just as well as our ignorant American neighbors.

"It is true, that mathematical and astronomical problems can be solved by hard thinking. It is also true that the splitting of fence rails does not require any scientific training, for most of our skilled woodsmen could neither read nor write, nevertheless the work in which these men showed so much skill required an infinite amount of practice and the most varied experience. Mere thinking could never teach us that the beautiful, slender sycamore could not be split by any man, that of the different elms only a single variety can sometimes be split, that of the black gums, which sometimes grow forty to fifty feet absolutely straight before the branches begin, not even a short log can be cleft in two. We did not know that the kind of timber most commonly used for rails was the different varieties of oak, nor did we know that even these did not always split well.

"A hillside near our field had been almost completely deforested. Only here and there we found a few large black oak and white oak trees standing. To any one initiated into the mystery of the forest it would have been clear that there was a reason why these fine trees had been spared. We in our ignorance undertook to fell them, but could not get a decent chip out. We hacked all around the trunk until it finally came down. The stump looked as if beavers had gnawed it off. This sample of our skill was for a long time an object of amusement to the passing Americans. By noon my father had his hands full of blisters, so that he had to give up the work. During the afternoon I succeeded in felling two more trees in spite of my aching hands. On the following day these trees were to be cut into ten foot rail lengths. In spite of all our efforts, the second day saw only seven rail lengths cut. But our effort at splitting the logs capped the climax. Instead of setting our first wedge at the larger end of the log, we set it at the smaller, pounded away at it until it was driven entirely into the wood. By this time the maul was a wreck. Ferdinand was sent to get another maul from Boing. In the meantime we set to work to make a maul ourselves. Unfortunately we chose the most useless kind of wood for this sort of an implement, namely black walnut. We chopped out our wedge and set it in a new place. Presently it, too, stuck tight, without having produced even a slight split, while our new maul lay in splinters. Again we chopped our wedge out, and again proceeded to drive it with Boing's maul, which Ferdinand had in the meantime brought. By the end of the day we had all our wedges chopped out again, Boing's maul lay in ruins, but not a single fence rail did we have to show for. The following day we were very much downcast and physically sore.

"The next day Tom and Bill Bailey visited us. We told them what we had done. They only laughed and asked us to get our axes and to go with them. They took us to a part of the woods, where black oaks abounded, selected a particularly straight one, placed themselves on opposite sides of the tree and began to chop. With every blow chips as large as your hand flew in every direction. In less than five minutes the oak lay on the ground. They measured off four lengths. Each of the lads sprang on the log and they began to cut it in two. One side of the cut was as straight as if it had been sawed. Then they selected a tough young white oak for a maul, cut it off close to the ground, trimmed the handle with their ax and smoothed it with their pocket knives. With even more skill and ease they made a couple of wedges from another tough tree. The iron wedge was set in the larger end of the log. A few blows sank it in and the log was half split open. Following up with the wooden wedges, the log lay in halves. This all was done in an incredibly short time. The halves and the quarters of the log were handled in the described manner. In less than two hours they had finished between forty and fifty rails. We had learned more in those two hours than we could have acquired by several months of hard thinking.

"This fence rail story illustrates sufficiently the manner in which the Latin farmers began their career as backwoodsmen.

"The repairs on our house having been made, we moved in late in the fall. The first winter was a very melancholy one, for we really did not have anything we could do. Our chief occupation was to supply wood for the ravenous fire place. The rest of the time I roamed about the woods with some of our neighbor boys. We only got small game because we did not know how to approach turkeys and other game, tho there was plenty of it. Another form of work that fell upon me was to procure flour. In those early days there were but few mills and these few did not accomplish much. It was not much better than it had been during the very early days of the first settlers. My old neighbor Enoch Greenstreet related to me that his father, who settled on Boeuf creek in the first years of this century, contrived to help himself in this manner. He fastened a long pole to an upright post, as in the case of the old fashioned draw-well, weighted one end of the pole, and to the other he attached a piece of grape vine, to which he had fastened a heavy piece of hard wood as a sort of pestle, with which he crushed the corn in a trough, the weighted end helping him raise the pestle after each blow. In this manner he made his corn meal. Wheat flour those old timers got only when they could purchase a sack of it from a keelboat that passed up or down the river; however, sometimes a whole year passed by before such an opprtunity presented itself.

"During our first years there was a water mill in the neighborhood of Washington, on St. Johns creek, and farther up in our neighborhood there was also a small mill on the same creek. These institutions, however, lay idle for eight months in the year, because they did not have water enough to run them. A few horse driven mills had to help out. The best of these was to one operated by the old John Gall. What first attracted us to him was the fact that he spoke German, that is to say, Pennsylvania German. If I am not mistaken, his father was one of the Hessiens, whom the cruel rulers induced to emigrate, that is to say, sold to the English to do their fighting against the Americans for them. Besides Gall's mill there was still another horse mill in Newport, but as a rule it was out of order. A third one was in a westerly direction from us. However, since its stones were not much larger than an Ohio cheese, it usually took the greater part of a day to grind a few bushels, on which account it was not much frequented.

"When the water mills lay idle because of lack of water, the few Germans who had settled on Second creek in Gasconade county came as far as Gall's mill. It took them three days to the round trip. If the time of the farmer had been as valuable then as it is now, such a loss of time, spent in procuring a sack of meal, would have been intollerable. Those countless rides to the mill constitute vivid but unpleasant memories for me."

RECORDS OF MISSOURI CONFEDERATE VETERANS

The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Missouri Division, have begun a statewide movement to collect the records of Missouri Confederate veterans. The work is under the direction of the Confederate Veterans Records Committee of the U. D. C. of Missouri. This committee was appointed by Mrs. S. C. Hunt, State President, of Columbia, and is composed of Mrs. Bernard C. Hunt, Chairman, of Columbia; Mrs. D. D. Denham, of Kansas City; and Mrs. W. A. Vivian, of St. Louis.

According to Mrs. Bernard C. Hunt, chairman, the work is being systematically inaugurated. To each of the forty-five chapter presidents of the U. D. C. of Missouri was sent this letter:

Columbia, Mo.,
January 26, 1922.

Dear Madam President and Members of your Chapter:

It is with some reluctance that I take up this work of trying to secure for the Mo. Div. the Records of all Confederate Soldiers in Mo. Just last year the John S. Marmaduke Chapter, Columbia, Mo., started this work in Boone Co., and I believe it is the only Chapter in the State that has ever done any such work.

The work will be through each Chapter President. Write me, as chairman, for blanks. There will be no cost, but please do not waste blanks. This work will not be confined to each Chapter, go into your town, county or counties and let's make Missouri 100 per cent on the Records of the men who fought in the war between the States. There will be a trophy awarded at next Convention to the Chapter sending in the largest number of Records.

Please get the records of all Confederate Soldiers alive or deceased. If deceased, secure as much information as possible from his relatives. The original copy is to be kept by the Chapter that secured it; use a second blank, type in answers and send to me, that your Chapter may get full recognition and I will then place record in the State Historical Society of Mo. for preservation.

Now, daughters, do you realize the importance of this work? It should have been done years ago. Many desirable women would become members of U. D. C. today if they could find the data they need. In a few years the Veterans will all have passed into the Great Beyond, and unless we do this work quickly we will not get the information that is so important to us and to our State.

Mr. Floyd Shoemaker, Secretary State Historical Society of Mo., is urging and co-operating with us in every way in pushing this needed work. Please read carefully and comply at once if possible to his requests.

Now, I wonder which Chapter will be first to order blanks. They are ready and at your disposal.

Very faithfully yours,
Ola Delany Hunt (Mrs. Bernard),
Chairman-Confederate Veteran
Record Com.
1327 Wilson Ave.
Columbia, Mo.

Accompanying the letter was a circular bearing further on the work:

SPECIAL DATA

FURNISHED AND DESIRED ON

Missouri Confederate Veterans.

To aid in the collecting and preserving of the records of the Missouri Confederate Veterans, the State Historical Society of Missouri will have a special article on this work by Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, in the April (1922) issue of the *Missouri Historical Review.* Since this magazine is the second largest of its kind in America, and reaches thousands of our leading citizens, including all editors, publicity will be given and public co-operation should result. If the chapters of the U. D. C. carry out their part in carefully covering their county and copies of their records are placed in The State Historical Society, that institution will collate in alphabetical order the entire state.

Further, we will copy from the records of the The State Historical Society of Missouri and will now furnish free on request, the 1902 muster roll of the U. C. V. camps in these towns:

Alton
Boonville
Butler
Carrollton
Carthage
Clinton
Columbia
Doniphan
Eldorado Springs
Exeter
Fayette
Fredericktown
Fulton
Gallatin
Greenfield
Greenville
Hannibal
Higginsville
Houston
Huntsville
Independence

Kansas City
Kearney
Keystone
Jefferson City
Lebanon
Lees Summit
Lexington
Marshall
Maryville
Memphis
Mexico
Miami
Moberly
Mooresville
Nevada
Paris
Pineville
Platte City
Pleasant Hill
Richmond
St. Joseph
St. Louis
Salisbury
Sedalia
Springfield
Warrensburg
Waverly
Waynesville
West Plains
Windsor

We desire for permanent preservation in The State Historical Society of Missouri muster rolls of U. C. V. camps which were established in these towns:

Bolton
Bowling Green
Bunceton
Cabool
Cuba
Dexter
Eminence
Farmington
Jackson
Kennett
Lamar
Marble Hill
Morley
New Madrid
Odessa
Oak Grove
Paris (Monroe Co. Camp)
Plattsburg
Poplar Bluff
Salem
St. Louis (John S. Bowen Camp)
Sweet Springs
Taneyville
Waddill

Kindly note all towns listed. These had U. C. V. camps. Cover carefully all such towns in your county. The presidents of the U. C. V. chapters in each county should arrange to divide the county work where there were U. C. V. camps in towns now without U. D. C. chapters.

We desire for preservation the original muster rolls (or copies of same) of all U. C. V. camps, old Civil War letters, diaries and photographs. These will be carefully preserved in the fireproof building of the State Historical Society for use of the present and future generations. We are also especially desirous of obtaining the following proceedings, now lacking in our files: U. D. C. Missouri Division Proceedings, 1st and 2nd (1898-1899); U. C. V. Missouri Division Proceedings, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th (1898, 1899, 1900); 7th, 8th and 9th (1903, 1904, 1905); 11th (1907), and 14th (1910).

If any of these can be obtained send same to Mrs. Bernard C. Hunt, Chairman, 1327 Wilson Aveune, Columbia, Missouri.

Finally the State Committee prepared a four-page Record blank on Confederate Veterans, living and dead, in which request was made for biographical, historical, military, genealogical, and related data, on the veterans. Thousands of copies of this blank have been printed and distributed. When the work is finished, the blanks will be bound by counties and deposited in The State Historical Society of Missouri.

The value of this work cannot be estimated. Missouri has scanty records of her Confederates. Even the approximate number of Missouri Confederates in service is not agreed upon by writers as is indicated by estimates varying from 30,000 to 50,000. The U. D. C. of Missouri is attempting to remedy this condition. With the co-operation of its own members and of those interested in preserving the records of our people, the work will succeed. And it deserves success. Its biographical and genealogical value alone is important. The State Historical Society of Missouri receives many requests for data of this kind which in cases is unobtainable. The Society is attempting to remedy this so far as possible by having an analytical index prepared of all biographical sketches appearing in county, city, and state histories. Thousands of names have been collated, but even when every book of this kind has been paged and carded the Society will have only a fraction of the data needed to complete Missouri's Confederate records. Even the adjutants general of Missouri have felt this embarrassment in their work regarding the validating of Confederate pensions. Certainly, now is the time to perform this service.

Those desiring Record blanks may obtain same without cost from Mrs. B. C. Hunt, of Columbia. The work is not confined to members of the U. D. C. of Missouri. It is not confined to the living veterans. All Missourians interested in this work should lend assistance in obtaining, filling out, and returning the Record blanks.

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

BY WILEY BRITTON.

THIRD ARTICLE.

CHAPTER XIII.

COVERING THE FIRE.

There were few families in our section prior to the Civil War who used friction matches for starting a fire; but everybody used hard wood for fuel and in cooking, and the fire had to be kept from day to day. The family allowing it to die out or go out during the night, would, in many cases, be obliged to borrow fire from their neighbors the next morning. Our nearest neighbor was nearly a mile away, so the importance and necessity of keeping the fire every night was impressed upon the minds of members of the family. When it did go out, and there was no means at hand for starting a flame, it generally fell to the lot of the older children to go after it, a troublesome task that had the effect of a reminder to look after it in the future.

There was an art of covering the fire, so that it would not go out during the night, for if, in the preparation, the faggots were burned too little into coals and covered too lightly or too heavily with ashes, the fire might burn out or smother out. Most people had some means of producing fire when it was permitted to go out; we had a piece of steel and a flint and by striking the flint with the steel we could produce a spark, which was allowed to fall on a piece of punk, igniting it; but to get a flame from it was generally difficult and unsatisfactory. Some of our neighbors who had flint lock rifles and powder horns with powder in them, were able to get fire by putting a little powder in the pan of the lock and letting the hammer strike the flint and produce a spark which ignited the powder into a flash or flame.

This was a quicker and more satisfactory way of getting fire than by striking the flint with a piece of steel. Keeping the fire has been from pre-historic times, one of the most important features of domestic life among all races of mankind in their slow growth from lowest primitive conditions.

There doubtless have been many independent discoveries of the methods of producing fire among the different races, nearly all of which must have been by some process of friction between two bodies of rather rough surfaces impinging against each other. The discovery of the art of making fire was scarcely less important in the intellectual development of our race than language. We therefore find that all primitive races reverenced fire, so much so indeed that there were tribes of fire-worshippers and sun-worshippers in different parts of the world, the warmth and heat of the sun leading them to the belief that it was the source of fire.

In the temperate climates there must have been developed in the very early history of the use of fire, some idea of preserving it from day to day. When men lived in samll groups and before the evolution of these groups into tribes and of the tribes into nations, in some instances we know that the group appointed some one member to keep the fire, often the sacred fire, perpetually burning so that all could have the use of it.

In some instances it became the custom so select the most beautiful girl of this primitive social aggregate to attend the fire and keep it perpetually burning on the altar, an honor usually esteemed the greatest that could be conferred.

It was from this custom that came the origin of the Vestal Virgins in early Greek and Roman communities, for Vesta the goddes of fire was a venerated Greek and Roman Divinity; a fire burning on a domestic hearth was regarded as her symbol, and each city had its public hearth or altar on which was a perpetual fire kept burning, attended by virgins who dedicated their lives to her service.

In the course of time when the members of a group occupied a continual widening area, making it more and more difficult for members to secure fire from the common altar, families commenced keeping fire on their own hearths, which was by covering the living coals with ashes. This led in the times of the Feudal Ages, when outlawry was common and danger prevailed, to regulations in villages and communities, for covering the fire at a definite time by each family. It was also the custom of the Middle Ages and on down to later times in England and on the Continent, to ring a bell in the village or town at eight o'clock at night as a signal or warning to the inhabitants to lock their doors, cover the fire, put out the lights and retire to rest. Our word Curfew is from the French, Couer-feu, to cover the fire; but Curfew now generally means the ringing of a bell or the blowing of a steam whistle at nine o'clock at night as a signal and warning in cities and towns, for all children and minors to leave the streets by that hour, if unattended by a grown person, to repair to their homes.

But after the Civil War covering the fire passed out of use as a custom in our section, for the little cross-road store sprang up everywhere in the country and sold friction matches so cheaply that everybody could afford to keep them on hand for use in all emergencies. And the flint lock rifle and powder horn, which were so useful to the pioneers for making fire and hunting squirrels, wild turkeys and other wild game, have long since disappeared and are rarely seen except in curiosity shops and museums, having been supplanted by Winchester and other repeating rifles.

Many years after the invention and introduction of friction matches, we have now and then heard of a female member of a family, who, like the Vestal Virgins of ancient times, has, from childhood to old age, kept burning on the family hearth, the sacred fire, which had become to her an emblem of eternal life and purity.

CHAPTER XIV.

MAKING SOAP.

Every year in the early spring, the mother of every family, was busily engaged for several days in making soap for the coming year, for at that time families living in the country, did not purchase soap from the stores in town. The mistress of the home prepared for making soap to supply the family the coming year, a good part of the past year, particularly during the fall and winter, by saving up ashes from the hard wood fires which were put into a hopper so that the lye could be drained off from them and fall into a crock at the lower end of a trough, the lower end of which was left open.

The ash hopper was made of strong boards about four feet long, five or six inches wide and lapped over each other to cover the space between the lower ones. The upper ends rested against a frame work, say about four feet square, the four corners of which were fastened to posts firmly set in the ground.

On the sides the boards sloped downwards at an angle of about forty-five degrees from the perpendicular, the lower ends resting in the trough, which was six to eight inches wide that rested across two pieces of wood or two stones to hold it up eight to ten inches above the ground, and at the ends of the hopper the boards fell perpendicular, the lower ends being cut sloping to fit a frame V-shaped. When the hopper was made ready the ashes from the fire place were put into it until it was filled, which might require most of the autumn and winter; it was generally open at the top so that the rain and melted snow falling on the ashes sometimes furnished enough water to make a sufficient amount of lye.

In the economy of the home the ash hopper held an important place, cleanliness, which demanded the liberal use of soap, has always been regarded by intelligent people, as the surest means to health and happiness, the two great aims of life.

The next step in the preparedness for making soap, was by the mistress of the home saving up and placing in proper receptacles during the year, all the old stale grease, scraps of fat and scraps of bacon that had become unfit for use as food, and it was surprising what an amount of this material would accumulate during the year. When bright spring weather opened up in March or April, such weather as started the wild onions in the creek bottoms to growing, the mistress of the home brought from the smoke house her large iron kettle and building a fire under it in the back yard, placed in it the lye that had been drawn from the hopper, and the grease and scraps of stale bacon that had been saved, and the process of making soap was on.

It usually took several days to complete the task of making soap, for the contents of the kettle with a slow fire under it had to be stirred until the lye had entirely eaten up and dissolved the grease and scraps of bacon and fat, after which it had to be boiled down to the desired consistence of hardness and cooled.

When the ingredients and lye were boiled down to satisfactory thickness and hardness and cooled, the soap could then be cut into bars and laid away for use, although part of the quantity made up was usually soft soap to be used for laundry purposes. There was little waste in the home of the prudent and intelligent head of the family, who saw future use for little things that a shiftless and indifferent wife would have thought not worth saving, but who, in a short time might wish to borrow from a neighbor the very thing she had thrown away.

When we are reminded that many of those who have invested large sums in the productive industries, are usually satisfied to receive as their share of the profits, the value of the by-product, or that which was formerly considered the waste, we see how important in the economy of the home, was the saving instinct of our mothers. These economies of the home, were always indications of the thrift of the family, and they were so indissolubly connected, that where one was found, the other was confidently looked for. Thus it was that our fathers and mothers lived the simple life like that which their fathers and mothers had lived back through the generations.

So far as it contributed to cleanliness, sanitary conditions, soap has been a preventive of disease, for in our section a family that was known as uncleanly in their persons and habitations, were almost invariably afflicted with sore eyes, or itch or some form of mange. Our mothers understood as well as sanitary authorities of later times, the importance of keeping the wearing apparel and bedding of the family cleanly, and when they did not have the conveniences of wood and water for doing the family washing under a shed or in the open near their homes, took it to the spring branch or nearby creek, in good weather, where it was done. In this respect this part of domestic life in our section, was very little removed from the time of Ulysses.

But the making soap by our mothers was like keeping aloft a torch bearing the words in flaming light, "Cleanliness," which later have flamed out as the corner stone of health and happiness, among the peoples of all civilized nations.

CHAPTER XV.

SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

Among the early pioneers in our section there were few slave holders, but the number gradually increased up to the war, when there may have been as many as two or three hundred in our county, most of whom owned not more than two or three slaves. In some of the mountainous counties of Southern Missouri, probably not more than a dozen men were slave owners, the country being so rough and broken that it was adapted to only small farming and attracted as settlers men of only small means. Indeed it may be truly said that the greater part of the Ozark region was of such nature as not to attract a slave-owning class, and on up to the war it continued to be occupied mainly by small independent land owners and squatters who had no sympathy with the institution of slavery.

In the Missouri River counties of western Missouri, where it was possible to have hundreds of acres in an unbroken tract, there was not only a larger proportion of the population slave owners, but each of the owners on the average had a larger number of slaves than the slave holders of southern Missouri.

There was a bond of union or mutual interest between all slave holders as a class; but a man's social prestige and standing increased with the number of slaves he owned; if he owned one or two he might be addressed as Mister, but if he owned half a dozen or more, he was generally addressed as Colonel, particularly if he was getting along in years after middle life.

These men generally possessed such bearing and dignity as to win respect and rarely took advantage of their position so as to make men of humbler means feel uncomfortable in their presence. Still there was a kind of social gulf between them which both recognized, but which neither sought of passing without doing violence to the custom that prevailed.

On social occasions of the young people of the slave holder, only the young people of other slave holders were invited, excepted that young doctors and lawyers or military or naval officers might be invited on terms of equal social standing.

Even though a man owned a better farm and his family lived in a better house with more artistic surroundings than his neighbor who owned a single slave, his social standing in the community was not generally equal to that of the slave holder.

Among the early pioneers, however, it frequently happened that an energetic, thrifty non-slaveholding farmer had a better farm and raised more corn, wheat and oats, and had more horses, mules, cattle and hogs, than his less energetic and less thrifty slave-holding neighbor who was short on these products of the farm and was obliged to purchase such of them as he needed from his more provident neighbor, which tended to break down and wipe out any social distinction that existed between them, and their families visited and exchanged courtesies and were of equal social standing in the community.

We were living on the periphery of a world-wide disturbance or agitation, some of whose recurring waves reached us with increasing frequency, due to rapidly increasing inventions and scientific investigations, which were revolutionizing the old order of things by introducing new methods and processes and machinery and thought in every department of life, all tending to sweep away slavery and the barriers that separated the classes from each other by class distinction. Even from my circumscribed vision as a boy, slavery always appeared to me as an enemy to general intelligence, progress and exchange of ideas between all classes, which I thought would lead to the discussion of broader views of life and benefit all equally. The effort of the proponents of slavery to prohibit or suppress discussion as to the merits of the institution on moral or economic grounds, was its real weakness.

Nearly all the preachers and politicians of that section, the real moulders of public opinion, were warm advocates of slavery, and would have prohibited adverse critisism of slavery if they could have had the power, so that most of those who disagreed with them kept their views to themselves, and there was no public discussion of the question until it came up in Congress in the early fifties in regard to the extension of slavery in the Territories which would soon be knocking for admission to the Union.

Every year, generally in the spring, negro buyers came thru our section buying negroes and mules to take South to sell to the planters. In settling up the estate of a deceased person who had been a slave holder, his slave property, when it had not been disposed of by will, was generally sold by the administrator to the highest bidder on the Court House Square at Neosho and other county seat towns, and at these public administrator sales the negro buyers were nearly always present and bid against each other or against any of the neighbors of decedent. But the negro buyers did not depend upon these administrator sales altogether for the number of slaves they desired to buy up and take South, but bought a negro here and there through the country of men who wished to sell one or more for any reason, perhaps to liquidate a debt, or because the negro he would sell was intractable or considered dangerous.

At these public sales there were nearly always pathetic scenes. Strong, healthy women were almost as much in demand and considered as useful for working in the cotton and cane fields or plantations, as the men; but the children were not often sold. The negro women were less likely to be sold than the men.

This practice of buying up negroes in the Border Slave States of Kentucky and Missouri, and taking them off South to work in the cotton and cane plantations, was responsible for the many popular pathetic plantation songs that were heard everywhere, and came down to the war period, but were little heard of afterward.

It must be said to the credit and to the humanity of some of the slave holders of our section that they were too conscientious to sell off members of a slave family so as to cause a permanent separation in distant parts of the country.

There were some slave holders who freely admitted that slavery was morally wrong, but having them, could not see that giving them their freedom would improve their condition in a country where slavery existed and where there was so much prejudice against free negroes living in different counties.

Nearly all the people were members of the different church organizations and believed implicitly in their preacher's interpretation of the Scriptures. Preachers had wonderful influence with all classes of people, and as their utterances were never questioned, it is not surprising that many were so slow to view the moral aspect of slavery.

There was an unceasing conflict in the minds of many as to whether they should accept the Scriptural interpretation, as it was preached, sanctioning slavery, or whether they should accept the interpretation of their moral sense, which was opposed to the institution. It was a period of transition with increasing friendly light thrown on the subject, a light that had an awakening effect, and men who had been conservative and indifferent, turned to radical exponents of righteousness and justice and became convinced that slavery was morally wrong and could be counted upon as friends of freedom.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PIONEER PHYSICIAN.

In every community from the dawn of history down to the present moment, the physician, the medicine man, the healer of diseases and injuries, has been an important personage and deserves mention in the part he has played, not only as a healer of diseases, but also in the department of what is now called preventive medicine, or adviser of his clients how to escape disease.

From the very beginning the function of the physician or medicine man, has been that of applying remedies for the curing of diseases of his patients, and of advising them how to escape disease, and the remedy applied for the cure was often not more absurd in our estimation than the preventive remedy that was advised.

In our section the physician, like the preacher, was not always an educated man who had mastered all the requirements of the medical schools of the present day; but was more frequently a man who read medicine in the office of an older physician for awhile and then commenced to practice; or he may have secured Dr. Gunn's "Family Doctor," and after persuing that book for a short time, commenced to practice. Perhaps a majority of the doctors who practiced medicine in that section were, in pioneer days, men who had no preliminary training for the profession, but gradually as they came in contact with physicians who had attended and graduated from some of the medical schools of good standing, they became conscious of their own defects, and the more progressive among them, would manage to go to St. Louis and attend a course of lectures in a medical school in that city for a month or so during the winter.

There was no means of traveling at that time from our section to St. Louis, two or three hundred miles distant, except by horseback, so that the number of men who attended the lectures of the medical schools was small. These men, however, who practiced without diplomas from medical schools, certifying to their qualifications for their work, by association with their better informed brothers of the profession, gradually came into possession of medical books giving the essentials of medical practice, and some of them by getting a medical dictionary, were able to use a few Latin phrases in prescriptions and in describing diseases to their patients, look wise and impress their patients that they possessed the mysterious power of curing disease.

Those physicians who were ambitious of being up to date in their profession, might take a medical journal or so that contained information, which, when combined with their own experience, put them abreast of the best practitioners who had diplomas from medical colleges. Even the Indians, the Cherokees and Senecas, who lived in the Indian Territory west of us and with whom our people had considerable dealings, had their doctors who used herbs that grew in their country, and which they were familiar with in the treatment of diseases, and they had the reputation of being as successful with their patients as our doctors were with theirs.

In a good many of the ailments that were prevalent in our section, our physicians used quite a list of Indian remedies in the treatment of their patients, and these Indian remedies obtained such a reputation for their curative properties in certain diseases, that they were used long after the pioneer physician passed away. It is probable that many of the herbs from which the Indian remedies were made, contained curative properties which, under more refined methods of treatment, have been found by experiment in modern laboratories, to be still valuable in the treatment of diseases.

We now regard nearly all diseases with which the physicians of ante-bellum times had to deal, from a different standpoint from that from which they were in the habit of looking at them; for instance we now consider most of the diseases which afflict us, to be of a parasitic nature; that is, as due to microscopic animal organisms known as protozoa, or to microscopic vegetable organisms called bacterium.

Our ante-bellum physician knew he could cure chills and fever, ague or malaria, which were one and the same thing, by giving the patient quinine, or that he could cure the patient of itch by the use of sulphur or mercurial ointment; but he did not know that the quinine was given to kill the animal parasite, plasmodium malaria with which he had been inoculated by mosquito bites made by mosquitoes from a nearby swamp or pond or other breeding place of the pest; or that the sulphur or mercurial ointment was given or applied to kill a microscopic parasite that had from unsanitary conditions of the patient, found lodgement in his epidermis or skin, causing the irritation known as itch.

Our physicians knew that certain diseases were "catching" or contagious, and that after a patient had passed through an attack from some of these diseases he was generally immune from further attack from it; but he did not fully realize that all contagious diseases are parasitic diseases; and that the only way to successfully deal with nearly all of them is by the use of antitoxins, serums and preventive measures, as intelligent use of hygienic measures.

In ante-bellum times we did not have as now, county, city, or district medical associations at whose annual meetings the president of the association in his address gave a summary of all the most important investigations and discoveries in medical science during the year that had come under his observation from his studies of medical literature, of world-wide interest to the profession, and at which members read papers on peculiar features of cases that had come under their notice, and their method of treatment; and at which there were symposiums or friendly discussions in which all the members joined, giving their views on some important question that had been raised relating to the profession, all tending to broaden the views of each, to the benefit of his clientage.

In those early days bleeding was resorted to in many cases by the physicians not only of our section, but by the physicians all over the country, for it was prescribed in the text-books and recommended by the professors in their lectures in the medical schools, a feature of medical practice that has been mostly abandoned since the war, except in a few cases it is still sometimes used to relieve vertigo, flushing, headache and of oppressed breathing by application of leeches to the arms, feet or legs. In the examination of nearly a thousand physicians, as the representative of the Government in the pension service, on every conceivable phase of anotomy, physiology and medical practice, I was brought into close relations with this large number of physicians of Western and Southwest Missouri, many of whom were practitioners before the war, and heard from them not only what they said in the matter taken down in their depositions in particular cases, but in friendly conversation that preceded or followed each examination, heard their views on a wide range of subjects relating to medical practice, from their ideals of the profession, down to descriptions of bedside clinics of their patients.

These examinations not only included the physicians who had treated the soldier for his alleged disabilities since the war, or in his last illness, but they also embraced in many cases one or more members of the Board of Physicians appointed by the Government to make examinations of claimants in their districts as to how far the alleged disabilities found disqualified them from manual labor; whether they had any other disabilities than those claimed for, with description and degree of same. The Board of Physicians and I were each furnished with a chart of a man, back and front view, so that when the examination of a claimant was made, the exact location of the wound, injury or pain could be noted on it, and when complete, was returned to the department with a report.

When the members of the Board of Physicians assumed the responsibilities of this work, they were supposed to have at hand a sufficient number of modern instruments of precision to make intelligent examinations and tests, as the stethoscope to determine the heart's action and condition of the lungs, which might also be determined by ausculation and percussion, and a process to determine the specific gravity of the urine, whether it contained albumen, and the nature of the sediment found.

There were some bright physicians met with in the work, physicians who had not only received careful training in the medical colleges from which they had graduated, but who had kept up their studies after entering upon the practice of their profession, in many instances keeping "case books" in which they made copious notes at bedside clinics of important cases they had treated, or autopsies of post-mortem examinations they had made. In every case where the soldier's death was alleged by his widow, or other legal representative prosecuting the claim, was due to his military service, the department required the sworn testimony of the family physician setting forth fully the immediate and remote cause of death.

We can give only one illustrative case in which it was alleged that the soldier's death was caused by cancer of the stomach, and in the examination of Dr. Hopkins of Bolivar, who treated him during his last illness, the doctor testified that he made a post-mortem examination of his body and found a cancerous growth like a great crab with numerous tentacles had the stomach within its grasp, and was without doubt the immediate cause of death. No professor at a hospital clinic could have given a more vivid description of cancer of the stomach, or a better clinical history of the case than was given by Dr. Hopkins in his testimony in this case.

We know that the ante-bellum physicians, even those who had graduated from medical colleges, were not equipped with instruments of precision and convenience for dealing with cases in surgery and labor, like the medical practitioner of the present day, for such instruments had not been developed and put into service, even in the leading university medical schools.

Medical science could make no important progress, agronomy could make but little progress, until the microscope was perfected so that we could examine with our eyes the almost infinitely small forms of life, nearly all single-cell forms of animal or vegetable life, and determine their relationships to ourselves, our domestic animals and to soils we cultivate to furnish our subsistence. We study these minute forms of life micro-organisms as they are called, under the names of bacteriology, the vegetable form, and protozoology, the animal form, and we are amazed at the deadly effects of their invasions of the human host when that host has no resisting power to oppose them, except its own cells which always put up as good a fight as possible.

Our physicians of ante-bellum times knew little about preventive medicine and immunity; they knew that a patient having had measles, scarlet fever or small-pox was thereafter immune from the disease; but they thought very little about preventive medicine in the larger sense prescribed by hygienic laws and sanitary regulations; that to prevent malaria or ague, swamps and ponds near human habitations must be drained and the breeding places of the common mosquito destroyed or made untenable for it, and to prevent yellow fever, the breeding places of the mosquito, stegomyia fasciata, must be destroyed, so that the pest can not multiply.

In curative medicine it seems that few specifics have been found, the most prominent of which are that in malaria or ague, quinine kills the parasite, plasmodium malaria, and that in syphilis salvarsan kills the parasite, pirochete, which is so small that it is considered by some investigators as ultra microscopic and its existence determined only by filtration.

Curative medicine in ante-bellum times and even up to recent times, was somewhat like the forecasts of the weather by advertising almanacs of the proprietary medicine venders —that is, if the prognosticator's forecasts of the weather for the coming year did not come true on the average as often as they failed, he might be considered a scientific misser, and by inversion give us valuable information; so of the physicians of that time, if the remedies they prescribed for particular diseases did not have the predicted effects as often as they failed, the physicians might be considered scientific missers, which leads us to conclude that medical practice was then largely a matter of guess, hit or miss, and rested on no scientific foundation.

And we are strengthened in this conclusion when we take into account the claims of the Indian doctors, quacks, uneducated and unlicensed doctors or doctors who had no certified qualifications from competent sources, that they were as successful in the treatment of their patients as the regular practitioners.

There was good reason why this should be so, for nearly all the diseases which physicians were called in to treat were parasitic diseases, and the medicine which a quack would prescribe, which was generally of a harmless nature, was as efficient in effecting a cure of the patient as the medicine prescribed by the educated physician, except when he prescribed quinine for ague or malaria, or sulphur or mercurial ointment for itch. The educated physician of course had an advantage over the quack or uneducated man in prescribing pallatives for his patients, and perhaps knowledge of the good effects of careful nursing, and that was about all that was essential in parasitic diseases, particularly measles, scarlet fever and typhoid fever, and the nursing feature our grandmothers knew the importance of almost as well as the physician.

But the ills of mankind are very numerous, and when one becomes sick from overloading his stomach with indigestible food, breaks his leg, or suffers pain from different causes beyond his power to remedy, his first thought is to call a physician to give him relief, and it was these traumatic troubles and violations of hygienic laws of the people that gave the physician ample opportunity of displaying his best skill in cases of surgery and other ailments that could be successfully treated in accordance with the medical knowledge of the time.

When one is in distress or imagines that he has some obscure trouble with his heart, lungs, liver or kidneys, he is likely to appeal to any one who will promise relief, and it is here that the patent and proprietary medicine venders reap a rich harvest from the credulous, for symptoms, that their remedies will cure, they are able to reach many who pick out the trouble with which they suffer and send for the remedy that promises relief. Doubtless some of the patent and proprietary medicines that were extensively advertised had beneficial effects, perhaps in many instances psychological effects, upon some of those who were induced to take them, but that the good effects produced were exaggerated out of all proportion to the actual facts is a safe conclusion, even if we admit a grain of truth in the many testimonials as to their merits, some of which purported to be from physicians.

In many instances physicians prescribed these medicines for particular troubles of their patients, and probably carried patent medicine preparations in their pill bags, which they could have safely done, when they knew the principal ingredients of the formula of a given preparation. We did not then have the Pure Food and Drugs Act, which has been a later development of our social life, and no doubt has done a great deal towards correcting the patent medicine evil, for under that Act the venders are required to put a label on each bottle of medicine offered for sale, with a printed formula of the contents, so that the purchaser may know just what he is taking.

Our physicians of ante-bellum times were deficient in diagnostic information, information derived from examination of the symptoms of the patient, which would enable them to determine with certainty the disease they were called upon to treat; but this information has been possible only with the advance of medical science and some of the ancillary sciences.

It was a frequent expression when a physician was called in to treat a patient that after he had made his examination by feeling the pulse, thumping, ausculating, coating of the tongue, appearance of the eyes, tenderness on pressure from parts, and decided what the trouble was, that he did not know any more about the case than the layman, an assertion that was often too true, for the reason that the physical signs and symptoms of several diseases at certain stages are so nearly alike that they could not be differentiated with the tests then in use.

But now for example, if a patient is in the first stages of certain parasitic diseases, as meningitis, rabies, poliomyelitis, or infantile paralysis, or typhoid fever, a lumbar puncture may be made or cerebro-spinal fluid withdrawn and examined under the microscope to determine whether the patient's blood contains the parasite that causes so much suffering to human kind, and the diagnostic information obtained is certain and positive. If any one is now bitten by a dog suspected of being affected with rabies, he is or should be at once taken to a hospital where there is a physician or bacteriologist who has been trained in making microscopic examinations of the blood and fluids of the body, to determine by blood tests whether the suspected parasite is present, and if present to immediately commence the Pasteur treatment of the patient, instead of sending him to some one who has a madstone to be applied to the wound, as our antebellum physicians were in the habit of doing, and as was done up to recent times. Nearly everybody had faith in the madstone, and it was believed that if a person who had been bitten by a mad dog and taken at once to the madstone and it stuck to the wound that it would draw out the poison and the patient would not go mad.

Everybody had great respect for the family physician, for he was its adviser in all matters relating to health and disease, and his faithfulness to the calls of his patients when in distress is one of the brightest features of medical practice as viewed by an outsider who had some knowledge of the hardships imposed upon those engaged in the practice of the profession in towns and in the country. No weather was too stormy, too cold or too hot, and no night too dark and forbidding to keep the doctor at home when called upon to visit a patient who lived one mile or twenty miles away, and that required him to get up and saddle his horse, mount it with his pill bags and ride an hour or all night to reach the home and bedside of that patient.

To take it all in all there was no harder work than that entailed upon the pioneer physician, for there was no season when he could claim rest from the rounds of his practice, which included cases of trifling importance to cases of life and death importance. In the course of my work I have met country physicians and small town physicians, riding in all kinds of weather and at all hours of the night or day, to visit patients or returning from their visits to them, and I have been deeply impressed with the ethics of their profession which keeps them so faithfully in its service.

There is one feature in the practice of the ante-bellum physician that has radically changed, and that is in obstetrics, a change in which the physician has almost entirely taken the place of the midwife in all labor cases, not only in the towns, but also in the country. In the country before the war, we rarely heard of a physician attending in a confinement case, except where there was some complication in it, whereas since the war we rarely hear of a midwife attending except in the capacity of nurse. Every neighborhood had its "Granny" as the midwife was called, and in nearly every case she was sent for several days prior to the expected event so as to act in an advisory way to her client.

In our home father had been brought up under the old regime of "spare the rod and spoil the child," and of enforcing control by the sternest measures of coercion and punishment without any regard to the feelings of his children, and yet in dealing with the world at large he had the greatest respect for the equal rights of all other men, not even excepting negroes, and would not claim for himself any right or privilege that he would deny to others.

But we thought that he never took the trouble to investigate whether any part of our conduct that displeased him was wilful, accidental or due to inattention, and as we had our conception of justice and fair treatment in these things, we resented his punishment with strap, switches or open hand.

We would talk it over and we could not call to mind a single punishment of this kind that we considered deserving; they were all inflicted as we thought on account of inadvertence, accident, inattention, or want of judgment on our part as to what should have been done or the way of doing it.

If he was of high strung temperament, we were, too, and if he was determined to conquer us to submit to injustice imposed by his impulsive nature, we were equally as determined not to submit; at any rate, one was so determined. There was not likely a single instance of wilful disobedience or flat refusal of one of the children to obey the injunctions of either of our parents; but in the course of childish activities of playing or fighting with each other, we no doubt indulged in many acts of commission or omission, which, being brought to the attention of our parents, were very trying to their patience, and if they sometimes acted too hasty, they should not be criticised too harshly, for it is well nigh impossible for even the best intentioned parents, under all circumstances, to keep a judicial state of mind in dealing with their children. We had often heard our father and mother speak of their parents owning slaves in Kentucky, and of the slaves and white children alike being flogged or beaten when they deserved it, so that punishment of that kind, whether slaves or white children were the victims, was the fashion of the times.

But such punishment was galling to me as a child and I resented it, and resolved when twelve years of age to leave home with a brother, three years my senior, and go to the Indian Territory among the Cherokees and shift for ourselves.

As usual the punishment was brought on us by an act of commission or omission, something that we could not help, in regard to the feeding or disposition of our stock, that displeased father, and that night—it was Saturday night—we talked the matter over and resolved that when we took the cattle to the pasture the next morning, Sunday morning, we would start for the Cherokee Nation, as we called it, and as it would be Sunday, we would not likely be missed at home before night.

When we had completed the task of driving the cattle to the pasture, we started out afoot, and after crossing the river, we soon struck the road to the Nation, going around all the houses where we would likely be seen and known, for a distance of eight to ten miles on the road, and that evening when within a mile of the Territory of Big Lost Creek, the autumn setting right in our faces, we met a Mr. Biggs, a Baptist preacher, who knew us and father well, and stopping to talk to us, asked us where we were going. We told him where we were going, and the whole story of our leaving home, and the tears welled up in his eyes and he commenced pleading with us to return home, assuring us that father would not punish us further. We had walked twenty miles that day; but Mr. Biggs pictured the distress of mother and the other children, which appealed to our sympathetic natures, and we faced about homeward bound, and made about four miles when darkness came upon us, stopping that night with a Mr. Sparlin who had a mill that was operated by the power of an overshot wheel, the first I had ever seen. We left Mr. Sparlin's early in the morning and when we arrived at home in the afternoon mother had commenced to worry about us, since we did not return Sunday evening; but when father came in he did not even scold us; he seemed about as much ashamed of the affair as we were, and for some time afterward was not so ready to fly into a passion and threaten to punish us for something we had done or neglected to do that displeased him.

After our return, when irritated, he frequently taunted us for coming back, which made it quite humiliating; but I continued to resent harsh treatment and punishment, and determined the next time he attempted to punish me for any of my alleged sins of commission or omission to leave home and do the best in my power to take care of myself; that I could not see any reason why I might not be useful to some one who needed a boy.

From my standpoint I had been working hard and was not getting much schooling, not as much as a boy of my age should have, and I felt and talked of it to members of our family, that it was only a question of time when I would be obliged to leave home again; that I could not stand father's treatment; besides I wanted to know more about all that was going on in the world.

Finally the time came on the 18th of February, 1858, about sundown after a hard day's work in hauling corn and fodder to feed our stock, when father, who had that day returned from Baxter Springs, called to me in tones which I knew meant impending punishment to come to him. In a pen separating the sheep from hogs, which we were also keeping up, a sow by some means or other had destroyed a lamb, which caused father to become furious and threatening, but for which I told him plainly that no blame could attach to me, and that I would not stand for punishment. This challenge of his authority he had never heard before and at once started after me, and I ran away; but as he had to get over a fence and lost some time, which increased the distance between us, and as he was unable to gain on me and commenced losing his wind, I soon disappeared in the darkness, and he was obliged to give up the pursuit.

After crossing Shoal River just below the mill dam on foot benches, I continued my flight over dim roads through dark and lonesome woods, going around a house now and then to enter the road beyond it, until some time after midnight, as I estimated the time by the stars, and then crawled into a haystack or strawstack, by the roadside and slept until morning, for it was a cold frosty night and I was thinly clad in brown jeans pants and frock coat of the same material. Walking briskly along the frozen road that frosty night, I thought of nearly everything that a boy of my age and circumstances could think of, as wolves, panthers, wild cats, which were always hungry at that season of the year, and did not hesitate to attack men or animals after night, so I carried a stick in my hand to defend myself against any possible attack from these enemies or ferocious dogs.

At times I became homesick, thinking of mother and the other children, from whom I must be separated, no telling how long; but I braced myself up with the grim determination not to return and take the punishment that awaited me; and then I was not prepared to bear the bitter humiliation of sneaking back home like a whipped cur. The debacle had come so sudden that I had no definite views in my mind what I should do, and I had not walked many miles when I commenced thinking about where I should go. That question had not been debated in my mind before for leaving at that season of the year; yet I had told members of our family that if father attempted to punish me again for nothing, that I would leave home and go to Kansas for I had often expressed a wish to be with the Free State men in that Territory. We talked a good deal about Kansas for several years in regard to the war between the Free State and Pro-Slavery parties, and on leaving home that night I had in mind that Territory as my ultimate destination; but I knew from friends who had been there that it was a prairie country and thinly settled and no place for a homeless boy in the winter.

With perplexing thoughts as to the future and what it held for me, I flew along over the frozen roads through the forests that frosty night, chilled to the bones almost, and finally decided to go as direct as practicable to Springfield and endeavor to secure employment there until spring and then go to Kansas.

It took me nearly four days to walk to that place, a distance of seventy-five miles, and those four days were full of hardships and trials, which I was poorly prepared to face, and were a severe test of my powers of endurance. At daylight on Saturday morning I crawled out of the strawstack where I had slept and rested, to greet the bright rays of the sun that fell upon the white frost-covered objects along the road, and arrived at Sarcoxie that evening at sunset, tired and hungry, for I had nothing to eat since noon the day I left home. Mr. Crabtree, a blacksmith, kept me that night, and during the night the weather changed, and when I started out Sunday morning a heavy snow had commenced falling, driven by a strong north wind, so that I was lost nearly all day in a blinding snow-storm between Sarcoxie and Bower's Mills on Spring River, and did not make more than eight to ten miles.

All day the snow fell so thick that it was blinding facing it, and with the strong north wind that prevailed, I could not determine direction, so that by noon the snow had fallen to such depth that I could not make out a plain road from a dim one, particularly in passing over the broad prairie where there were numerous snow drifts. At that time Bower's Mills had a store, a blacksmith shop, and perhaps half a dozen residences, and when I called at a home that evening for lodging I know that I was a forlorn looking boy, friendless and homeless, a picture of despair. That good man and his wife, their names are forgotten, took me in and kindly treated me in words and acts, and gave me a good pair of socks to better protect my feet which had been exposed all day in the snow on account of my low shoes and some holes in them. My kind hosts had a good warm supper and generously helped me to everything on the table, pork and sausage, bread and milk, and during the meal and that evening we talked over the situation that had brought me to their home, which elicited from them no blame, but a marked degree of sympathy. That Sunday evening and during the night the weather had changed to bitter cold, so that on resuming my journey the next morning, Spring River, a mile or so above the mill, was frozen over and I was obliged to break the ice with a heavy stick near the ford on the ripples and wade the river to continue on my way. It was clear and cold that morning and continued so all day; wading the river, the water coming above my knees, chilled me to the marrow, for my pants froze as soon as I passed out of the water and rubbed my quivering flesh a good part of the day; the snow was nearly a foot deep and unbroken in the road until late in the afternoon on nearing Mt. Vernon, so that my shoes afforded my feet very little protection, and were wet all day, but I did not get very cold, for the effect of walking in the snow kept me warm.

The mental anguish and physical suffering in my thinly clad condition during the three days I had been away from home were about all that I could stand; but they proved that under certain conditions we can stand more than we would have believed possible, when viewed from the standpoint of ease and comfort. As I had no money to pay for meals and lodging of nights, I chopped fire wood to pay for them to those with whom I stopped, except at Bower's Mills where the man and his wife were sympathetic and would not charge me anything; nor did they advise me to return home, the man telling me that he had left home when a boy under similar circumstances.

On arriving at Mt. Vernon I stopped all night with a preacher, who, after a long prayer, before retiring, put me on a pallet on the floor to sleep, with so little bed clothing under me and such scant covering that I almost froze, and the next morning required me to chop wood up to ten o'clock for meals and lodging.

The next two days the weather moderated and the snow commenced melting and going off, leaving the roads in a condition of mud and slush; but I trudged on through this and arrived in Springfield in the afternoon, and before night found a man, a Mr. Harrington, who was willing to take me and give me employment in hauling with a team around town. He had two boys of his own about my age; but that he could use me in driving his team in hauling wood to town and selling it from a tract of land he owned in the suthern part of the county; but there was not much of this work to do. Mr. Harrington also sometimes engaged in freighting between Springfield and Linn Creek, on the Osage River, the nearest steamboat landing, and I accompanied him on one trip for a load of freight, and there for the first time I saw a steamboat that had just arrived from St. Louis. This was about the middle of March, and the Osage was nearly bank full, the largest body of water I had ever seen, and to watch the steamboat moving on it as smoothly as a duck swimming on a pond, was a grand sight and deeply impressed me of the power and magnificence that existed beyond the limited horizon where I had lived until leaving home.

We passed, going to and returning from Linn Creek, near the famous Hahatonka Springs, one of the largest springs in the state in a region of the most rugged scenery I had ever beheld, for the streams descending from the summit of the Ozark Mountains have eroded deep narrow gorges in the lower stretches of their courses. It was about eighty miles from Springfield to Linn Creek, and we must have been two weeks on the trip, having been delayed by heavy rains, high waters, and rough, washed out roads along the breaks and small streams emptying into the Niangua River, near which most of our route was confined.

In a few days after returning to Springfield, I left Mr. Harrington, for his boys were quarrelsome and overbearing; and I was obliged to fight them one Sunday when we were at a pond near town with several other boys, and in the fight I had to use a stick as large around as my thumb in knocking a knife out of one who was coming at me with it threateningly, besides giving him a rap over his head and ears with the stick, causing him to turn away howling. After this affair I knew it would be impossible to live further in the Harrington home with self-respect, and on invitation of the McQuirter boys who had witnessed the trouble, went home with them, and their father, who had a farm near town and a mail contract, employed me to carry a horse back mail from Springfield to Waynesville, ninety miles east, and intermediate points, the round trip being made in six days.

These trips were continued for about a month and made me familiar with the streams and country of the Gasconade region, which carried the waters off down the eastern and northeastern slope of the Ozark Mountains; but as the country was thinly settled and the roads and bridle paths so poorly worked, it was sometimes difficult for me to find a postoffice on the route, frequently taking me late into the night to reach my scheduled destination.

Mr. McQuirter had quite a family, mostly boys, and could afford to pay me only eight dollars a month, and as I was naturally looking out for something better where my services would be more remunerative, I found that Mr. June Campbell, who lived six miles west of Springfield, a well-to-do farmer and slave owner, would pay me fifteen dollars a month to work on his farm and help take care of his stock. He and his brother, W. T. Campbell, who lived five miles south of town, also one of the well-to-do men of the county, had for several years been engaged in buying up cattle in that section and driving their herds to Independence for market every spring, and were, when I came to them, assembling this stock, mostly steers, on James River, to drive north. In a week or so I was transferred from the Campbell farm west of town to the Campbell farm south of town, and worked there several weeks breaking ground and planting corn while the stock were being assembled, and it was there while working in the field with hired help and slave labor, that I was deeply impressed with some of the evils of slavery.

In a short time Mr. Campbell asked me how I would like to ride a horse and help him drive his cattle, which had been assembled, to Kansas City, and I replied that nothing could suit me better.

We must before leaving Springfield, pause a moment to set down a word as to its position and importance in the Ozark region of Southern and Southwest Missouri, for it had been for nearly twenty years the metropolis of all sections, although containing a population of probably less than twelve hundred.

It was here that the United States Land Office was located, which brought citizens from all parts of the district to enter their land and file on their claims; it was here that the first bank in that section was opened, and the first newspaper established, and it was here that eminent lawyers came to practice their profession, making it a center of legal talent and influence, which furnished the Representative in Congress for many years in the person of Honorable John S. Phelps.

The town was beautifully located on the summit of the Ozark uplift, and so near the point of radiation of the waters in different directions, that the remark was sometimes made that there was a street on which, if a drop of water should be split on a level, one part of it would run north into the Osage and Missouri Rivers, and the other south into the White and Arkansas Rivers. There was no community in the west made up of a more sturdy and honest class of people than those in and around the town, and the three months it was the scene of my activities, encouraged me to go forward in the battle of life with a determination of playing an honorable part in the world.

We started with the herd or drove of about three hundred head of cattle from the James River south of Springfield about the middle of May, when the wild grass was high enough for good grazing, and arrived at our destination some fifteen miles southeast of Kansas City, in less than two weeks. We passed through Bolivar, Osceola and Harrisonville, and over long stretches of prairie between the different streams, and camped out of nights, Mr. Campbell having brought along a two-horse wagon to haul the necessary food and cooking utensils, and also tried to have it so arranged that the stock could be put into inclosures of nights to prevent any from straggling from the herd.

This was the year of the Mormon War, and there was a good demand for oxen for transport animals at Kansas City, and Independence for hauling freight to Fort Kearney and Fort Laramie, for the army operating in Utah, and Mr. Campbell sold his cattle to good advantage. On returning to our camp from Independence after selling his herd and paying us off, he told me that I had made myself so useful in the drive, that he would like to have me return with him to Springfield, offering me employment; but I courteously declined, for it had been my dream for several years to be among the Free State men of Kansas, of whom I had read and heard so much, and now that I was so near them I could hardly think of allowing anything to stand in the way of realizing that dream.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WESTPORT ENVIRONMENT.

On leaving Mr. Campbell's employ, I felt thankful that I had fallen in with people who had treated me with so much kindness, always as one of their own family. But now I was without employment and realized that I could not afford to be idle many days without drawing on the small sum I had saved. So I took my little bundle of clothes and started to walk to Kansas City, where I intended to take a steamboat to Leavenworth, Kansas, then the largest town in the Territory. On arriving at Kansas City, I was informed that a boat was not expected up until some time the next day, so I crossed the Kaw River near the mouth on a flatboat ferry to Wyandotte, and, after looking around a short time, walked on to Quindaro on the Missouri River and waited for a boat.

In the afternoon the steamer Kate Howard, with a band of music on board, arrived, and I took passage on her to Leavenworth where she arrived after midnight, too late to look around; but I had the satisfaction of having been a passenger on a steamboat, the first time in my life. It was certainly a grand sight to see this fine steamer, a floating palace, moving on the great river without apparent effort, and with the fine music of the band, among the first I had ever heard, made the whole scene one of surpassing interest.

The next morning I was up early and among the first guests of the hotel to breakfast, and after paying my bill, I realized that at the same rate per day it would not take long to exhaust my resources, and started out at once to look for employment.

After nearly three hours consumed in making inquiries among business men, not one of whom showed any interest or gave me any encouragement, I became convinced that Kansas was no place for a boy out of employment; that there were few men in Leavenworth, or in the country, financially able to hire help; that the people were emigrants from the North with quite limited means, who had come to the Territory to make it their homes, and had made no arrangements for hiring help outside of their families, to conduct their business, facts of which I had not been advised, but must learn at first hand.

This was the situation, and my dreams of making my home with the people of my own political faith began to vanish with keen disappointment, and a decision must be made at once as to my immediate future course, and it was made to return to Kansas City and try for employment there and through the country, which I had already noticed was dotted over with nice one and two-story white frame houses, indicating farmers in easy circumstances.

At nearly every house where I called I was treated with courtesy, but not needed; but was informed that a farmer away over there a mile or so off, needed help in replanting or hoeing corn, and as if led by a Fata Morgana, I trudged on and on and crossed the Big Blue River some time after dark, and finally, after ten o'clock, in the midst of a thunder storm, called at a farm house, awakening the people to whom I had been sent, and asked for shelter and lodging. This farmer had young corn that needed replanting and hoeing, but he thought that he and his family could attend to it, and the next morning before leaving, pointed out a farmer a mile or so west, the direction from which I had come, who might be able to use me.

It was a season when the farmers were busy tending their crops, and I lost no time in calling at the place suggested by my host, and he had about the same story that had greeted me at other places; but referred me to a well-to-do farmer on the road a couple miles south of Westport, Mr.John B. Wornald, who, he thought, could give me employment. This place was on the road I had passed the evening before without making any inquiries for work, but as the promise of success seemed likely, I walked on lively and called on Mr. Wornald and after stating my case and of coming with Mr. Campbell from Springfield with his herd of cattle, was taken in at fifteen dollars a month. He was a good man; a true gentleman and regarded by everybody in that section as one of its best and leading citizens, and a boy from home in my condition could not have fallen in with a better man and surrounded with better influences than I found while living in his home, treated as one of his family. He had come from Kentucky several years before I came to him; had known some of my father's and mother's people there; knew that they owned slaves and had good social standing; were considered honest people, and wrote a kind letter to my father stating how I was getting along. He owned a beautiful farm of upwards of two hundred acres, well stocked with horses and mules and thoroughbred jacks and stallions and several slaves brought out from Kentucky, and was kind hearted and treated me with as much consideration as a boy of my age could expect. He had probably one hundred acres of blue grass pasture, a kind of pasture most of the farmers of Jackson county had, but which were unknown in Southern Missouri at that time.

When I came to him Mr. Wornald was living in a comfortable frame house, but soon afterward determined to build a two-story brick mansion, which would be the most pretentious of anything in that section; but I continued to work on his farm, ploughing corn and helping in his harvest until he commenced assembling material for his proposed mansion, and then I was assigned to hauling sand from a sandbank on the Missouri River below Main Street, Kansas City, with a four-mule team, a distance of seven miles, while other hands were employed in hauling brick from a kiln and other material near by.

When the material was assembled I helped to carry the brick and mortar to put up the building, a good, substantial structure that stood the storms of war and time for more than half a century, and until it has come within the boundary limits of the great city, which was then in its infancy.

At that time I had no thought that in a few years on that farm and around that hóme, there would be such exciting scenes as took place on October 22, 1864, during the battle of Westport, when the thundering roar of the cannon and the charging squadrons of cavalry shook the earth, while men fell like wheat before the reaper, making the place a perfect inferno. When, as a representative of the Government, investigating claims growing out of the war in that county in the fall of 1885, Mr. Wornald heard of me as the boy who had lived with him in the spring and summer of 1858, and invited me to visit him in his home where I had lived and worked as a boy. We met by appointment at the Old Harris House in Westport, on the top of which Colonel R. H. Hunt and other Staff Officers of General Curtis, observed the progress of the battle along Bush Creek and on the prairie and in the fields beyond, and after mutual salutations, drove me out behind an elegant team of horses to his home, which my hands had carried a part of the brick and mortar to build. That night we talked over before the fire in the grate, the great events, the great changes that had taken place in every part of the country, since I had lived in his home as a boy, and he told of the maneuvering of large bodies of troops and of charging columns on his and neighboring farms during the progress of the battle, and how his house had been made a hospital for the wounded of both sides as they were brought in from the field.

Mr. Wornald, like my father, was a consistent Baptist and always on sitting down to the table to the meals, returned thanks, and sometimes on Sundays, had with him for dinner, prominent workers and ministers of the denomination, who came over from the Shawnee Mission a mile or so west of him on the Kansas side of the boundary line. The Rev. Mr. Johnson who had for some time been the resident minister at the Mission and who was Mr. Wornald's father-in-law by his second marriage, came over some times and dined with him. Their discussions and conversations were of a religious character, and I never heard them mention Territorial affairs.

For a diversion I sometimes went to Westport on Sundays to watch the Indians who came there from the Territory to amuse the people by their skill in archery, for instance in hitting with an arrow a dime at a distance of forty to fifty paces, the coin to go to the successful marksman. This place had been a trading point with the Indians of the

Territory from the first settling of the country, and several of its citizens had made handsome fortunes and lived in palatial residences for that day. It was almost as much of a headquarters for the fur traders and trappers west to the Rocky Mountain region, as Independence, and every year large numbers of buffalo robes, wolf skins, bear skins, and the peltries of different kinds of animals were brought there and prepared for shipment to St. Louis and the east. It was here that the traders and trappers disposed of their peltries to the merchants who sold them supplies suitable for other trading posts in the far west, for at these the traders in their dealings with the Indians purchased most of the furs and skins and buffalo robes they brought east.

In my Sunday visits to Westport I sometimes heard from some of the older men living there in retirement, who had passed much of their lives on the plains, as we called all that region west of Missouri, wonderful stories of adventures with Indians, and wild animals, of desperate conflicts with Indians, bears, wolves and mountain lions, with many narrow escapes from death, that sent through me a thrill of exciting interest.

But now the supplies for these western trading posts were shifted from Westport to Kansas City, where steamboats for points on the Missouri River arrived and departed nearly every day, and where the traders disposed of their peltries, and nearly every day during the spring and summer, the road from Kansas City and Westport to some distance beyond Mr. Wornald's was crowded with four and six Mexican mule teams, going in with buffalo robes and peltries, and coming out loaded with freight for Santa Fe and trading posts along the Santa Fe Trail. These Mexican mule teams, driven by Mexicans, made a train of twenty-five to thirty wagons, and on coming in over the Trail from the west, went into corral or camp two or three miles south of Mr. Wornald's on the prairie where there was good grazing, and the wagon master would send into Kansas City as many teams at a time as could conveniently unload and load at the warehouses.

It might take a train several days to load with the freight and go out, which kept the road constantly filled with teams going in and coming out; but when the work was completed, the wagons and teams were assembled into a train of the former proportions and all made ready to start on the long journey across the desert or plains. A train might travel ten to twenty miles a day, its progress depending on the condition of the weather and the roads, and sometimes the facilities for obtaining water for the animals when it camped for the night.

From all I could see I gained the impression that the life of a teamster was a hard one, a rough one, but inquiry disclosed that he was fairly well paid for his services, and received thirty dollars per month and his board, instead of fifteen as I was getting, and thinking the matter over, I determined that when Mr. Wornald felt that his house was so nearly finished and his crops out of the way, that he would have to reduce his hired help, that I would make an effort to secure employment as a teamster in one of the big trains engaged in hauling supplies for Army posts in the west. Early in August the time came when there was a slackening of the work and Mr. Wornald decided that he did not have enough work on his farm to keep me with advantage and paid me off, and I immediately started for Independence where I knew some of the big freight contractors lived, to see if I could not secure employment as teamster in one of their out-going trains. The gentleman I called upon and stayed all night with, referred me to Majors, Russell & Waddell, Leavenworth, Kansas, who were then the largest government freight contractors in the west, and he thought that they could give me employment as a teamster, and said that I could refer to him when I presented my application for the position.

At that time Leavenworth was the shipping point on the Missouri River for all freight going west and northwest over the Salt Lake Trail, most of which was for Army Posts and for the troops operating in Utah.

ORIGIN OF "I'M FROM MISSOURI."

The origin of the expression "I'm from Missouri, you've got to show me," which has resulted in making Missouri known as the "Show Me" State is again attracting the attention of magazine and newspaper writers. These three accounts are worth reproducing. The first is a letter from Hon. W. D. Vandiver, of Columbia, Mo., which appeared in *The St. Louis Star* of November 27, 1921:

"After mentioning the fact that the *Literary Digest* credits me with the authorship of the expression 'I'm from Missouri; you've got to show me,' you ask me for a statement of the circumstances under which I first used it, or some account of the origin of this much-quoted phrase which has come to be popularly regarded as a state slogan.

"In complying with your request I must take chances on some more ambitious scribbler attempting to prove a prior claim to its authorship; and if any satisfactory proof can be furnished showing that it had been used before the occasion when my use of it gave it currency, I shall not be contentious about it, because I have never considered it of such great value as to warrant taking out a copyright on it.

"In fact it is possible that the real coinage of it may have been prior to the occasion herein referred to, but I have no recollection of having seen it or heard it before that time.

"At any rate I think the occasion of my using it was some twenty odd years ago at a banquet in Philadelphia, and it is interesting to note that *The Star* was the first paper to make the discovery. The expression itself had been in circulation several years before anyone asked where it came from, and then *The Star*, having heard something of my use of it, attributed it to me, but with only scant mention.

"Later on, about a dozen years, *The Star* published a more extended account, but, as I remember, without naming any time or place. Then, about the first of April, 1911, *The New York Herald* started an inquiry as to the authorship of the saying which by that time had traveled around the globe and was repeated wherever the name of Missouri was pronounced.

"*The Herald* interviewed Champ Clark, former Governor Hadley and others and the in their Sunday feature section devoted a full page to the subject and the same story, I think, was published in substantially the same form in the *Memphis Appeal* and some other papers. They traced it back to my use of it and, not being able to trace it further, credited me with its authorship. This I think, is a frank and plain statement of all the effort that has been made to discover and establish the origin of the slogan, if it may be so called.

"But you ask for the circumstances attending the birth of this child of feverish fancy which has fretted some and puzzled thousands of others, and yet refuses to be buried or retired to oblivion.

"As well as I am able to recall, it was soon after I became a member of congress and the naval committee of which I was a member was inspecting the government navy yards at Philadelphia. After a very busy day among the naval officers and the big guns and battleships and armor plate shops, we were invited to a magnificent banquet by the Five O'Clock Club of Philadelphia. I had not gone prepared for a banquet, neither had former Governor Hull of Iowa and one or two others of our party. He and I first thought we would not go to the banquet, but on being urged we consented to attend. On entering the banquet hall, an hour later, imagine my surprise at seeing the governor in full dress. He had rented the dress suit, and I was the only man in the company of 200 without an evening suit. I fared well except for this embarrassment, as my seat was next to old Commodore Cramp, the world's famous shipbuilder, and I enjoyed his conversation very much. But about midnight, after speeches and champagne had been flowing freely, Governor Hull made a glowing speech, praising the old city and its hospitality in most extravagant terms. As soon as he finished the toastmaster announced me as the member from Missouri and called for a speech.

"I realized that I must crawl under the table and hide or else defy the conventionalities and bull the market so to speak. I started in with no serious thought, and almost half mad but determined to get even with the governor in a good-natured way.

"I made a rough and tumble speech, saying the meanest things I could think about the Old Quaker town, telling them they were a hundred years behind the times, their city government was the worst in America, which was almost the truth, and various other things, in the worst style I could command; and then turning toward Governor Hull followed up with a roast something like this: 'His talk about your hospitality is all bunk; he wants another feed. He tells you that the tailors, finding he was here without a dress suit, made one for him in fifteen minutes. I have a different explanation; you heard him say he came over without one and you see him now with one that doesn't fit him. The explanation is that he stole mine and that's the reason why you see him with one on and me without any. This story from Iowa doesn't go at all with me; *I'm from Missouri, you've got to show me.*'

"It was a good-natured party and they took it all in a fine humor, and applauded it lustily. One good Irishman started the song, 'He's a good liar—he's a good liar,' and they all joined in heartily and then changed to 'He's a good fellow,' and one friendly fellow thought he was shaking hands with Mark Twain—and never learned any better.

(Editor's note.—Col. Vandiver bears a striking facial resemblance to Mark Twain.)

"There was but little publicity of the occasion and it was sometime afterward before the expression attracted much attention from the general public. This is the history of it as far as I can recall. But the interpretation of its meaning has led to some discussion. Former Governor Hadley about ten years ago, assuming it to indicate a slowness or dullness of preception, tried to supplant it with a more creditable slogan for the state and offered a prize of $500 for a suitable expression more typical of Missouri and her people. But nothing came of this effort though several more dignified phrases were proposed.

"The public has not seemed to care for any prepared formula and has apparently accepted the 'Show Me' as properly indicative of the inquiring spirit and the cautious habit, about as given by the *Literary Digest* and the dictionary which defines it as the attitude of 'one not easily taken in.' "

Col. Willard D. Vandiver.

The second account is a letter from Mr. William M. Ledbetter, of St. Louis, which appeared in *The St. Louis Star* of November 29, 1921:

"To the Editor: In the *Sunday Star* of November 27, the question of the origin of the now world-wide phrase, 'I'm from Missouri, you'll have to show me', is discussed and through an answer to a query directed to the *Literary Digest*, the authorship of this phrase is traced to former Congressman W. D. Vandiver of Columbia, Mo.

"Judge Vandiver modestly and gracefully disclaims any credit for originating the expression, and from his detailed explanation it is evident that he in not responsible for it, although his use of it in a Philadelphia speech was the occasion for its wide circulation through the press of the east and throughout the country. As you say, it is now current in every language and country.

"Some years ago, while managing editor of the *St. Louis Republic*, I had occasion to run down this matter, and as my investigation served to corroborate facts already in my possession, I believe the following account of the origin of this expression is correct, and in the interest of historical accuracy should be set down.

"Judge Vandiver says he first used the expression about twenty years ago. At that time it was widely current in Missouri and throughout the West.

"As a matter of fact, it came from the West and did not originate in Missouri at all. First employed as a term of reproach and ridicule, it soon passed into a different meaning entirely, and is now employed to indicate the stalwart, conservative, noncredulous character of the people of this state. Most Missourians are proud of it. Now, as to its origin:

"About 1897 or 1898, while a member of the *Kansas City Times* staff, I was in Denver, Colorado, and overheard a clerk in one of the hotels refer to a green bellhop, who had just taken a guest to the wrong room, in this language: 'He's from Missouri. Some of you boys show him.'

"Inquiry proved that the expression was then current in Denver, although it had not been heard in Kansas City or other parts of Missouri.

"Further investigation revealed that the phrase had originated in the mining town of Leadville, Colorado, where a strike had been in progress for a long time, and a number of miners from the zinc and lead district of Southwest Missouri had been imported to take the places of the strikers. These Joplin miners were unfamiliar with the methods in use in the Leadville district, and it being necessary to give them frequent instructions. In fact, the pit bosses were constantly using the expression: 'That man is from Missouri; you'll have to show him.' The phrase soon became current above ground, and was used as a term of reproach by the strikers and their friends toward all the men who were at work.

"Within a few months of the time I first heard the expression in Denver, it was current around the hotels in Kansas City, and in the fall of 1898, when I came to St. Louis to reside, I heard it at the Planters Hotel. In fact, for the first few years its circulation was largely due to the traveling men. Then it began to get into print and finally the after-dinner speakers placed the stamp of their approval upon it.

"Like the grain of dirt in the oyster shell, however, the process of assimilation into the language of everyday life, has transformed it from a meaning of opprobrium into a pearl of approbation."

The last account appeared in *The Kansas City Star* of February 19, 1922:

Recently the *Literary Digest* answered a correspondent's question as to the origin of the now widely quoted phrase, "I'm from Missouri, you've got to show me," by stating that it had been coined by Col. Willard D. Vandiver, former United States subtreasurer in St. Louis, now of Columbia, Mo.

This interested a St. Louis newspaper and Colonel Vandiver was asked to write an account of the circumstances that seemed to have fastened upon Missouri the by-name of "the Show Me State." He complied, stating his belief that he first used the expression in a speech at a banquet in Philadelphia some twenty years ago, but admitting that "it is possible the real coinage of it may have been prior to the occasion herein referred to, but I have no recollection of having seen it or heard of it before that time."

The Literary Digest's quotations from the article by Colonel Vandiver were called to the attention of C. M. Love, a contractor and builder of Fort Worth, Texas, who writes to *The Star* the following letter of his rather more thrilling use of the expression as early as 1896, somewhere about seven years before Colonel Vandiver's speech:

"It was some time between July 13 and October 6, 1896, that Robert Timmons, Ernest Gobar, Len Allington and I, all of Joplin, Mo., H. W. Rickets and William McGlumphry of Lincoln, Nebraska, were in Cripple Creek, Colorado. The town was thronged with gold seekers and on account of the scarcity of accommodations we were batching together. The crowds congregated nightly in saloons and dance halls instead of hotel lobbies, as in the latter place the charge for a chair was $1 a night.

"It was in one of these places that we were gathered on the evening to which I particularly refer. While the above mentioned men and I were dancing, a man, somewhat in his 'cups' came in, grabbing at a girl with the remark, 'Come here,' but she shrank from his grasp and the dancing went on. Later in the evening he made certain remarks about being able to whip any man in the house, and as I was standing so close to him I took it as personal. In a flash I replied, 'I'm from Missouri; you will have to show me.'

"A short fight ensued. This bully proved himself as lacking in strength as he was in courage and soon met his Waterloo. I quickly passed out the back way to our cabin and in a short time afterwards returned to the dance hall and found an officer there making inquiry as to who had hit the man. No one seemed to know. He finally strolled over to me and asked if I saw the man who hit him. I replied, 'I had, but did not like to expose him.' On receiving this reply, he gave me a sly wink and said, 'Let's have a drink.' While at the bar, after looking around to see we were unobserved, he surprised me by saying, 'I am glad you hit him. I saw you do it through the window. It was coming to him.'

"Immediately after the officer left the house the different acquaintances gathered around me and began repeating my remark, 'I'm from Missouri, you will have to show me.' It became quite a slogan in Cripple Creek after that. On October 5, 1896, H. W. Rickets and I went to the Carnival of Mountains and Plains at Denver. Many others went from Cripple Creek and as we friends and acquaintances passed on the streets, we greeted each other with that slogan, and I have cause to believe that I am the originator of the phrase."

This claim would seem to be supported by the account of W. M. Ledbetter, executive secretary of the New Constitution Association of Missouri, whose communication to the St. Louis paper was also picked up by the *Literary Digest.* He asserts that the expression was common in Kansas City before 1900 and that investigation then showed it had its origin in Colorado among former Missourians.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

BY JOHN N. EDWARDS.

SEVENTH ARTICLE — (REPRINT).

CHAPTER XIII.

The great guns were roaring furiously at Matehuala when the expedition came within hearing distance of its outposts. Night had fallen over the city, and its twenty thousand inhabitants, before the advance guard of the column had halted for further orders. The unknown was ahead. All day, amid the mountains, there had come upon the breeze the deep, prolonged rumbling of artillery firing; and as the column approached nearer and nearer to the city, there was mingled with the hoarse voices of the cannon the nearer and deadlier rattle of incessant musketry.

Shelby rode up to the head of his advance and enquired the cause of the heavy firing. No one could tell him.

"Then we will camp," he said. "Afterwards a few scouts shall determine definitely."

The number of scouts detailed for service was not large—probably sixty all told. These were divided into four detachments, each detachment being sent out in a direction different from the others. James Kirtly led one, Dick Collins another, Jo. Macey, the third, and Dorsey the fourth. They were to bring word back of the meaning of all that infernal noise and din that had been raging about Matehuala the whole day through. And they did it.

Kirtly took the main road running down squarely into the city. A piquet post barred his further progress. Making a circuit cautiously, he gained the rear of this, and came upon a line of soldiers in bivouac. In the shadow himself, the light of the campfire revealed to him the great forms and the swarthy countenances of a battalion of guerrillas. Further beyond there were other fires at which other battalions were cooking and resting.

Collins was less fortunate in this that he had to fight a little. Warned against using weapons except in self-defense, he had drawn up his small detachment under the cover of a clump of mesquite bushes, watching the road along which men were riding to and fro. His ambush was discovered, and a company of cavalry came galloping down to uncover his position. Halted twice they still continued to advance. There was no help for it save a point blank volley, and this was given with a will and in the darkness. Some saddles were emptied, and one riderless horse dashed into the midst of the Americans. This was secured and carried into camp.

Macey made a wide detour upon the left of the road, and across some cultivated fields in which were a few huts filled with peons. Five of these peons were captured and brought back to Shelby. Questioned closely, they revealed the whole situation. Matehuala was held by a French garrison numbering five hundred of the 82nd infantry of the line—a weak detachment enough for such an exposed outpost. These five hundred Frenchmen were commanded by Major Henry Pierron, an officer of extreme youth and dauntless enterprise.

Shelby called a council of his officers at once. The peons had further told him that the besieging force was composed of about two thousand guerrillas, under Colonel Escobeda, brother of that other one who laughed, and was glad exceedingly, when Maximilian fell, butchered and betrayed, at Queretaro. At daylight the garrison was to be attacked again, and so what was to be done had to be done quickly.

The officers came readily, and Shelby addressed them.

"We have marched far, we have but scant money, our horses are foot-sore and much in need of shoes, and Matehuala is across the only road for scores of miles in any direction that leads to Mexico. Shall we turn back and take another?"

"No! No!" in a kind of angry murmur from the men.

"But there are two thousand Mexican soldiers, or robbers, who are next of kin, across this road, and we may have to fight a little. Are you tired of fighting?"

"Lead us on and see," was the cry, and this time his officers had begun to catch his meaning. They understood now that he was tempting them. Already determined in his own mind to attack the Mexicans at daylight, he simply wished to see how much of his own desire was in the bosoms of his subordinates.

"One other thing," said Shelby, "before we separate. From among you I want a couple of volunteers—two men who will take their lives in their hands and find an entrance into Matehuala. I must communicate with Pierron before daylight. It is necessary that he should know how near there is succor to him, and how furiously we mean to charge them in the morning. Who will go?"

All who were present volunteered, stepping one pace nearer to their commander in a body. He chose but two—James Cundiff and Elias Hodge—two men fit for any mission no matter how forlorn or desperate.

By this time they had learned enough of Spanish to buy meat and bread—not enough to pass undetected an outlying guerrilla with an eye like a lynx and an ear keener than a coyote's. They started, however, just the same. Shelby would write nothing.

"A document might hang you," he said "and, besides, Pierron cannot, in all probability, read my English. Go, and may God protect you."

These two dauntless men then shook hands with their commander, and with the few comrades nearest. After that they disappeared in the unknown. It was a cloudy night, and some wind blew. In this they were greatly favored. The darkness hid the clear outlines of their forms, and the wind blended the tread of their footsteps with the rustling of the leaves and the grasses. Two revolvers and a Sharpe's carbine each made up the equipment. Completely ignorant of the entire topography of the country, they yet had a kind of vague idea of the direction in which Matehuala lay. They knew that the main road was hard beset by guerrillas, and that upon the right a broken and precipitous chain of mountains encircled the city and made headway in that direction well nigh impossible. They chose the left, therefore, as the least of three evils.

It was now about midnight, and it was two long miles to Matehuala. Shelby required them to enter into the city; about their coming back he was not so particular. Cundiff led, Hodge following in Indian fashion. At intervals both men would draw themselves up and listen, long and anxiously. At last after crossing a wide field, intersected by ditches and but recently plowed, they came to a road which had a mesquite hedge on one side, and a fence, with a few straggling poles in it, on the other. Gliding stealthily down this road, the glimmering of a light in front warned them of immediate danger. In avoiding this they came upon another house; and in going still further to the left to avoid this also, they found themselves in the midst of a kind of extended village—one of those interminable suburbs close to yet disconnected from all Mexican cities.

Wherever there was a *tienda*—that is to say, a place where the fiery native drink of the country is sold—two or three saddle horses might have been seen. In whispers, the men conferred together.

"They are here," said Hodge.

"They seem to be everywhere," answered Cundiff.

"What do you propose?"

"To glide quietly through. I have a strong belief that beyond this village we shall find Matehuala."

They struck out boldly again, passing near to a *tienda* in which there were music and dancing. When outside of the glare of the light which streamed from its open door, the sound of horses' feet coming down the road they had just traveled called for instant concealment. They crouched low behind a large maguey plant and waited. The horsemen came right onward, laughing loud and boisterously. They did not halt in the village, but rode on by the ambush and so close that they could have touched the Americans with a sabre.

"A scratch," said Hodge, breathing more freely.

"Hush," said Cundiff, crouching still closer in the shadow of the maguey, "the worst is yet to come."

And it was. From where the Americans had hidden, to the *tienda* in which the Mexicans were carousing, it was probably fifteen paces. The sudden galloping of the horsemen through the village had startled the revellers. If they were friends, they called out to each other, they would have tarried long enough for a stirrup cup; if they are enemies we shall pursue.

The Mexicans were a little drunk, yet not enough so to make them negligent. After mounting their horses, they spread out in skirmishing order, with an interval, probably, of five feet between each man. Against the full glare that streamed out from the lighted doorway, the picturesque forms of five guerrillas outlined themselves. The silver ornaments on their bridles shone, the music of the spurs penetrated to the ambush, and the wide *sombreros* told all too well the calling of those mounted robbers who are wolves in pursuit and tigers in victory. None have ever been known to spare.

Hodge would talk, brave as he was, and imminent as was his peril. Even in this extremity his soldierly tactics came uppermost.

"There are five," he said, "and we are but two. We have fought worse odds."

"So we have," answered Cundiff, "and may do it again before this night's work is over. Lie low and wait."

The guerrillas came right onward. At a loss to understand fully the nature of the men who had just ridden through the village, they were maneuvering now as if they expected to meet them in hostile array at any moment. There were fifty chances to five that some one of the skirmishers would discover the ambush.

Although terrible, the suspense was brief. Between the maguey plant and the road, two of the guerrillas filled up the interval. This left the three others to the left and rear. They had their musquetoons in their hands, and were searching keenly every clump of grass or patch of underbrush. Those nearest the road had passed on, and those upon the left were just abreast of the ambush. The Americans did not breathe. Suddenly, and with a fierce shout, the third skirmisher in the line yelled out:

"What ho! comrades, close up—close up—here are two skulking Frenchmen. *Per Dios*, but we will have their heart's blood."

As he shouted he levelled his musket until its muzzle almost touched the quiet face of Cundiff, the rest of the Mexicans rushing up furiously to the spot.

CHAPTER XIV.

If it be true, that when a woman hesitates she is lost, the adage applies with a ten-fold greater degree of precision to a Mexican guerrilla, who has come suddenly upon an American in ambush, and who, mistaking him for a French soldier, hesitates to fire until he has called around him his comrades. A revolver to a Frenchman is an unknown weapon. Skill in its use is something he never acquires. Rarely a favorite in his hands no matter how great the stress, nor how frightful the danger, it is the muzzle-loader that ever comes uppermost, favored above all other weapons that might have been had for the asking.

Cundiff, face to face with imminent death, meant to fight to the last, His orders were to go into Matehuala, and not to give up as a wolf that is taken in a trap. His revolver was in his hand, and the Mexican took one second too many to run his eye along the barrel of his musquetoon. With a motion as instantaneous as it was unexpected, Cundiff fired fair at the Mexican's breast, the bullet speeding true and terrible to its mark. He fell forward over his horse's head with a ghastly cry, his four companions crowding around his prostrate body, frightened, it may be, but bent on vengeance. As they grouped themselves together, Hodge and Cundiff shot into the crowd, wounding another guerrilla and one of the horses, and then broke away from cover and rushed on toward Matehuala. The road ran directly through a village. This village was long and scattering, and alive with soldiers. A great shout was raised; ten thousand dogs seemed to be on the alert, more furious than the men, and keener of sight and scent. The flight became a hunt. The houses sent armed men in pursuit. The five guerrillas, reduced now to three, led the rush, but not desperately. Made acquainted with the stern prowess of the Americans, they had no heart for a close grapple without heavy odds. At intervals Cundiff and Hodge would halt and fire back with their carbines, and then press forward again through the darkness. Two men were keeping two hundred at bay, and Cundiff spoke to Hodge:

"This pace is fearful. How long can you keep it up?"

"Not long. There seems, however, to be a light ahead."

And there was. A large fire, distant some five hundred yards, came suddenly in sight. The rapid firing coming both from pursuers and pursued, had created commotion in front. There were the rallying notes of a bugle, and the sudden forming of a line of men immediately in front of the camp-fire seen by the Americans. Was it a French outpost? Neither knew, but against this unforeseen danger now outlined fully in the front, that in the rear was too near and too deadly to permit of preparation.

"We are surrounded," said Hodge.

"Rather say we are in the breakers, and that in trying to avoid Scylla we shall be wrecked upon Charybdis," replied Cundiff, turning coolly to his comrade, after firing deliberately upon the nearest of the pursuers, and halting long enough to reload his carbine. "It all depends upon a single chance."

"And what is that chance?"

"To escape the first close fusillade of the French."

"But are they French—those fellows in front of us?"

"Can't you swear to that? Did you not mark how accurately they fell into line, and how silent everything has been since? Keep your ears wide open, and when you hear a single voice call out, fall flat upon the ground. That single voice will be the leader's ordering a volley."

It would seem that the Mexicans also had begun to realize the situation. A last desperate rush had been determined upon, and twenty of the swiftest and boldest pursuers charged furiously down at a run, firing as they came on. There was no shelter, and Cundiff and Hodge stood openly at bay, holding, each his fire, until the oncoming mass was only twenty yards away. Then the revolver volleys were incessant. At a distance they sounded as if a company were engaged; to the guerrillas the two men had multiplied themselves to a dozen.

The desperate stand made told well. The fierce charge expended itself. Those farthest in the front slackened their pace, halted, fell back, retreated a little, yet still kept up an incessant volley.

"Come," said Cundiff, "and let's try the unknown. Those fellows in the rear have had enough."

Instead of advancing together now, one skirted the road on the left and the other on the right. The old skirmishing drill was beginning to re-assert itself again—a sure sign that the danger in the rear had transferred itself to the front. Of a sudden a clear, resonant voice came from the direction of the fire. Cundiff and Hodge fell forward instantly upon their faces, a hurricane of balls swept over and beyond them, and for reply the loud, calm shout of Hodge was heard in parley:

"Hold on, men, hold on. We are but two and we are friends. See, we come into your lines to make our words good. We are Americans and we have tidings for Capt. Pierron."

Four French soldiers came out to meet them. Explanations were mutually had, and it was long past midnight when the commander of the garrison had finished his conference with the daring scouts, and had been well assured of his timely and needed succor.

Pierron offered them food and lodging.

"We must return," said Cundiff.

The Frenchman opened his eyes wide with surprise.

"Return, the devil! You have not said your prayers yet for being permitted to get in."

"No matter. He prays best who fights the best, and Shelby gives no thanks for unfinished work. Am I right, Hodge?"

"Now as always; but surely Captain Pierron can send us by a nearer road."

The Frenchman thus appealed to, gave the two men an escort of forty cuirassiers and sent them back to Shelby's camp by a road but slightly guarded, the Mexican piquets upon it firing but once at long range and then scampering away.

It was daylight, and the great guns were roaring again. The column got itself in motion at once and waited. Shelby's orders were repeated by each captain to his company, and in words so plain that he who ran might have understood. The attack was to be made in column of fours, the men firing right and left from the two files as they dashed in among the Mexicans. It was the old way of doing deadly work, and not a man there was unfamiliar with the duty marked out for his hands to do.

Largely outnumbered, the French were fighting as men fight who know that defeat means destruction. Many of them had been killed. Pierron was anxious, and through the rising mists of the morning, his eyes more than once, and with an earnestness not usually there, looked away to the front where he knew the needed succor lay. It came as it always came, whether to friend or foe, *in time.* Not a throb of the laggard's pulse had Shelby ever felt, and upon this day of all days of his stormy career, he meant to do a soldier's sacred duty. From a walk the column passed into a trot, Shelby leading. There was no advance guard ahead, and none was needed.

"We know what is before us," was his answer to Langhorne, "and it is my pleasure this morning to receive the fire first of you all. Take your place with your company, the fifth from the front."

"Gallop—march!"

The men gathered up the reins and straightened themselves in their stirrups. Some Mexicans were in the road before them and halted. The apparition to them came from the unknown. They might have been spectres, but they were armed, and armed spectres are terrible. The alarm of the night before had been attributed to the daring of two adventurous Frenchmen. Not one of the besieging host had dreamed that a thousand Americans were within two miles of Matehuala, resolved to fight for the besieged, and take the investing lines in rear and at the gallop.

On one side of the road down which Shelby was advancing there ran a chain of broken and irregular hills, on the other, the long, straggling village in which Cundiff and Hodge had well nigh sacrificed themselves. These the daylight revealed perfectly. Between the hills and the village was a plain, and in this plain the Mexican forces were drawn up, three lines deep, having as a *point d'appui* a heavy six-gun battery.

Understanding at last that while the column coming down from the rear was not Frenchmen, it was not friendly, the Mexicans made some dispositions to resist it. Too late! Caught between two inexorable jaws, they were crushed before they were aware of the peril. Shelby's charge was like a thunder-cloud. Nothing could live before the storm of its revolver bullets. Lurid, canopied in smoke-wreaths, pitiless, keeping right onward, silent in all save the roar of the revolvers, there was first a line that fired upon it, and then a great upheaving and rending asunder. When the smoke rolled away the battery had no living thing to lift a hand in its defense, and the fugitives were in hopeless and helpless flight towards the mountains on the right and towards the village upon the left. Pursuit Shelby made none, but God pity all whom the French cuirassiers overtook, and who, cloven from *sombrero* to sword-belt, fell thick in all the streets of the village, and died hard among the dagger-trees and the precipices of the stony and unsheltering mountains.

Pierron came forth with his entire garrison to thank and welcome his preservers. The freedom of the city was extended to Shelby, the stores of the post were at his disposal, money was offered and refused, and for three long and delightful days the men rested and feasted. To get shoes for his horses, Shelby had fought a battle, not bloodless, however, to him, but a battle treasured to-day in the military archives of France—a battle which won for him the gratitude of the whole French army, and which, in the end, turned from him the confidence of Maximilian and rendered abortive all his efforts to recruit for the Austrian a corps that would have kept him upon his throne. Verily, man proposes and God disposes.

CHAPTER XV.

Pierron made Matehuala a Paradise. There were days of feasting, and mirth, and minstrelsy; and in the balm of fragrant nights the men dallied with the women. So when the southward march was resumed, many a bronzed face was set in a look of sadness, and many a regretful heart pined long and tenderly for the dusky hair that would never be plaited again—for the tropical lips that for them would never sing again the songs of the roses and the summer time.

Adventures grew thick along the road as cactus plants. Villages multiplied, and as the ride went on, larger towns and larger populations were daily entered into. The French held all the country. Everywhere could be seen the picturesque uniforms of the zouaves, the soberer garments of the Voltigeurs, the gorgeous array of the Chasseurs, and the more sombre and forbidding aspect of the Foot Artillery. The French held all the country—that is to say, wherever a French garrison had stationed itself, or wherever a French expeditionary force, or scouting force, or reconnoitering force had camped or was on the march, such force held all the country within the range of their cannon and their chassepots. Otherwise not. Guerrillas abounded in the mountains; robbers fed and fattened by all the streams; spies swarmed upon the haciendas, and cruel and ruthless scourges from the marshes rode in under the full of the tropical moons, and slew for a whole night through, and on many a night at intervals thereafter whoever of Mexican or Punic faith had carried truth or tidings of Liberal movements to the French.

It was in Dolores, the home of Hidalgo—priest, butcher, revolutionist—that those wonderful blankets are made which blend the colors of the rainbow with the strength of the north wind. Soft, warm, gorgeous, flexible, two strong horses cannot pull them asunder—two weeks of an east rain cannot find a pore to penetrate. Marvels of an art that has never been analyzed or transferred, Dolores, a century old, has yet an older secret than itself—the secret of their weaving.

Shelby's discipline was now sensibly increasing. As the men marched into the South, and as the soft airs blew for them, and the odorous blossoms opened for them, and the dusky beauties were gay and gracious for them, they began to chafe under the iron rule of the camp, and the inexorable logic of guard and piquet duty. Once a detachment of ten, told off for the grand guards, refused to stir from the mess-fire about which an elegant supper was being prepared.

And in such guise did the word come to Shelby.

"They refuse," he asked.

"Peremptorily, General."

"Ah! And for what reason?"

"They say it is unnecessary."

"And so, in addition to rank mutiny, they would justify themselves? Call out the guard!"

The guards came, Jo. Macey at its head—twenty determined men, fit for any work a soldier might do. Shelby rose up and went with it to where the ten mutineers were feasting and singing. They knew what was coming, and their leader—brave even to desperation—laid his hand upon his revolver. There was murder in his eyes—that wicked and wanton murder which must have been in Sampson's heart when he laid hold of the pillar of the Temple and felt the throes of the crushing edifice as it swayed and toppled, and buried all in a common ruin.

Jo. Macey halted his detachment within five feet of the mess fire. He had first whispered to Shelby:

"When you want me, speak. I shall kill nine of the ten the first broadside."

It can do no good to write the name of the leader of the mutineers. He sleeps to-day in the golden sands of a Sonora stream—sleeps, forgiven by all whose lives he might have given away—given away without cause or grievance. When he dared to disobey, either this man or the Expedition had to be sacrificed. Happily, both were saved.

Shelby walked into the midst of the mutineers, looking into the eyes of all. His voice was very deep and very grave.

"Men, go back to your duty. I am among you all, an adventurer like yourselves, but I have been charged to carry you through to Mexico City in safety, and this I will do, so surely as the good God rules the universe. I don't seek to know the cause of this thing. I ask no reason for it, no excuse for it, no regrets nor apologies for it. I only want your soldierly promise to obey."

No man spoke. The leader mistook the drift of things and tried to advance a little. Shelby stopped him instantly.

"Not another word," he almost shouted, "but if within fifteen seconds by the watch you are not in line for duty, you shall be shot like the meanest Mexican dog in all the Empire. Cover these men, Macey, with your carbines."

Twenty gaping muzzles crept straight to the front, waiting. The seconds seemed as hours. In that supreme moment of unpitying danger the young mutineer, if left to himself, would have dared the worst, dying as he had lived; but the others could not look full into the face of the grim skeleton and take the venture for a cause so disgraceful. They yielded to the inevitable, and went forth to their duty bearing their leader with them. Thereafter no more faithful and honorable soldiers could be found in the ranks of all the Expedition.

The column had gone southward from Dolores a long day's journey. The whole earth smelt sweet with spring. In the air was the noise of many wings—on the trees the purple and pink of many blossoms. Summer lay with bare breast upon all the fields—a queen whose rule had never known an hour of storm or overthrow. It was a glorious land filled full of the sun and of the things that love the sun.

Late one afternoon—tired, hot and dusty—Dick Collins and Ike Berry halted by the wayside for a little rest and a little gossip. In violation of orders this thing had been done, and Mars is a jealous and a vengeful god. They tarried long, smoking a bit and talking a bit, and finally fell asleep.

A sudden scout of guerrillas woke the gentlemen, using upon Collins the back of a sabre, and upon Berry, who was larger and sounder of slumber, the butt of a musquetoon. There were six of them—swart, soldierly fellows, who wore gilded spurs and bedecked *sombreros.*

"*Francaisces*, eh!" they muttered one to another.

Berry knew considerable Spanish—Collins not so much. To lie under the imputation of being French was to lie within the shadow of sudden death. Berry tried to keep away from that. He answered:

"No, no, Senors, not *Francaisces*, but *Americanos.*"

The Mexicans looked at each other, and shrugged their shoulders. Berry had revealed to them that he spoke Spanish enough to be dangerous.

Their pistols were taken from them, their carbines, their horses, and whatever else could be found, including a few pieces of silver in Berry's pocket. Then they felt of Collins' pantaloons. It had been so long since they echoed to the jingle of either silver or gold, that even the pockets issued a protest at the imputation. Afterwards, the two men were marched across the country to a group of adobe buildings among a range of hills, far enough removed from the route of travel to be safe from rescue. They were cast into a filthy room where there was neither bed nor blanket, and bade to rest there. Two of the guard, with musquetoons in hand and revolvers at waist, occupied the same room. With them, the dirt and the fleas were congenial companions.

Collins fell a musing.

"What are you thinking about, Dick?" Berry asked.

"Escape. And you?"

"Of something to eat."

Here was a Hercules who was always hungry.

A Mexican, in his normal condition, must have drink. A stone ewer of fiery Catalan was brought in, and as the night deepened, so did their potations. Before midnight the two guards were drunk. An hour later, and one of them was utterly oblivious to all earthly objects. The other amused himself by pointing his cocked gun at the Americans, laughing low and savagely when they would endeavor to screen themselves from his comic mirth.

His drunken comrade was lying on his back, with a scarf around his waist, in which a knife was sticking.

Collins looked at it until his eyes glittered. He found time to whisper to Berry:

"You are as strong as an ox. Stand by me when I seize that knife and plunge it in the other Mexican's breast, I may not kill him the first time and if I do not, then grapple with him. The second stab shall be more fatal.

"Unto death," replied Berry. "Make haste."

For one instant the guard took his eyes from the movements of the Americans. Collins seized the knife and rose up—stealthy, menacing, terrible. They advanced upon the Mexican. He turned as they came across the room and threw out his gun. Too late. Aiming at the left side, Collins' blow swerved aside, the knife entering just below the breast bone and cutting a dreadful gash. With the spring of a tiger-cat Berry leaped upon him and hurled him to the floor. Again the knife arose—there was a dull, penetrating thud, a quiver of relaxing limbs, a groan that sounded like a curse, and beside the drunken man there lay another who would never touch Catalan again this side of eternity.

Instant flight was entered into. Stripping the arms from the living and the dead, the Americans hurried out. They found their horses unguarded; the wretched village was in unbroken sleep, and not anywhere did wakeful or vigilant sentinel rise up to question or restrain. By the noon of the next day they had reported to Shelby, and for many days thereafter a shadow was seen on Collins' face that told of the desperate blow struck in the name of self-defence and liberty. After that the two men never straggled again.

Crosses are common in Mexico. Lifting up their penitential arms, however, by the wayside, and in forlorn and gloomy places, if they do not affright one, they at least put one to thinking. There where they stand, ghastly and weather-beaten under the sky, and alone with the stars and the night, murder has been done. There at the feet of them—in the yellow dust of the roadway—innocent, it may be, and true, and too young to die—a dead man has lain with his face in a pool of blood. Sometimes flowers adorn the crosses, and votive offerings, and many a rare and quaint conceit to lighten the frown of the face of death, and fashion a few links in the chain of memory that shall make even the dead claim kinship with all the glad and sweet-growing things of the wonderful summer weather.

Over beyond Dolores Hidalgo, a pleasant two-days' journey, there was a high hill that held a castle. On either side of this there were heavy masses of timber. Below the fall of the woodlands a meadow stretched itself out, bounded on the hither side by a stream that was limpid and musical. Beyond this stream a broken way began, narrowing down at least to a rugged defile, and opening once more into a country fruitful as Paradise and filled as full of the sun.

Just where the defile broke away from the shade of the great oaks a cross stood whose history had a haunting memory that was sorrowful even in that sinful and sorrowful land. There was a young girl who lived in this castle, very fair for a Mexican and very steadfast and true. The interval is short between seedtime and harvest, and she ripened early. In the full glory of her beauty and her womanhood, she was plighted to a young *commandante* from Dolores, heir of many fertile acres, a soldier and an Imperialist. Maybe the wooing was sweet, for what came after had in it enough of bitterness and tears. The girl had a brother who was a guerrilla chief, devoted, first to his profession and next to the fortunes of Juarez. Spies were everywhere, and even from his own household news was carried of the courtship and the approaching marriage.

For days and days he watched by the roadside, scanning all faces that hurried by, seeking alone for the face that might have been told for its happiness. One night there was a trampling of horsemen, and a low voice singing tenderly under the moon. The visit had been long, and the parting passionate and pure. Only a little ways with love at his heart and the future so near with its outstretched hands as to reach up almost to the marriage-ring. No murmur ran along the lips of the low-lying grasses, and no sentinel angel rose up betwixt fate and its victim. His uniform carried death in its yellow and gold. Not to his own alone had the fair-haired Austrian brought broken hearts and stained and sundered marriage-vows. Only the clear, long ring of a sudden musket, and the dead Imperialist lay with his face in the dust and his spirit going the dark way all alone. From such an interview why ride to such an ending? No tenderness availed him, no caress consoled him, no fond farewell gave him staff and scrip for the journey. He died where the woods and the meadows met—for a love by manhood and faith anointed.

In the morning there had been lifted up a cross. It was standing there still in the glorious weather. The same flowers were blooming still, the same stream swept on by the castle gates, the same splendid sweep of woodland and meadow spread itself out as God's land loved of the sky—but the gallant Commandante, where was he? Ask of the masses that the pitying angels heard and carried on their wings to heaven.

One tall spire, like the mighty standard of a king, arose through the lances of the sunset. San Miguel was in sight, a city built upon a hill. Around its forbidding base the tide of battle had ebbed and flowed, and there had grim old Carterac called out, the cloud of the cannon's smoke and the cloud of his beard white together:

"My children, the Third know how to die. One more victory and one more cross for all of you. Forward!"

This to the Third Zouaves as they were fixing bayonets on the crest of a charge with which all the Empire rang. Afterwards, when Carterac was buried, shot foremost in the breach, the natives came to view the grave and turned away wondering what manner of a giant had been interred therein. He had gone but a little way in advance of his children. What San Miguel had spared Gravelotte finished. Verily, war has its patriarchs no less renowned than Israel's.

From the gates of the town, and down the long paven way leading northward, a gallant regiment came gaily forth to welcome Shelby. The music of the sabres ran through the valley. Pennons floated wide and free, the burnished guns rose and fell in the dim, undulating swing of perfect horsemen, and the rays of the setting sun shone upon the gold of the epaulettes until, as with fire, they blazed in the delicious haze of the evening.

Some paces forward of all the goodly company rode one who looked a soldier. Mark him well. That regiment there is known as the Empress' Own. The arms of Carlotta are on the blue of the uniforms. That silken flag, though all unbaptized by blood of battle, was wrought by her gentle hands—hands that wove into the tapestry of time a warp and woof sadder than aught of any tragedy ever known before in king-craft or conquest. She was standing by a little altar in the palace of Chapultepec on an afternoon in May. The city of Montezuma was at her feet in the delicious sleep of its siesta.

"Swear," she said, putting forth the unfolded standard until the sweep of its heavy fringes canopied the long, lustrous hair of the Colonel, "swear to be true to king and country."

The man knelt down.

"To king, and *queen* and country," he cried, "while a sword can be drawn or a squadron mustered."

She smiled upon him and gave him her hand as he arose. This he stooped low to kiss, repeating again his oath, and pledging again all a soldier's faith to the precious burden laid upon his honor.

Look at him once more as he rides up from the town through the sunset. At his back is the regiment of Carlotta, and over this regiment the stainless banner of Carlotta is floating. The face is very fair for a Mexican's, and a little Norman in its handsome outlines. Some curls were in the lustrous hair—not masculine curls, but royal enough, perhaps, to recall the valorous deeds that were done at Flodden, when from over seas the beautiful Queen of France, beloved of all gallant gentlemen, sent to the Scottish monarch

> "A tourquoise ring, and glove,
> And charged him as her knight and love,
> To march three miles on English land,
> And strike three strokes with Scottish brand,
> And bid the banners of his band
> In English breezes dance."

He gave Shelby cordial greeting and made him welcome to San Miguel in the name of the Empire. His eyes, large and penetrating, wore yet a sinister look that marred somewhat the smile that should have come not so often to the face of a Spaniard. He spoke English well, talked much of New York which he had visited, predicted peace and prosperity to Maximilian and his reign after a few evil days, and bowed low in salute when he separated.

That man was Col. Leonardo Lopez, the traitor of Queretaro, the spy of Escabedo, the wretch who sold his flag, the coward who betrayed his regiment, the false knight who denied his mistress, and the decorated and ennobled thing who gave up his Emperor to a dog's death. And the price—thirty thousand dollars in gold. Is it any wonder that his wife forsook him, that his children turned their faces away from him, that the Church refused him asylum, that a righteous soldier of the Liberal cause smote him upon either cheek in presence of an army on parade, and that even the very *lazzaroni* of the streets pointed at him as he passed, and shouted in voluble derision:

"The Traitor! the Traitor!"

And yet did all these things happen to the handsome horseman who rode up quietly to the Expedition in front of San Miguel, and bade it welcome in the name of the Empire.

Gen. Felix Douay held San Luis Potosi, the great granary of Mexico. It was the brother of this Douay who, surrounded and abandoned at Weissembourg, marched alone and on foot toward the enemy, until a Prussian bullet found his heart. Older, and calmer, and wiser, perhaps, than his brother, Gen. Felix Douay was the strong right arm of Bazaine and of Maximilian. Past sixty, gray-bearded and gaunt, he knew war as the Indian knows a trail. After assigning quarters to the men, he sent at once for Shelby.

"You have come among us for an object," he commenced in perfect English, "and as I am a man of few words, please state to me frankly what that object is."

"To take service under Maximilian," was the prompt reply.

"What are your facilities for recruiting a corps of Americans?"

"So ample, General, that if authority is given me, I can pledge to you the services of fifty thousand in six months."

Some other discourse was had between them, and Douay fell to musing a little. When he was done, he called an aide to his side, wrote a lengthy communication, bade the staff officer take it and ride rapidly to the City of Mexico, returning with the same speed when he had received his answer.

As he extended his hand to Shelby in parting, he said to him:

"You will remain here until further orders. It may be that there shall be work for your hands sooner than either of us expect."

Southward from San Luis Potosi, and running far down to the Gulf, even up to Tampico, was a low, level sweep of land, where marshes abounded and retreats that were almost unknown and well nigh inaccessible. In the fever months, the fatal months of August and September, these dismal fens and swamps were alive with guerrillas. *Vomito* lurked in the lone lagoons, and lassitude, emaciation and death peered out from behind every palm tree and cypress root. Foreigners there were none who could abide that dull greyish exhalation which wrought for the morning a winding-sheet, and for the French it was not only the valley, but the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Bazaine's light troops, his Voltigeurs and his Chasseurs of Vincennes, had penetrated there and died. Most of the Foreign Legion had gone in there and perished. Two battalions of Zouaves—great, bearded, medalled fellows, bronzed by Syrian night winds, and tempered to steel in the sap and siege of Sebastopol—had borne their eagles backward from the mist, famishing because of a fever which came with the morning and the fog.

No matter how, the guerrillas fattened. Reptiles need little beside the ooze and the fetid vegetation of the lowlands, and so when the rains came and the roads grew wearisome and long, they rose upon the convoys night after night, massacreing all that fell into their hands, even the women and the live stock.

Figueroa was the fell spirit of the marshes—a Mexican past forty-five, one-eyed from the bullet of an American's revolver, tall for his race, and so bitter and unrelenting in his hatred of all foreigners, especially Americans, that when he dies he will be canonized. If in all his life he ever knew an hour of mercy or relenting, no record in story or tradition stands as its monument. Backward across the Rio Grande there have been borne many tales of Escabedo and Carabajal, Martinez and Cortina, Lozado the Indian and Rodriguez the renegade priest; but for deeds of desperate butchery and vengeance, the fame of all of these is as the leaves that fell last autumn.

No matter his crimes, however, he fought as few of them do for his native land, and dreaded but two things on earth—Dupin and his Contry-Guerrillas. Twice they had brought him to bay, and twice he had retired deeper and deeper into his jungles, sacrificing all the flower of his following, and pressed so furiously and fast that at no time thereafter could he turn as a hunted tiger and rend the foremost of his pursuers.

Figueroa lay close to the high national road running from San Luis Potosi to Tampico, levying such tribute as he could collect by night and in a manner that left none on the morrow to demand recompense or reckoning. Because it was a post in possession of the French, it was necessary for Douay to have safe and constant intercourse with Tampico. This was impossible so long as Figueroa lived in the marshes and got fat on the fog that brought only fever and death to the Frenchman and the foreigner. Three expeditions had been sent down into the Valley of the Shadow of Death and had returned, those that were left of them soldiers no longer but skeletons whose uniforms served only to make the contrast ghastly. The road was still covered with ambushments, and creeping and crawling forms that murdered when they should have slept.

With the arrival of Shelby a sudden resolution had come to Douay. He meant to give him service in the French army, send him down to fight the fog and Figueroa, and afterwards —well, the future gives generally but small concern to a Frenchman—but afterwards there could have been no doubt of Douay's good intentions, and of a desire to reward all liberally who did his bidding and who came out of the swamps alive. For permission to do this he had sent forward to consult Bazaine, and had halted Shelby long enough to know the Marshal's wishes.

The aid-de-camp returned speedily, but he brought with him only a short, curt order:

"Bid the Americans march immediately to Mexico."

There was no appeal. Douay marshalled the expedition, served it with rations and wine, spoke some friendly and soldierly words to all of its officers, and bade them a pleasant and prosperous journey. Because he possessed no *baton* is no reason why he should not have interpreted aright the future, and seen that the auspicious hours were fast hastening away when it would be no longer possible to recruit an army and attach to the service of Maximilian a powerful corps of Americans. Bazaine had mistrusted their motives from the first, and had been more than misinformed of their movements and their numbers since the expedition had entered the Empire. As for the Emperor his mind had been poisoned by his Mexican counselors, and he was too busy then with his botany and his butterflies to heed the sullen murmurings of the gathering storm in the North, and to understand all the harsh, indomitable depths of that stoical Indian character which was so soon to rush down from Chihuahua and gratify its ferocious appetite in the blood of the uptorn and uprooted dynasty. They laughed at Juarez then, the low, squat Indian, his sinister face scarred with the smallpox like Mirabeau's, and his sleuthhound ways that followed the trail of the Republic, though in the scent there was pestilence, and famine, and death. One day the French lines began to contract as a wave that is baffled and broken. The cliff followed up the wave, and mariners like Douay and Jeanningros, looking out from the quarter-deck, saw not only the granite but the substance the granite typified—they saw Juarez and his forty thousand ragged followers, hungry, brutal, speaking all dialects, grasping bright American muskets, having here and there an American officer in uniform, unappeasable, oncoming —murderous. Again the waves receded and again there was Juarez. From El Paso to Chihuahua, from Chihuahua to Matehuala, to Dolores Hidalgo, to San Miguel, to the very spot on which Douay stood at parting, his bronzed face saddened and his white hair waving in the winds of the summer morning.

It was no war of his, however. What he was sent to do he did. Others planned. Douay executed. It might have been better if the fair-haired sovereign had thought more and asked more of the gray-haired subject.

It was on the third day's march from San Luis Potosi that an ambulance broke down having in its keeping two wounded soldiers of the Expedition. The accident was near the summit of the Madre mountains—an extended range between San Luis Potosi and Penamason—and within a mile of the village of Sumapetla. The rear guard came within without it. In reporting, before being dismissed for the night, Shelby asked the officer of the ambulance.

"It is in Sumapetla," the Captain answered.

"And the wounded?"

"At a house with one attendant."

His face darkened. The whole Madre range was filled with robbers, and two of his best men, wounded and abandoned, were at the mercy of the murderers.

"If a hair of either head is touched," he cried out to the officer, "it will be better that you had never crossed the Rio Grande. What avails all the lessons you have learned of this treacherous and deceitful land, that you should desert comrades in distress, and ride up to tell me the pleasant story of your own arrival and safety? Order Kirtley to report instantly with twenty men."

Capt. James B. Kirtley came—a young, smooth-faced, dauntless officer, tried in the front of fifty battles, a veteran and yet a boy. The men had ridden thirty miles that day, but what mattered it? Had the miles been sixty, the same unquestioned obedience would have been yielded, the same soldierly spirit manifested of daring and adventure.

"Return to Sumapetla," Shelby said, "and find my wounded. Stay with them, wait for them, fight for them, get killed, if needs be, for them, but whatever you do, bring or send them back to me. I shall wait for a day and a night."

A pale-faced man, with his eyes drooping and his form bent, rode up to Shelby. He plucked him by the sleeve and pleaded:

"General, let me go, too. I did not think when I left them. I can fight. Try me, General. Tell Kirtley to take me. It is a little thing I am asking of you, but I have followed you for four years, and I think, small as it is, it will save me."

All Shelby's face lit up with a pity and tenderness that was absolutely winning. He grasped his poor, tried soldier's hand, and spoke to him low and softly:

"Go, and come back again. I was harsh, I know, and over cruel, but between us two there is neither cloud nor shadow of feeling. I do forgive you from my soul."

There were tears in the man's eyes as he rode away, and a heart beneath his uniform that was worth a diadem.

It was ten long miles to Sumapetla, and the night had fallen. The long, swinging trot that Kirtley struck would carry him there in two hours at furthest, and, if needs be, the trot would grow into a gallop.

He rode along his ranks and spoke to his men:

"Keep quiet, be ready, be loaded. You heard the orders. I shall obey them or be even beyond the need of the ambulance we have been sent back to succor."

Sumapetla was reached in safety. It was a miserable, squalid village, filled full of Indians, and beggars, and dogs. In the largest house the wounded men were found—not well cared for, but comfortable from pain. Their attendant, a blacksmith, was busy with the broken ambulance.

Kirtley threw forward piquets and set about seeking for supper. While active in its preparation a sudden volley came from the front—keen, dogged, vicious. From the roar of the guns Kirtley knew that his men had fired at close range and altogether. It was a clear night yet still quite dark in the mountains. Directly a piquet rode rapidly up, not the least excited yet very positive.

"There is a large body in front of us and well armed. They tried a surprise and lost five. We did not think it well to charge, and I have come back for orders. Please say what they are quick, for the boys may need me before I can reach them again."

This was the volunteer who had commanded the rear guard of the day's march.

Skirmishing shots now broke out ominously. There were fifteen men in the village and five on outpost.

"Mount, all," cried Kirtley, "and follow me."

The relief took the road at a gallop.

The space between the robbers and their prey was scarcely large enough for Kirtley to array his men upon. From all sides there came the steady roar of musketry, telling how complete the ambuscade and how serviceable the guns. Some fifty paces in the rear of the outpost the road made a sudden turn, leaving at the apex of the acute angle a broken, zig-zag piece of rock-work capable of much sturdy defense, and not flanked without a rush and a moment or two of desperate in-fighting that is rarely the choice of the guerrillas. This Kirtley had noticed with the eye of a soldier and the quickness of a man who meant to do a soldier's duty first and a comrade's duty afterwards. Because the wounded men had to be saved, was no reason why those who were unwounded should be sacrificed.

He fell back to the rocky ledge facing the robbers. Word sent to the blacksmith in the village to hurry, to make rapid and zealous haste, for the danger was pressing and dire, got for answer in return:

"Captain Kirtley, I am doing my best. A Mexican's blacksmith-shop is an anvil without a hammer, a forge without a bellows, a wheel without its felloes; and I have to make, instead of one thing, a dozen things. It will be two hours before the ambulance is mended."

Very laconic and very true. Kirtley never thought a second time, during all the long two hours, of the smithy in the village, and the swart, patient smith, who within full sound of the struggling musketry, wrought and delved and listened now and then in the intervals of his toil to the rising and falling of the fight, laughing, perhaps low to himself, as his practiced ear caught the various volleys, and knew that neither backward nor forward did the Americans recede nor advance a stone's throw.

The low reach of rock, holding fast to the roots of the trees that grew up from it, and bristling with rugged and stunted shrubs, transformed itself into a citadel. The road ran by it like an arm that encircles a waist. Where the elbow was the Americans stood at bay. They had dismounted and led their horses still further to the rear—far enough to be safe, yet near at hand. From the unknown it was impossible to tell what spectres might issue forth. The robbers held on. From the volume of fire their numbers were known as two hundred—desperate odds, but it was night, and the night is always in league with the weakest.

Disposed among the rocks, about the roots and the trunks of the trees, the Americans fired in skirmishing order and at will. Three rapid and persistent times the rush of the guerrillas came as a great wave upon the little handful, a lurid wreath of light all along its front, and a noise that was appalling in the darkness. Nothing so terrifies as the oscillation and the roar of a hurricane that is invisible. Hard by the road, Kirtley kept his grasp upon the rock. Nothing shook that—nothing shook the tension of its grim endurance.

The last volley beat full into the faces of all. A soldier fell forward in the darkness.

"Who's hurt?" and the clear voice of Kirtley rang out without a tremor.

"It's me, Jim; it's Walker. Hard hit in the shoulder; but thank God for the breech loader, a fellow can load and fire with one sound arm left."

Bleeding through the few rags stuffed into the wound, and faint from much weakness and pain, Walker mounted again to his post and fought on till the struggle was ended.

Time passed, but lengthily. Nine of the twenty were wounded, all slightly, however, save Walker—thanks to the darkness and the ledge that seemed planted there by a Providence that meant to succor steadfast courage and devotion. The ambulance was done and the wounded were placed therein.

"It can travel but slowly in the night," said Kirtley to William Fell, who had stood by his side through all the bitter battle, "and we must paralyze pursuit a little."

"Paralyze it—how?"

"By a sudden blow, such as a prize-fighter gives when he strikes below the belt. By a charge some good hundred paces in the midst of them."

Fell answered laconically.

"Desperate, but reasonable. I have seen such things done. Will it take long?"

"Twenty minutes all told, and there will be but eleven of us. The nine who are wounded must go back."

The horses were brought and mounted. Walker could scarcely sit in his saddle. As he rode to the rear, two of his comrades supported him. The parting was ominous—the living, perhaps, taking leave of the dead.

Far into the night and the unknown the desperate venture held its way. Two deep the handful darted out from behind the barricade, firing at the invisible. Spectre answered spectre, and only the ringing of the revolvers was real. The impetus of the charge was such that the line of the robbers' fire was passed before, reined up and countermarching, the forlorn hope could recede as a wave that carried the undertow. The reckless gallop bore its planted fruit. Back through the pass unharmed the men rode, and on by the ledge, and into Sumapetla. No pursuit came after. The fire of the guerrillas ceased ere the charge had been spent, and when the morning came there was the camp, and a thousand blessings for the bold young leader who had held his own so well, and kept his faith as he had kept the fort on its perch among the mountains.

It was a large city set upon a hill that loomed up through the mists of the evening—a city seen from afar and musical with many vesper bells. Peace stood in the ranks of the sentinel corn, and fed with the cattle that browsed by the streams in the meadows. Peace came on the wings of the twilight and peopled the grasses with songs that soothed, and many toned voices that made for the earth a symphony. Days of short parade and longer merry-making dawned for the happy soldiery. The sweet, unbroken south wind brought no dust of battle from the palms and the orange blossoms by the sea. Couriers came and went and told of peace throughout the realm—of robber bands surrendering to law—of railroads planned and parks adorned—of colonists arriving and foreign ships in all the ports—of roads made safe for travel, and public virtue placed at premium in the market lists—of prophecies that brightened all the future, and to the Empire promised an Augustan age. The night and the sky were at peace as the city grew larger and larger on its hill; and a silence came to the ranks of the Expedition that was not broken until the camp became a bivouac with the goddess of plenty to make men sing of fealty and obeisance.

It was the city of Queretaro.

Yonder ruined convent, its gateway crumbling to decay, its fountains strewn with bits of broken shrubs and flowers, held the sleeping Emperor the night the traitor Lopez surrendered all to an Indian vengeance and compassion. When that Emperor awoke he had been dreaming. Was it of Miramar and "Poor Carlotta?"

The convent was at peace then, and the fountains were all at play. Two bearded Zouaves stood in its open door, looking out curiously upon the serried ranks of the Americans as they rode slowly by.

Yonder on the left where a hill arises the capture was made—yonder the Austrian cried out in the agony of this last desertion and betrayal:

"Is there then no bullet for me?"

Later, when the bullets found his heart, they found an image there that entered with his spirit into heaven—the image of "Poor Carlotta."

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Why Read History?

From *The Publishers' Weekly*, Jan. 7, 1922.

A. C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, in a review of "The Chronicles of America" issued by the Yale University Press, made this plea for the reading of history in the New York *Post* Literary Review.

"To say that if the people of a nation are to manage its affairs and determine its policies they should know something of its history is simply to say that they must know its character. For how is character disclosed except by conduct? The saying is so trite it is almost valueless and has long gone unheeded. It is high time that some attention be paid to it. Those, moreover, who are frantically fearful of new nostrums and of violent convulsions in the body politic may be urged to read history. It is quieting to the nerves; it soothes without depressing, but it also clears the vision. It is good for the radical and the revolutionist, too, because he gets some idea of how steadily society has moved on from stage to stage and how the past has insisted on reproducing itself often in a new disguise. The violent reformer will be less ready to husband and fondle his pet cure-alls; he will find, if he thoughtfully reads, that the one thing we can't be rid of is the past; it not only dogs our footsteps, but we meet it face to face at the next turn of the road; and it simply will not be fashioned over in accord with the dictates of a formula. History reading is a wholesome diet for the conservative, for he will discover that, while the past cannot be destroyed, it cannot be preserved unaltered. The historical minded man is sure of one thing: the social order is going to change; for better or for worse change is coming; life is a series of accommodations and readjustments. The reader of history finds that while a generation of men are anxiously attentive to what appears to be the conspicuous tendency of their day there is and has been an unseen current carrying them towards a condition they have not dreamed of. He will probably find that no generation quite knows itself, because its deeper significance can be comprehended only when one sees its product, and the product is only fully disclosed by the next generation or succeeding stage. The impatient radical and the choleric conservative may, if they will, from history learn modesty, and may each gather respect for the opinion of the other. One of the trying and disturbing manifestations of modern American life is the mental immobility of the conservative, for conservatism so easily becomes obstinacy, and obstinacy begets intolerance, and intolerance makes fellowship and understanding impossible, and misunderstanding foments quarrels. Whether we like it or not, changes are going to come. Let the immobile minded man read history; he is likely to find, if it be real history, that he will be inclined not simply to watch the wake of the vessel, but to peer ahead to see whither the next turn of the wheel may take him."

COMMENTS

I am more than pleased with the work the State Historical Society is doing. It is serving at once the Missourians of today and their children of tomorrow. Again expressing my appreciation as a Missourian for the important work which you are performing so splendidly.—Jesse W. Barrett, Attorney General of Missouri, Jefferson City, Mo., January 23, 1922.

I enjoy the *Review* very much.—Mrs. J. M. Neville, Eldon, Mo., January 13, 1922.

I have been reading for some years *The Missouri Historical Review*, the quarterly publication of the State Historical Society. The last number has 175 pages of most interesting matter about Missouri—a good sized book. I am sure all good Missourians would know more about their state and be prouder of it and its history by reading the four volumes of the Review for 1922. It is easy to get and very cheap. Send one dollar ($1.00) to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, Columbia, Mo., for membership in the Historical Society, and the Reviews will come to you as published. Can you spend a dollar in any better way? I think not after an experience of several years.—From *The Glasgow Missourian*, Glasgow, Missouri.

Enclosed I hand you a dollar to renew membership in the State Historical Society of Missouri with the understanding that I get the *Missouri Historical Review.* I received copy the other day, and was very much pleased with it.—Edgar White, Macon, Mo., January 19, 1922.

I enjoy reading the *Review* and put every copy in my library for reference and use of my children in their school work. Very often they use the *Review* in their work to a good advantage. Each number seems better than the previous one. I hope you will get some of the history of the Ozarks in South Central Missouri in early days, especially during railroad building and mining period, and preserve it.—W. P. Elmer, Legislator, Salem, Mo., January 24, 1922.

I gratefully acknowledge receipt of the two volumes of the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.* I am made to appreciate the good work of our Society in that it has made it possible to obtain this work. I thank you for presenting me with this work, and shall hope to be able thereby to render the 1922 Constitutional Convention some better service.—J. H. Gunn, Bank Cashier, Otterville, Mo., January 7, 1922.

The *Review* is brim-full of good things.—David W. Eaton, Helena, Mont., January 23, 1922.

The Missouri Historical Review as a magazine has interested me very much and you are certainly to be congratulated for the kind of work that you are doing.—Esther U. McNitt, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana, January 23, 1922.

NEWSPAPERS AND HISTORY.

To Dean Walter Williams, of the school of journalism, University of Missouri, the *Review* is indebted for the courtesy of calling attention to several significant articles on newspapers as sources of history. These articles appeared in *The Newspaper World*, London, and they are as applicable to Missouri as they are to England and Ireland. Through the public-spirited co-operation of Missouri editors, The State Historical Society of Missouri receives for permanent preservation five hundred current newspapers. The Society has in its fireproof library building 12,000 bound volumes of Missouri newspapers. One original file goes back to 1819, and another file in photostatic form also begins in that year. History of worth cannot be written without use of the newspaper. It is the mirror of our democracy. Its value is beyond estimate as a source of history, biography, genealogy, economic data, and practical information.

NEWSPAPERS AS SOURCES OF HISTORY.

Viscount Bryce, in an address to the members of the Historical Association, assembled on Wednesday at King's College, spoke on "The Value and Use of Original Authorities in History," and, in the course of his remarks, said that the greatest of all sources for the present historian were the newspapers. There were certain points which the historian would have to regard in turning to newspapers. They were: What was the extent of the knowledge of the newspaper?; what was the responsibility under which it published statements?; and whether it did, or did not, wish to state the truth? (Laughter.) He was, he said, sorry to hear that merriment, for he knew of newspapers which were as conscientious as anyone in the room, and those newspapers were very valuable. It was also necessary to consider the class for which the newspaper was writing, for newspapers were inclined to write for people who were in an inactive frame of mind—for people who passed over anything that looked heavy. The newspaper was a better index of popular taste than it was of anything else.

NEWSPAPERS AND HISTORY.

Anent the statement by Viscount Bryce that the "greatest of all sources for the present historian are the newspapers," may I recount a personal experience? When reporter on a Dublin daily, I was anxious to find a record of the little provincial weekly on which I had my first job some twenty years previously. I went to the National Library in Dublin—the fourth largest, I believe, in the Kingdom—and interviewed the chief librarian, Mr. Lyster, a gentleman of erudition and an ardent bibliophile. To my surprise, I found that a large amount of space in a special part of the building was reserved for newspaper files, with admirable facilities for consulting them.

Although the particular file was not complete, it was an interesting experience to see my old paper again. Mr. Lyster said he was most anxious to get complete files of every newspaper and periodical published in Ireland, and laid stress upon their great value to historians, pamphleteers, and others, as time went on. No matter how crude or unpretentious the sheet might be, it had a unique importance, and even the advertisements would supply evidence as to the prosperity, tastes and every-day life of a particular community. The files were strongly bound, and it was a rare pleasure to look over them. I think this example should be followed in every library—large or small.

JAMES S. HENDERSON.

Derby, January 12, 1922.

MARYVILLE, MISSOURI.

The progressive Chamber of Commerce in the progressive city of Maryville, Missouri, issues a news letter. In it no attempt is made to advance pretentions. In it are no provincial statements. Strangely, in it are no money promises or airy hopes for obtaining industrial plants and factories.

These are some of the extracts from the news letter of January 26, 1922, showing the character of the Maryville Chamber of Commerce and all its leading citizens:

KEEP TO THE RIGHT.

There are few things more exasperating than the individual who constantly takes the left side of the walk in a crowded thoroughfare. It is just as easy to take the right side and facilitate traffic instead of blocking it. But there is always he who either wilfully or carelessly walks wherever he pleases, totally oblivious of, or indifferent to, or even rejoicing in the inconvenience he causes to others.

If this lack of consideration stopped on the sidewalk it might not be so bad. But it doesn't. It finds its way into almost every phase of life, resulting in constant obstruction instead of leaving an open road to accomplishment.

The man who incessantly finds fault with social or economic conditions without attempting in a sane manner to rectify the defects which exist, the man who is forever objecting to something, the man who takes no interest in public affairs unless he can see some good accruing primarily to himself, the man who is so narrow that he can see no sincerity except his own, or who is prejudiced against another because of religion, race, politics, business, or profession, is continually blocking the highway of advancement. He's on the wrong side of the road—KEEP TO THE RIGHT.

ANOTHER PROGRESSIVE MOVE.

One of the most worth while things Maryville business and professional men have done is the organization of a Maryville Country Club. They have secured beautiful grounds on the Prather land, one half-mile west of town.

Nodaway County again leads by establishing a co-operative Health Department in conduct of which the U. S. Public Health Service, International Health Board, State Board of Health, County Board of Health are co-operating in to establish a Model Health Department for Nodaway County. Dr. C. P. Fryar has been secured as full time Health Officer to take charge of this department.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE WEEKLY DINNERS.

Monday evening dinners will be more interesting than ever, since the appointment of a committee, whose business it will be to secure speakers and entertainers for each meeting. One of the most enjoyable times we have had was last Monday evening when the men who attended Farmers' Week at Columbia made talks after 6:30 dinner at the Hotel Bainum. The men who spoke were: R. A. Kinnaird, C. D. Bellows, Ernest Wray, Emmett Bishop, John R. Evans and Geo. Neal. You are going to miss something if you do not attend these meetings. Please make reservations before 2:00 p. m. Monday so we can make reservations at the hotel.

NODAWAY COUNTY WON.

In the Better Bull contest in the 114 counties of Missouri competing for the $1,000 cash prize for replacing the most Scrub Bulls offered by the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, Nodaway County won by a large margin—replacing 123 scrub bulls with purebreds. Their nearest rival only replaced 66. While Nodaway already deserves the name "Queen of the Northwest" she is really just getting started to become famous. Nodaway County believes in being "Go Geters."

CAN YOU AFFORD TO MISS THEM?

You are missing a chance to get acquainted with the fine country business men and women of Nodaway County if you don't attend some of the community meetings where we are invited to show our Chamber of Commerce and Nodaway County Film. Here are some of the unfilled dates:

DID YOU SEE THE ST. LOUIS SUNDAY STAR?

Last Sunday's edition of the St. Louis Star had six pictures of Maryville buildings and over a column and a half article about the town, Chamber of Commerce and Nodaway County. If we were not so modest the metropolitan papers might have many interesting articles about Nodaway.

IT PAYS TO ADVERTISE.

It pays to pay attention to what kind of advertising is being used. If nothing is done we usually get credit for little, or something that is not the most important. A visitor from Minnesota told us the other day that in Minnesota, Missouri did not amount to much, but they thought of the Ozarks and some uncomplimentary things, instead of a state with the most wonderful natural resources of any in the United States.

Isn't it about time we joined hands to organize a State Chamber of Commerce, compile data about Missouri and do some intelligent, systematic advertising? We have plenty to advertise but advertise nothing. Let's be "Go Getters" and make use of our resources.

These extracts from this one number of the Maryville Chamber of Commerce news letter contain more indications of progress, stimulations for thinking and development of community pride than fifty per cent of the magazines on sale at news stands. Everyone reading these extracts is benefited, encouraged, and instructed. What will be the result of this sane presentation of facts? The citizens of Maryville and Nodaway county will continue along the upward path of real progress. This will result in better farming, better business, better banks, more beautiful homes, more widespread up-to-date educational facilities, and increased well being among the citizens. We suggest watching this city, not as a metropolitan but as a model city. Maryville, Missouri, has a future even greater than her present.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

St. Louis, December 27-31, 1921.

One of the most interesting meetings of the American Historical Association was its recent session in St. Louis in December, 1921. The committee on program, consisting of Evarts B. Greene, Chairman, Walter L. Heming, Thos. M. Marshall, N. A. Olsen, John C. Parish, Chas. Seymour, and Norman M. Trenholme, successfully arranged a diversified series of addresses and papers which were received with enthusiasm. The civic bodies and institutions of St. Louis lent the association every courtesy and form of hospitality. Luncheons, dinners, and receptions, followed with rather unusual frequency. In fact, so far as personal experiences were recounted, the association never had a better program or enjoyed more lavish hospitality. The hospitality of the trustees of the Missouri Botanical Garden in welcoming the entire association to a dinner at the Hotel Jefferson will stand as a significant feature in the annals of the assoication's meetings.

There were several features of this meeting which help mark the cosmopolitan character of the American Historical Association. It was held in the Middle West. This gave opportunity for the Middle West to present her historical fruits, and she did present them with the approval of all. Some of the best contributions were by western scholars, and among these Missouri had able representatives. Again, the meeting was in St. Louis, and this was the year of Jules Jusserand's presidency of the association. An American city built on French traditions receiving a French ambassador as the leader of American historians. And the appropriateness was more then symbolical. The president of the American Historical Association found home and friends in St. Louis. Finally, the meeting through the wisdom of the program committee commemorated in one session the centennial of

Missouri's admission to the Union. This honor to the State was deeply appreciated by the many Missourians attending the meeting. The formal account of the session, the business meeting, and the papers will appear in the publications of the association.

COMMUNICATION.

Federal Building, Helena, Mont., Jan. 25, 1922.

According to promise I am sending you a letter from Mrs. Sarah Susan (Kennett) Richardson of this city describing the heirlooms in her possession. I think her letter of sufficient interest to warrant publication in your "Notes and Comments."

Mrs. Richardson is a great great granddaughter of John Smith, T. It is a tradition in the family that he had no less than 15 duels. One of these is well described by John F. Darby, in his *Recollections*.

DAVID W. EATON.

ONE OF JOHN SMITH, T'S DUELING PISTOLS.

This pistol is what is known as the right hand pistol. It is a tradition in the family that it was made by an old slave gunsmith belonging to John Smith, T. It is the old fashioned flint lock variety. The barrel is octagon, smooth bore, with silver front sight.

An inlaid gold band 3-32 of an inch encircles the barrel breech of the pistol on the left hand side in an elliptical inlay of gold, its long axis almost 6-16 of an inch, and its shorter axis 5-16 of an inch.

The stock is made from a piece of walnut root from a tree on the plantation of John Smith, T. About the middle of the stock on the top is another inlay of gold, elliptical in shape, long axis ½ inch, short axis ⅜ inch, the long axis is crosswise of the handle.

Just at this time much is being made of the old fashioned sampler which used to be the means by which our grandmothers were taught to do the fine hand sewing for which they were all so famous.

Rich or poor, every girl must make a sampler before she was fifteen, preferably before ten years had passed over her head. The finer the stitches and pattern the better opinion was held of the young woman, and the more she was thought of by her elders.

I have in my possession one of these samplers of which I am very proud, not only that it was made by a member of our family with whom we are glad to be related, but also that it is of such fine and delicate needlework.

This sampler was given me by my grandmother and I gave its history as she and my mother often told it to me.

Matilda Lincoln was an orphan cousin of the President Abraham Lincoln. She was raised in the home of my great grandfather, John Geiger, also a cousin of Lincoln's. At an early age she started her sampler and I describe it thus:

Twenty-one inches square, of what is now known as handkerchief linen. It was first hemmed by hand with the finest possible stitches, this hem being one-eighth of an inch wide. Next a drawn work border of the same width as the hem was put in one-half inch inside of the hem. Now the goods was properly prepared for the design. This consisted of four different verses or mottoes of four lines each, placed in the four corners of the linen square and each followed by the maker's name, Matilda Lincoln.

The method employed to put these verses on the linen is unique—fine brown linen thread is used and the letters of the words are scarcely an eighth of an inch tall, formed by cross stitching, the size produced by using two linen threads as the sides of the squares.

The four little verses are as follows:

"Affection is the glittering wreathe:
Of snow work in the sun
Pleasures the rockets shining course
Ended e'er well begun."
—Matilda Lincoln.

"To think of summers yet to come
That I am not to see
To think of flowers yet to bloom
From dust that I must be."
—Matilda Lincoln.

"Will titles, birth and pompous show
Youth, beauty, wit combined
Will these I ask, avert the woe
Entailed on human kind.
—Matilda Lincoln.

"Why regret departing years
Which swift and onward fly
Oh, let us upward fix our gaze
On things above the sky."
—Matilda Lincoln.

The finishing touch to the sampler was an edging of knitted lace three-quarters of an inch wide all around the square.

How many hours of patient and painstaking toil are represented by any and all of the samplers of olden time! But I have never yet seen one of such minute stitching as the one I possess, although I know that there must be many more of this same delicate type in existence, some of which I hope it may be my pleasure some day to see.

Susan K. Richardson.

MISSOURI BOOK WEEK.

The first statewide book week in the United States was observed in Missouri February 12-18, 1922. The purpose of Missouri's Book Week was to stimulate the reading of books and interest in the establishment of libraries. According to the Missouri State Library Commission there are 89 counties in the State without a single tax supported free library and there are 2,000,000 people in the State without library service. The county library act passed by the 1921 Legislature is practically the first opportunity Missouri counties have had to establish libraries under its provisions. This act provides that on the petition of one hundred voters any county may vote upon the establishment of a county library. County libraries have been found successful in many other states, notably Ohio, Oregon, and California where the plan originated in 1910. The county library is supported by a small tax not to exceed two mills in Missouri. It is less expensive than the maintenance of separate libraries in each town. It is more satisfactory because more books may be had at a less cost and because it serves people outside of the towns. It is possible for towns and cities having tax supported libraries to continue their independent libraries if they wish, in which case they are not taxed for the county library system. Hon. Sam A. Baker, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, indorsed Missouri Book Week and it was widely observed over the State.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

COMPILED BY J. WILLARD RIDINGS.

SOME "FIRST" THINGS OF KANSAS CITY.

From Kansas City *Journal*, October 2, 1921.

Francois Chouteau, fur trader and son of Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis, was the first white man to settle within the present city limits of Kansas City in 1820.

The first white settlement in Jackson county was made in 1808 at Fort Osage, twenty miles east of Kansas City.

The first name for Kansas City was Chouteau's Landing.

The first townsite company for the City of Kansas was formed in 1838.

The first cargo of merchandise was landed at the Kansas City levee by Bent and St. Vrain in 1845.

William Miles Chick built the first home on the Walnut street bluff and John McCoy built the first brick house within the corporate limits of the new town.

The first town plat was filed in 1839.

The first mayor was W. S. Gregory in 1853.

William B. Evans opened the first tavern in 1839.

The first postmaster of the town of Kansas was William M. Chick, appointed in 1845.

The first banking firm was formed by Coates & Hood in 1856.

The first Chamber of Commerce was established and charter obtained November 9, 1857.

The first fire department was organized in 1867. Col. Frank Foster was chief.

The first passenger train came into Kansas City over the Missouri Pacific tracks from St. Louis September 25, 1865.

The first bridge to span the Missouri river was the Hannibal bridge, opened to the public July 3, 1869.

The first school building was the Washington, opened in April, 1868. The first school board was formed in 1867.

BUILDING THE MISSOURI PACIFIC.

From The Kansas City *Times*, February 25, 1922.

Construction work on the Missouri Pacific railroad, then known as the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, was begun in St. Louis on July 4, 1851, when Mayor Kennett threw the first spade full of earth into the Chouteau pond, west of Fifteenth street.

The first track iron for the Pacific Railroad was received in St. Louis in April, 1852, from England. The first locomotive on the road, which was also the first locomotive west of the Mississippi River, was placed in service November 12, 1852, running between St. Louis and Manchester Road.

Construction work, under the supervision of James P. Kirkwood, the first chief engineer of the Pacific Railroad, rapidly was pushed westward, and on July 19, 1853, the first division, thirty-nine miles in length, was entirely completed and opened for operation. The terminus of this division was a little west of what is now the town of Pacific. The event was celebrated by a grand excursion; a large engine called the "St. Louis" hauled twelve passenger coaches, making the trip to the end of the line in one hour and fifty minutes, which at that time was considered a wonderful rate of speed.

On February 10, 1855, the road was completed to Washington, a distance of fifty-five miles; August 6, 1855, to Hermann, a distance of eighty-one miles, and on November 1, 1855, to Jefferson City, a distance of 125 miles. To celebrate the opening of the road to Jefferson City, on November 1, 1855, a train of fourteen passenger coaches left St. Louis for Jefferson City. It was a very disagreeable, rainy day, and when the train reached the Gasconade River, the wooden trestle work between the east bank of the river and the first pier went down, carrying in its downward plunge of thirty feet the engine and seven passenger cars, six other passenger cars rolling down the embankment, only one car, the last one in the train, remaining on the track. Thirty-one passengers, among them many prominent men of St. Louis, lost their lives in the disaster, and many others were injured. As night came on the storm became more intense, with heavy wind and rain, which hampered the work of caring for the dead and injured. The heavy rains caused the rivers to become flooded, and another bridge between there and St. Louis was washed out, making it necessary to bring the dead and wounded to St. Louis by steamboat.

The road was completed to Tipton, 163 miles from St. Louis, in July, 1858; to Sedalia, 188 miles, in February, 1861. Construction was then interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War. Great destruction of railroad property occurred during the war. In 1863 the road was completed to Dresden, and the following year to Warrensburg.

General Price, in his famous raid of 1864, destroyed the bridges spanning the Osage and Gasconade rivers, machine shops and water tanks and tore up almost the entire track between Pacific and Kansas City. Over one million dollars worth of property was in this manner destroyed, and the road left nearly a total wreck.

Later under protection of the United State government, the road was rebuilt and extensions continued.

In May, 1865, the road was completed to Holden, and in the meantime construction work was begun at Kansas City eastward, ground being broken in Kansas City for the Pacific Railroad July 25, 1860, building toward Pleasant Hill to connect with the main line coming west from St. Louis. The line was finally connected up, and the first passenger train came into the East Bottoms of Kansas City from St. Louis September 25, 1865, and on November 15, the terminus at Kansas City was extended from the East Bottoms to Grand avenue.

The line, Tipton to Boonville, was constructed by the Osage Valley and Southern Kansas Railroad Company, construction into Boonville being completed in November, 1868, and this property leased to the Pacific Railroad, the latter company commencing operation thereon November 20, 1868.

Construction of the line, Tipton to Versailles, was done under contract with the Osage Valley and Southern Kansas Railroad Company by Joseph L. Stephens. It was completed July 1, 1881, and leased to the Pacific Railroad.

PERSONALS.

Judge A. D. Burnes: Born October 28, 1864, at Hampton, Missouri; died November 30, 1921, at Platte City, Missouri. He was educated in law at the University of Missouri and then returned to Platte County to practice, where he served two terms as prosecuting attorney. He was elected circuit judge in 1898, and re-elected in 1904, 1910 and 1916.

Philip Christian Ganz: Born at Palmyra, Missouri, November 1, 1857; died at Palmyra March 14, 1921. In connection with M. P. Drummond, in 1882 he established at Palmyra the *Marion County Herald* and was for some time the editor of this paper. In 1890 he moved to Macon and became the publisher of the *Macon Republican*. He was prominent in the municipal life of Macon, serving two terms as mayor. He was also twice president of the Missouri Press Association, in 1906 and 1907.

Senator Frisby H. McCullough: Born in Marion county, Missouri, November 25, 1862; died at Edina, Missouri, March 5, 1922. He was educated in the public schools and at Georgetown University. For a time he held a position in the general land office at Washington, D. C. Later he practiced law in several counties of northern Missouri. He became prominent in political matters of Knox county, and served as mayor of Edina and also as prosecuting attorney of Knox county. He served as State Senator from the Twelfth district in the 51st General Assembly.

Hon. Robert B. Middlebrook: Born at Trumbell, Connecticut, September 3, 1855; died at Kansas City, Missouri, July 26, 1921. He graduated in law from Yale University in 1878 and came to Kansas City to practice. In 1888 he was appointed assistant city attorney, serving five years. In 1897 he was appointed city counselor and served four years in that capacity. In 1910-11 he served as judge of the circuit court in Kansas City.

Hon. John F. Shafroth: Born at Fayette, Missouri, June 9, 1854; died at Denver, Colorado, February 20, 1922. He went to Colorado as a young man and there became active in politics. He served the State of Colorado twice as Governor, in 1908 and 1910, three times as Congressman, in 1896, 1900, and 1904; and once as United States Senator, in 1912.

Senator Loren E. Seneker: Born November 23, 1869, at Mt. Vernon, Missouri; died October 18, 1921, at Mt. Vernon. He was educated at Marionville College and at the State Normal at Warrensburg. He was elected mayor of Mt. Vernon three times and in 1902 was elected county clerk of Lawrence County. He served as State Senator from the Eighteenth district in the 51st General Assembly.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

JANUARY-MARCH, 1921.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Ledger*.
Feb. 10. Election of 1840 and party leaders of that time.
Feb. 17. First General Assembly of Missouri met in St. Louis. Reprinted from the Columbia *Evening Missourian*.
———— Vandalia, *Leader*.
Jan. 7. Hyde is seventh native Missouri governor. Facts concerning nativity of former governors.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Reporter*.
Jan. 28. Sketch of the life of Charles F. Booher, Missouri Congressman from the fourth district.

Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Journal*.
Mar. 3. A view of Rockport in early '70's. (A cut.)
———— ———— *Atchison County Mail*.
Feb. 18. Sketch of the life of Capt. Geo. Steck, Union veteran.

Barry County. Cassville, *Republican*.
Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of Capt. John A. Livingston, Union veteran.

Boone County. Centralia, *Fireside Guard*.
Jan. 21. Centralia in 1856. Some facts about the building of the North Missouri Railroad.
Early hunting days.
Feb. 4. From Harvey Hulen. Random reminiscences of pioneer days. Continued in issues of February 11, 18 and March 11.

———— Columbia, *Evening Missourian*.
Jan. 3. Rival towns bid for site of university.
Incidents relating to the location of the state institution.
Jan. 4. Late Missouri philanthropist founded Ozark towns. Sketch of Col. Jay L. Torrey, by James McClain.
Circuit Rider enjoys Boone county history.
A sketch of Boone county, reprinted from the Kansas City *Star*.
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Dr. S. S. Laws, former president of the University of Missouri.
See also issue of January 12th.
Jan. 14. A descriptive sketch of the village of Hallsville, with some historical facts.
Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of Dr. R. H. Jesse, former president of the University of Missouri.
Jan. 26. Many towns grew because of steamers. Some historical facts concerning Missouri River navigation.
Jan. 28. Battle in '64 fought close to Centralia. The story of the Centralia massacre.
Jan. 31. First General Assembly of State met in St. Louis.
Past generations had their pride in "Athens of the West." A description of Columbia, taken from an atlas of 1876.
Feb. 15. Sketch of Dr. A. W. McAlester, first Dean of the University of Missouri School of Medicine, on the occasion of his birthday.

——— ———, *Herald Statesman.*
Feb. 28. State's centenary recalls incidents in early history.

——— ———, *Missouri Alumnus.*
March. Reminiscences of a graduate of 1873. Continued in April issue.

——— Sturgeon, *Missouri Leader.*
Feb. 17. History of the railroads. How Sturgeon got the Wabash and lost the Chicago & Alton.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette.*
Jan. 9. Missouri's record in five wars symbolized on walls of State Capitol. Historical settings of capitol paintings.

——— ———, *News-Press.*
Jan. 21. Sketch of the life of Charles F. Booher, representative in Congress from the fourth Missouri district. See also the *Gazette* for January 22nd.
Jan. 24. Sketch of the life of Wm. D. Maxwell, pioneer citizen.
Feb. 24. Sketch of the life of Lucian E. Carter, Union veteran. See also *Gazette* for February 25th.

——— ———, *Observer.*
Jan. 22. Lieutenant-Governors who helped make Missouri history.
Jan. 29. Sketch of the life of Chas. F. Booher.
Feb. 5. The men who acted as Secretary of State and did their part in making the history of Missouri.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Missouri Telegraph.*
Feb. 24. Callaway's first telephone. Reprinted from the Ashland *Bugle.*

——— ———*Gazette.*
Jan. 13. Sketch of the life of S. S. Laws, first president of Westminster College. See also issue of January 20th.

Cape Girardeau County. Jackson, *Missouri Cash-Book.*
Jan. 20. Early attorneys of old Jackson. Continued in issue of March 24th.

Carroll County. Carrollton *Republican Record.*
Mar. 24. *Republican-Record* is 53 years old; a historical sketch.

Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat.*
Mar. 31. Sketch of the life of Major Lee Glandon, Union veteran.

——— Pleasant Hill, *Times.*
Mar. 4. Recalls the Quantrell raid. Reprinted from the Warrensburg, *Star-Journal.*

Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator.*
Jan. 7. Chariton county is 100 years old Saturday. A historical sketch, reprinted from the Keytesville *Chariton Courier.*

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier.*
Jan. 21. Old residence burns. Some facts about pioneer home.
Chapters of Clark county history. See also issue of March 11th.

Jan. 28. The city of St. Francisville; a historical sketch. Continued in issue of February 4th.
Mar. 18. Clark-Lewis county line; some historical facts.

——————— ———————, *Gazette-Herald.*
Jan. 7. Chapters from the history of Clark county. Continued in issues of January 14, 21, 28; February 4, 11, 18, 25; March 4, 11, 18, 25.
Feb. 18. E. B. Christy, founder of this paper, tells of launching the enterprise 50 years ago.
Feb. 25. The *Gazette-Herald's* 50th anniversary. Some historical facts.

Clay County. Liberty, *Tribune.*
Jan. 28. Last of the Pony Express. Reprinted from the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat.*

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Cole County Weekly Rustler.*
Feb. 11. Judge Woodside tells of effort to recover mules during Civil War.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Weekly Advertiser.*
Feb. 11. Relic of slavery days. List of market quotations on slaves.
Feb. 25. Sketch of the life of Charles C. Eldredge, Union veteran.

——————— Bunceton, *Eagle.*
Mar. 18. The old Providence-Bunceton Presbyterian church. A short history.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *North Missourian.*
Jan. 6. Alexander Monroe Dockery and some happenings. Dockery's part in national affairs. Continued in issues of January 13, 20, 27; February 3, 10, 17. By Rollin J. Britton.

Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin Democrat.*
Mar. 4. Sketch of the life of James M. Douglass, former county official.

Gentry County. Albany, *Ledger.*
Mar. 3. Sketch of the life of A. B. Ross, Union veteran. See also Albany *Capital* for March 3rd.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader.*
Jan. 6. Battle of Springfield was fought here 58 years ago. The story of a Civil War engagement.

——————— ———————, *Republican.*
Feb. 6. Old timers recall interesting story of Bread Tray Hill. A tradition of the Ozarks.

Grundy County. Trenton, *Weekly Republican.*
Mar. 3. Sketch of the life of S. A. Allen, pioneer newspaper man.
Henry County. Windsor, *Review.*
Feb. 17. Forgot the Indians. An incident of Quantrell's raid on Lawrence, Kansas.

Holt County. Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel.*
Jan. 28. Sketch of the life of Frederick Markt, Sr., pioneer and Union veteran.

Feb. 4. Sketch of the life of Thomas Hill, Union veteran.
Feb. 18. Sketch of the life of C. W. Bowman, founder of the *Sentinel.*

Howard County. Fayette, *Advertiser.*
Mar. 10. Famous Howard Countians.

Howell County. West Plains, *Journal.*
Mar. 10. Sketch of the life of C. E. Burnett, county official.

Jackson County. Kansas City, *Post.*
Jan. 2. Paintings depicting martial history of Missouri to be unveiled. Article concerning State capitol historical paintings.

——— ———, *Star.*
Jan. 2. Geographical names in Missouri pay tribute to Daniel Boone. Observations on Boone county.
Jan. 9. As Missouri unveils the mural paintings in its new capitol. Reproductions and sketches of the capitol paintings.
Feb. 9. Missouri ready to join the centenarian's club. Story of the State's admission into the Union.
Feb. 15. When a "Legislative War" was fought in Kansas. Story of the struggle of the "Douglas House" (Republican) for control of the Kansas legislature in 1893.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press.*
Jan. 13. Sketch of the life of David Hopkins, former county official and State legislator.

——— Joplin, *Globe.*
Jan. 28. Fighting fires in the early days in Joplin.
Special mining edition with considerable data on development of Joplin field.
Feb. 20. State's centenary recalls incidents in early history.

——— Sarcoxie, *Record.*
Feb. 10. This county from 1867. Continued in issues of February 17, 24; March 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.

Johnson County. Warrensburg, *Star-Journal.*
Jan. 4. No shafts for Indians who rode to save a city. Incident of Quantrell's raid on Lawrence, Kansas.

Knox County. Edina, *Sentinel.*
Jan. 27. A good story of Bethel. Some facts about community enterprise of 1845. Reprinted from the *Pershing Way Magazine.*

Lafayette County. Lexington, *News.*
Jan. 13. Sketch of the life of James K. Gray, former county official.
Jan. 20. Lafayette county hangings. A list of legal executions in the history of the county.
Mar. 17. Sketch of the life of C. A. Keith, former county official.

——— Odessa, *Democrat.*
Feb. 11. Sketch of the life of E. T. Lee, Confederate veteran. See also Odessa *Missouri Ledger* for February 11th.

——— ———, *Missouri Ledger.*
Jan. 21. The centenary for Lafayette county. Some facts about early settlers. Continued in issue of January 28th.

Lewis County. Labelle, *Star.*
Feb. 19. Clark County's historic house. A few facts about early settlers.

——— Monticello, *Lewis County Journal.*
Jan. 14. Story of two historic residences.

Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat.*
Jan. 28. Bethel a most novel town. Some historic notes on famous Missouri town.
Feb. 4. Sketch of the life of E. B. Hull, Confederate veteran and former State legislator.
Mar. 25. Good Civil War story. A story of Price's cavalry. Reprinted from Jefferson City *Mosby's Missouri Message.*

Macon County. Macon, *Republican.*
Mar. 17. To celebrate Missouri centenary. Some historic facts about Missouri's admission into the Union.

Marion County. Palmyra, *Spectator.*
Jan. 19. Account of the first courthouse of Marion county. Reprinted from the *Spectator* of July 19, 1900.

Monroe County. Paris, *Monroe County Appeal.*
Mar. 4. True story of the border war. A tale of 1856, by B. F. Blanton.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Standard.*
Feb. 11. Missouri's governors. A chronological list, with some data.

Morgan County. Versailles, *Statesman.*
Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of A. J. McPeak, Union veteran.

Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Democrat.*
Jan. 25. Missouri's Governors, past and present.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times.*
Jan. 13. The burning of Pike's historic courthouse, March 18, 1864.
Mar. 5. Champ Clark memorial number. See also issue of March 10th and 17th.
Mar. 24. The Missouri tavern. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review.* Continued in issue of March 31st.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Herald.*
Mar. 10. Reminiscences of Rev. G. H. Higginbotham. Descriptions of pioneer life. Continued in issues of March 17, 24, 31.

Ralls County. New London. *Ralls County Record.*
Feb. 4. The old reporter lights his pipe. Random recollections of early-day events in New London.
Mar. 11. The romance of Fisher's cave.
Mar. 18. White Flower, the Indian princess. An early-day legend.
Mar. 25. The "Ha'nt" at Cedar Bluff. Tradition.

——— Perry, *Enterprise.*
Feb. 3. School days of 30 years ago and how boys were punished.

Ray County. Lawson, *Review.*
Jan. 13. Lawson's first school.

——— Richmond, *Missourian.*
Jan. 6. The town of Knoxville. A very short sketch.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Cosmos-Monitor.*
Jan. 26. The times have changed. Some facts concerning St. Charles as a State capital.
Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of J. P. Renno, Union veteran.

St. Francois County. Farmington, *Times.*
Feb. 11. Frenzied justice in Ozark region in early days. Extracts from an address by L. B. Woodside before Bar Association of 19th judicial circuit. Reprinted from Cape Girardeau *Sun.*

St. Louis City. *America at Work.*
Jan. 13. Building locomotives in St. Louis in 1853.
Mar. 17. St. Louis contributions to American progress.

——— *Globe-Democrat.*
Jan. 9. History of Missouri depicted in gripping manner by new art works in State capitol. With reproductions of art work.
Mar. 19. Sketch of the life of Judge Geo. D. Reynolds. See also St. Louis *Star* for March 19th.

——— *Journal of the Missouri State Medical Association.*
Jan. Child hygiene in Missouri. A survey of work done. By C. P. Knight, M. D.
Feb. An infant welfare station in St. Louis in 1906. By Adrien Bleyer, M. D.

——— *Missouri's Young Men.*
Jan.-Mar. History of the Y. M. C. A. in Missouri.

——— *Post-Dispatch.*
Jan. 2. Last of old slave barracks in St. Louis. With description of slave life in early days.
Jan. 9. Diary of fur trader sheds light on conditions in Missouri Territory more than 100 years ago. Diary of John C. Luttig in 1812.
Jan. 30. Sketch of the life of Rear Admiral Ed. D. Taussig.
How the first St. Louis directory was issued just 100 years ago this spring.
Feb. 3. Sketch of the life of Prof. Max W. Zach, conductor of the St. Louis symphony orchestra. See also St. Louis *Star* and *Globe-Democrat* of same date.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Champ Clark. See all other State papers on and after this date.

——— *Star.*
Feb. 22. Henry Clay, 100 years ago today, opened way to Missouri statehood. Story of the second Missouri compromise.

St. Louis County. Carondelet, *News.*
Jan. 7. Comments and chroniclings of the Carondelet of years ago. Continued in issues of January 14, 21, 28; February 4, 11, 18, 25; March 4, 11, 18, 25.

——— Clayton, *St. Louis County Sentinel.*
Jan. 28. Sketch of the life of R. B. Denny, Union veteran.

Scotland County. Memphis, *Democrat.*
Feb. 10. County history interestingly recalled. Some "first" things in Scotland county.

——————— ———————, *Reveille.*
Mar. 3. A century of Missouri Agriculture. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review.*

Scott County. Sikeston, *Standard.*
Feb. 4. Old time attorneys of Jackson, Missouri. Reprinted from the Jackson *Cash-Book.*
Mar. 18. True story of the border war, by B. F. Blanton. Reprinted from Paris *Monroe County Appeal.*

Texas County. Houston, *Herald.*
Jan. 20. Ghosts of the past. A tale of a Kansas election at Osage City in the '70's.
Looking backward. Recollections of early days in Texas county. Continued in issues of February 3, 10; March 24, 31.

Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner.*
Jan. 14. Sketch of the life of Dr. C. O. Foreman, Confederate veteran and pioneer physician.
Feb. 18. Flint fire clay in Warren county. A history of the industry. By Herbert Kriege.

Webster County. Marshfield, *Mail.*
Feb. 24. Reminiscences of I. F. King concerning early days in Webster county.
Mar. 31. History of the Rader family in Webster county. By Hans M. Rader.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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MDCCCXX

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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the Golden Era. The dark period of the Civil War and Reconstruction produced a conglomerate mess from which provincial districts are but now recovering. During the last fifteen or twenty years of the 19th century the art worker shook off the miasma of the prevailing gloom and in his search for better standards naturally turned again to the masterpieces of Europe for guidance and inspiration. Through intimate contact with the older cultures of Europe and Asia the American artist, whether architect, sculptor or painter, has at last attained a breadth of view and a command of technique and resource quite phenomenal when compared with his brother worker of half a century ago—so that the last period of Missouri's century, and the first epoch of this 20th one, is alive with the hope and promise of accomplishment.

ARCHITECTURE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.

The Indian often possesses a native feeling for decorative pattern quite unmatched by the white American, and the Frenchman is the heritor of a thousand years of racial expression in the fine arts. Could there have been a fusion of these talents into the life of the new state, great results would doubtless have followed. But the Indians withdrew before the white men, and the French were soon too hopelessly in the minority to have much more than local influence as individuals, although the art of their mother country has been one of the great indirect influences during much of the century. In early times St. Louis must have presented quite a picturesque effect lying there on high ground that sloped eastward to the Mississippi. Such locations, and there are many of them in the State, allow sweeping views across stretches of valley and river that, somehow, add the charm of spaciousness even to the hamlet. The French reached St. Louis through the two river gateways of Quebec and New Orleans. The country houses in Quebec[1] still carry the high-pitched

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[1] The picture of the old Benoist house, St. Louis, on page 435, Vol. II, of Stevens' *Centennial History of Missouri*, might have been made from one of many houses still standing in Quebec Province, Canada. Violette and Houck also include many pictures, with descriptions, which aid one to visualize the manner of building in the pre-statehood days.

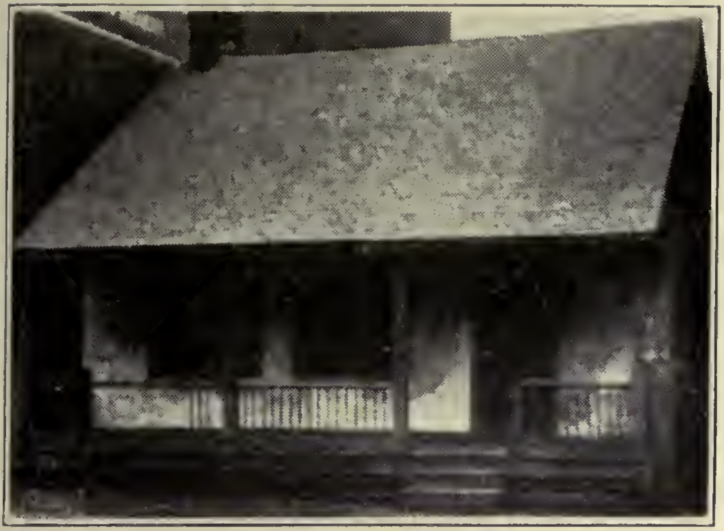

Plate 1 (Footnote 3.)
Old French house, built previous to 1800.

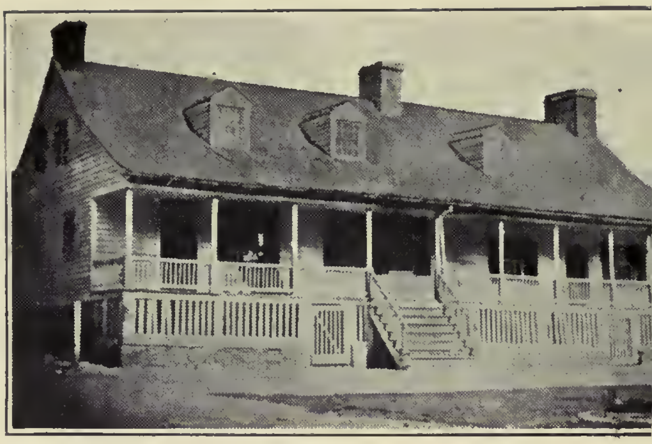

Plate 2 (Footnote 3.)
Yost house, St. Charles.

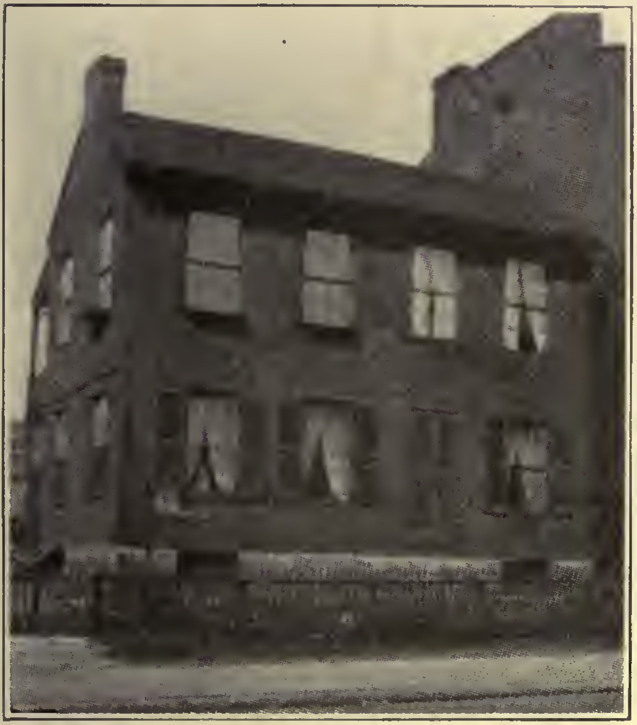

Plate 3 (Footnote 4.)
Brick dwelling built in 1818, second one in St. Louis.

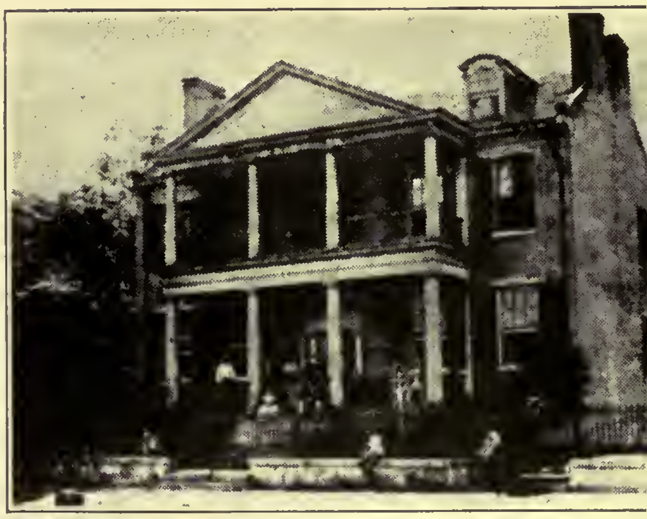

Plate 4 (Footnote 5.)
Berthold house, built about 1820.

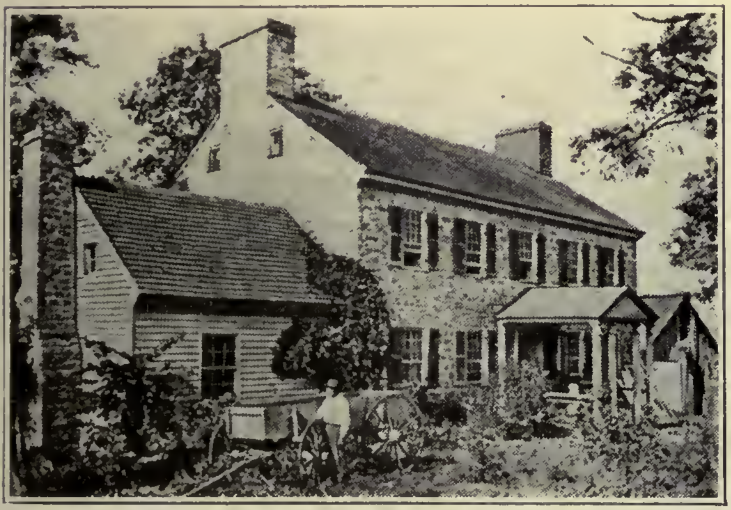

Plate 5 (Footnote 6.)
Nathan Boone house.

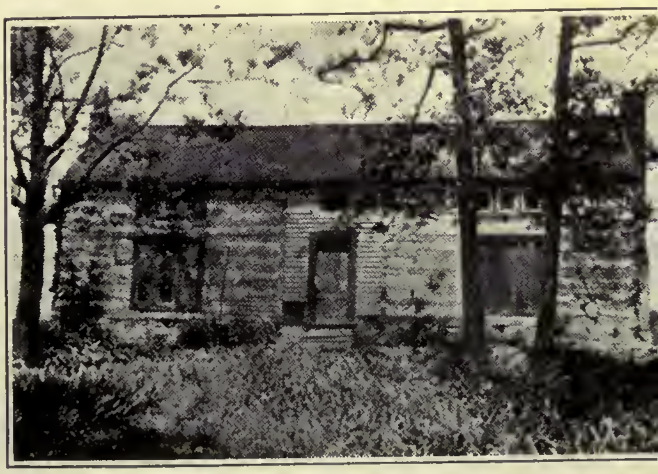

Plate 6 (Footnote 7.)
Log house built by Gen. U. S. Grant.

roof of the middle ages and have wide, projecting eaves that protect from rain and serve many of the functions of a porch. In France the arcade has been a common form of porch for generations, and in New Orleans, under French rule, the typical house[2] was one surrounded with roofed galleries of one or two stories. The French in Missouri often built porches in front, at the back, and sometimes all around the house and even in two stories.[3] Many of the houses were built of logs placed vertically with one end sunk in a trench—the chinks of course filled in with plaster or stones. The plans were primitive with the rooms often in a row. Of the 182 houses in St. Louis in 1804, fifty-one were of stone while in 1821 the stone and brick houses had[4] increased to 232 and the building fraternity consisted of 3 stonecutters, 14 bricklayers and plasterers, and 28 carpenters. Of this increased number of brick houses doubtless one of the very handsomest was the residence[5] built about 1820 at Broadway and Pine by Bartholeme Berthold who moved to St. Louis from New Orleans. This two-story structure with central entrance hall, large rooms, and also a garret with dormer windows, had a double gallery extending almost across the front of the house, surmounted by a pediment. The details of the doorway were of classic forms.

Out in the state at Marthasville, near St. Charles,

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[2] *History of Architecture*, by Fiske Kimball (Professor of Architecture, University of Virginia) and George H. Edgell (Harvard University) page 531. This book (published by Harper and Brothers) will hereafter be referred to in this article as *K. and E.*

[3] See plates 1 and 2. Plate 1. Old French house, east side of 4th, north of Poplar St., St. Louis, built previous to 1800. (For this picture and the greater part of the other St. Louis pictures, and also for information in regard to St. Louis buildings, I wish to express my great indebtedness to Mr. S. L. Sherer, Administrator of the City Art Museum, St. Louis, and especially to his article in the Catalogue for 1900 of the St. Louis Architectural Club, kindly lent me by Mr. J. P. Jamieson, St. Louis.) Plate 2. Yost house, St. Charles, said to have been a log house weatherboarded later. (This and other St. Charles photographs kindly furnished by Miss Alice Linnemann, Instructor in Art, Lindenwood College, St. Charles.)

[4] See Plate 3. House of Col. Thomas F. Riddick built in 1818, at 4th and Plum Sts., and reputed to be the second brick dwelling built in St. Louis.

[5] Plate 4. Berthold house. The date has been given as much later by some writers. This date is on the authority of Miss Berthold, Lindell boulevard, one of whose uncles was born in this house in 1821.

Nathan Boone, ten years before, had built a stone house,[6] and the American settler, as he took up the rich bottom land, generally replaced his first temporary shelter of tent or bough as quickly as possible with a well-built log, or even a brick house.

In the early twenties, when Major Warren Woodson brought his bride to Columbia, she became mistress of a typical log house[7] of the better class. Two log structures, each consisting of one room, 24x28 feet, and a loft, with one great fireplace in each room, at the north and the south end respectively, had been built some twelve or fifteen feet apart, but under one roof. The roofed but unfloored runway protected the stairs to the lofts and gave passage to the log kitchen directly in the rear. South of the kitchen were cabins for the slaves. The wood used throughout for floors and walls was walnut and some thirty years later the whole was encased in weather-boarding and raised to two full stories, and various improvements made in offices and dependencies. It later passed into the possession of Dr. B. A. Watson, and, of the many university students later privileged to share the home of Dr. and Mrs. Watson, probably few realized they were living in a pioneer house. When, a few years ago, it was torn down, the log walls of the original structure were revealed; and, in 1910, the fire that destroyed the handsome old house in south Columbia, the home of Major James S. Rollins, brought to view an inner building of brick over a part of the plan.[8]

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[6] Plate 5. Front view of Nathan Boone house near Marthasville.

[7] Plate 6. House built by Gen. U. S. Grant, on Gravois Road, St. Louis county, and removed to Old Orchard. A typical example of the earlier log house (in this one the runway has been boarded in later).

[8] Plate 7. Bayse home, Bowling Green, built in 1829, the oldest house in Pike county, and until 1845 serving as Bowling Green's tavern and church. Mr. I. Walter Bayse writes me that it was built on hewed sills with mortised in studding, was weatherboarded and then filled between studs with clay and straw but not lathed and plastered until many years later. This whole question of the forms of shelter used in the provincial districts of England and the Colonies and the repetition of them on the western frontier is discussed by Professor Fiske Kimball in an article on "*Architecture in the Colonies and Republic,*" American Historical Review, October, 1921 (Vol. XXVII, No. 1). This article will be referred to as Kimball, A. H. Rev. Grateful acknowledgment is hereby made of my indebtedness to Professor Kimball's works for both information and pictures.

Accustomed to seeing the dilapidated remains of these pioneer homes in outgrown parts of our towns, we fail, utterly, to visualize the original log house in a setting of trees in the time of its prime. Not that any claim to architectural distinction can be made for it, but, to anyone having recently lived in a log cabin or hotel in the Rockies, for example, the idea that these early houses were attractive is not absurd. Aside from the personal touch of the mistress, which varied in each case, and the charm of gay flowers nodding in the garden —the aspect of the building itself is worth a moment's reflection.[9] The roof's long lines resulting from its extension, front and back, for porch space, helped produce an effect of unity between structure and ground with an implication of stability and restfulness. The simple treatment of roof and wall areas with their agreeable texture, that of hewn shingle and log, combined with the suggestion of comfort given by the massive chimneys, resulted in a type of domestic architecture not unworthy its function of housing intelligent people occupied in developing a new land.

The crafts of these early Missouri farms rise in modern esteem when we ask the price, today, of homespun for our sport clothes, or go to a museum to see the coverlets woven on farm looms. As the country developed, the larger farms contained a loom house and the mistress treasured patterns that a slave with the knack could work out under her direction. Needlework and other home crafts were cultivated and each community, in more settled parts, had its cabinet maker to whom pieces of mahogany from Virginia, or elsewhere, served as models for sideboard, table or bed. In fact, the house of the pre-war Missourian was more often furnished with well made and well designed things than has been the case any time since then, unless the very last few years be excepted.

Local or immediate conditions plus the skill and taste of the artist are determining factors in almost any work of art. The prosperity of the settler meant a more complex life with greater demands on the craftsman's cunning. In

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[9] Plate 8. Ozark homestead. This might be called a marooned type, still persisting away from the main currents of travel and change. Even here the imagination must restore it to its original condition.

Missouri, artist and craftsman, professional or amateur, had the race traditions of English-speaking peoples as a background. Just as the colonist, earlier, depended on the mother country, so the average settler in Missouri brought his art ideas, however crude, with him, and doubtless considered himself as annexing virgin soil where he desired, as speedily as possible, to repeat the life of his home community to the east and south of the new land. In addition to mediaeval art, habits which survived in provincial England and the colonies until a late date, and are to-day more than shadows in our own background, the powerful traditions of the Italian Renaissance exerted great influence in 17th and 18th century England, as well as in France, and hence in the American colonies. Whether of the variation called Baroque, Compromise or Academic, they had the common virtue of impressing on the architect the value of broad massing, simple lines, and effective contours, as well as appropriate details. In England, early in the 18th century, books of plans, details, etc., began to appear, and, as these were brought to the colonies soon after publication, the various styles made a definite impress on our colonial houses, and American builders kept well apace of their English brethren of the provincial districts.

There had been a growing conviction in Europe, during the latter half of the 18th century, that the temple structure exemplified the very soul of classic architecture, but it was reserved for the new republic, under the tutelage of Thomas Jefferson, to be the first to adopt the Greek and Roman temple forms as working models in large scale buildings for utilitarian purposes.[10] Colonial forms implied dependence on England, and, as the new form of government demanded buildings

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[10] For a full discussion of the contribution Jefferson has made to American architecture see the following by Professor Kimball in addition to the two already quoted:

Thomas Jefferson, Architect. (Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1916.)

Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classical Revival in America. (Reprinted from the Journal of the American Institute of Architects).

(Both of the above are in the Library of the University of Missouri, Columbia, and doubtless also in the Public Libraries of St. Louis and Kansas City.)

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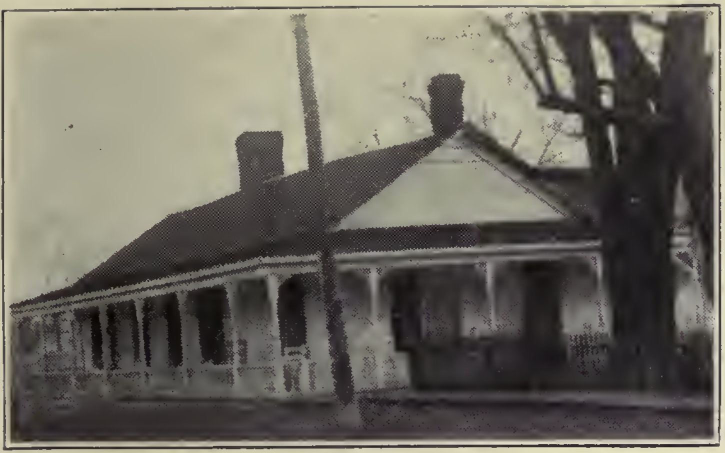

Plate 7 (Footnote 8.)
Bayse Home, Bowling Green, built 1829.

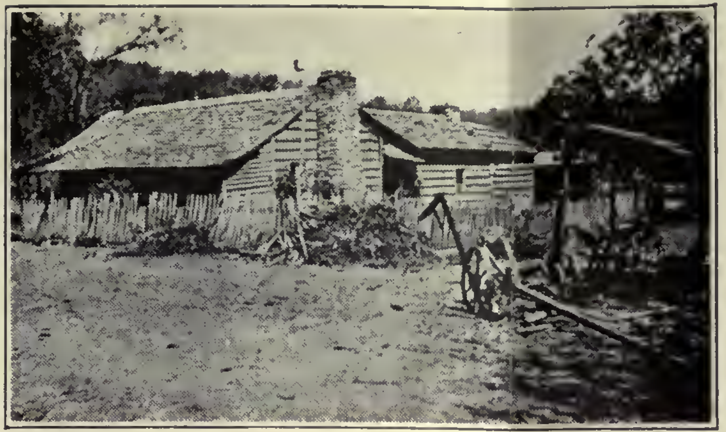

Plate 8 (Footnote 9.)
Log house still used in the Ozarks.

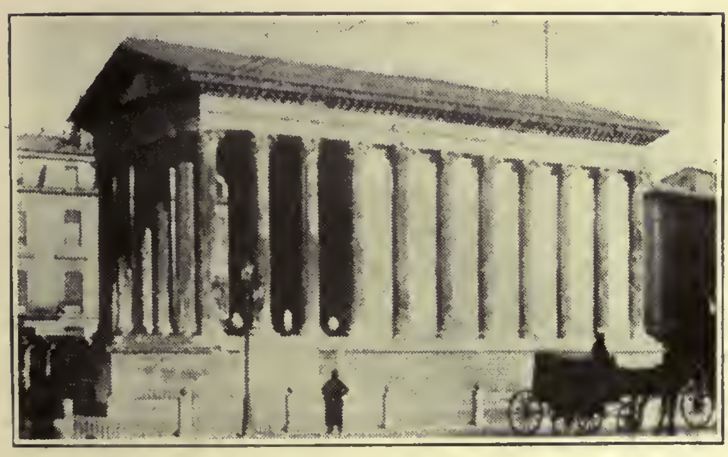

Plate 9 (Footnote 11.)
Maison Carree at Nimes, France.

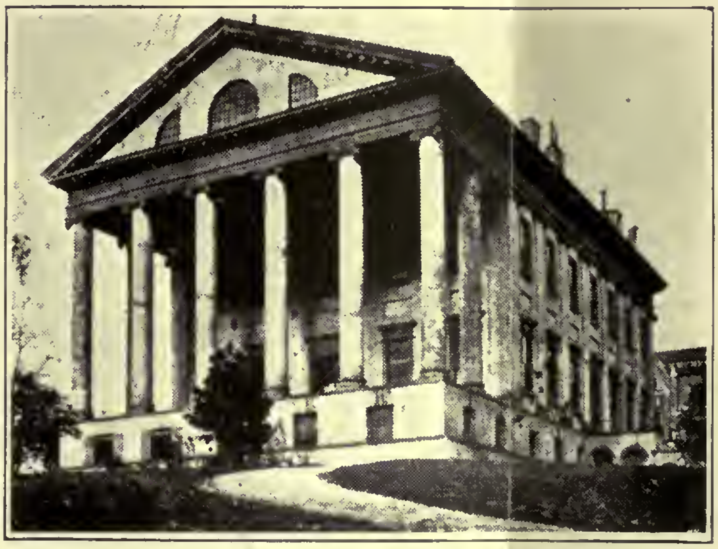

Plate 10 (Footnote 12.)
The Capitol of Virginia.

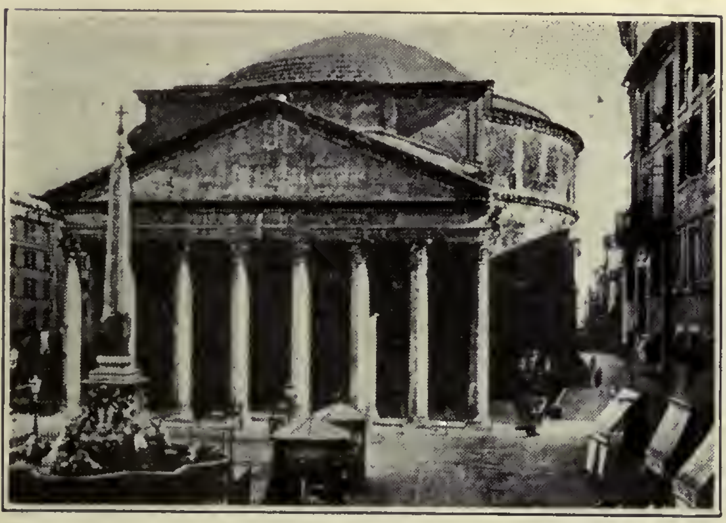

Plate 11 (Footnote 13.)
Pantheon, Rome.

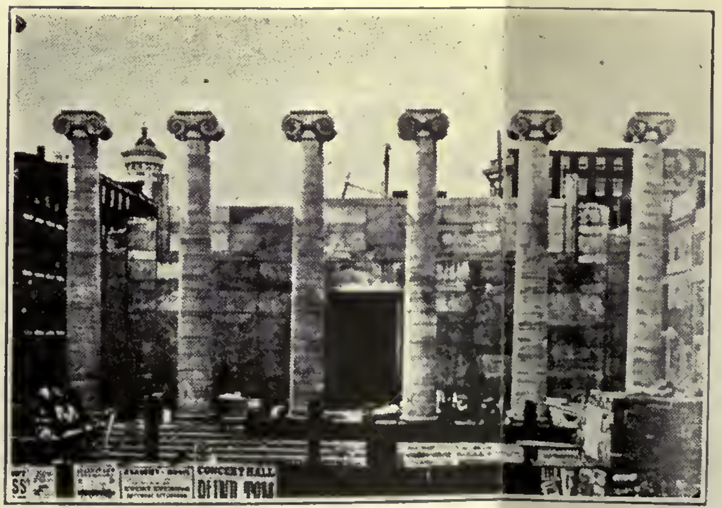

Plate 12 (Footnote 14.)
East Portico, Bank of Pennsylvania.

adapted to its particular needs and ideas, these early leaders turned to classic antiquity whose republics were believed to be the prototype of the American ideal. In his search for comprehensive forms Jefferson picked on two Roman masterpieces, the one representing what he termed "cubical architecture," and the other "spherical architecture." The first was the so-called Maison Carree, at Nimes, France, a hexastyle temple of the Corinthian order, and one of the most beautifully proportioned structures in the world.[11] Jefferson, while in France (1785-89), had a small model of it made, with certain changes, and sent to the authorities of Virginia to guide them in building the new state capitol at Richmond.[12] For the second, the example of "spherical architecture" type, he selected the Pantheon in Rome of which the main body is circular, crowned with a low dome, and has an octastyle Corinthian portico serving for entrance.[13] Late in life, at the time of Missouri's admission to statehood, while devoting his energies to the University of Virginia, Jefferson finally selected this building as his model for the central rotunda, the library of the University.

On the completion of the United States capitol, in 1829, its plan of a great central dome with balanced wings became a national type more universally followed than any other for state capitols, to this day.

Benjamin H. Latrobe, who came to America at the close of the 18th century and was the architect of the Bank of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia,[14] in 1798-1801, did much to call attention to the refinement of Greek over Roman forms, and, in his design for the second Bank of the United States, Philadelphia (1819-24), adopted the octastyle Doric form of the Pantheon although the limited space made the suppression of the side colonnades necessary.[15] This temple form soon spread over the country where for half a century churches, public buildings, and even residences were erected in its mode; and it has continued to be one of the most favored for banking houses. The capitol of Kentucky, erected at Frankfort 1827-31, was evidently inspired by the capitol of the mother state.[16] Built of marble, and Greek in character, it carried the tradition westward. Professor Kimball speaks of an incogruous addition in the small domed lantern over the stairway. Possibly this was the origin of the belfries often found on the temple form court houses of Missouri erected in the forties, as at St. Charles and Columbia.

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[11] Plate 9. Maison Carree, Nimes, France. The best preserved example of the Roman use of engaged columns on rear and sides of the cella, or body of the temple, suggesting the Greek treatment of a continuous exterior peristyle.

[12] Plate 10. The capitol was designed in 1785 but not finally completed until 1797. Jefferson changed the Corinthian capitals to Ionic to save expense and the windows were added for usefulness. Many changes such as those in scale were in opposition to Jefferson's wishes.

[13] Plate 11. The Pantheon in Rome, rebuilt by Hadrian in the 2nd century and restored by Severus in the first part of the 3rd century, A. D. Its plan is a circle one hundred and forty feet in diameter with the crown of its hemispherical dome this same distance from the floor.

[14] Plate 12. The East Portico of the Bank of Pennsylvania. See article on *The Bank of Pennsylvania*, by Professor Kimball, Architectural Record, Vol. XLIV, pp. 132-139.

It is quite possible, then, for us to understand the following statement made by Professor Kimball: "American domestic buildings of the second quarter of the century, from 'Arlington' and 'Andalusia' to obscure houses of the Northwest, represent an extreme of classicism which has no parallel elsewhere.

"Criticism of such buildings from a functional viewpoint is irrelevant to historical consideration, which is concerned only with determining and understanding the actual course of evolution. Whatever be thought of them, there can be no doubt that they endowed America with an architectural tradition unsurpassed in the qualities of monumentality and dignity."[17]

By the third decade of the last century, in addition to his race instincts and traditions, the Missourian could avail himself of well suited precedents from the actual architectural practice of older portions of the American Republic.

THE GOLDEN AGE.

The happy coincidence of three factors—the necessity of larger, better planned buildings; continued expansion with great prosperity; and the widespread admiration for a dignified style—resulted in what may be termed Missouri's Golden Age of Art, the period preceding the Civil War. Doubtless the great popularity of Thomas Jefferson, sponsor of the classic, and, in particular, of the temple form of structure, caused many to accept it as the highest possible mode of expression.

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[15] For an illustration of this bank see *K. and E.*, p. 545.

[16] Kimball, *First Monuments of the Classical Revival in America.*

[17] Kimball, *A. H. Rev.*, p. 57.

For the majority of the buildings erected in Missouri at this time no definite style was employed, the local builder meeting the demand, as in previous years, from his fund of general experience; yet any observant person journeying across the State, today, will notice a house here and there, perhaps in good repair or maybe the reverse, but having, withal, an air of distinction. On examination, its harmonious proportions, good window and door spacing,[18] ample central hall, with or without the full height, pedimented porch, betray the fact that its designer was at least actuated by the spirit known as classic, even if he were not well instructed in scale relationships. Doubtless only a minority of those originally so built are still standing, but we have enough examples to form some judgment of the conditions obtaining at the time. What we need now is more definite information in the way of original plans or measured drawings, and also photographs, where possible, of fine buildings, whether destroyed, completely altered, or still as originally built. Careful investigation of correspondence and of legal records of all kinds might throw light on art conditions in early Missouri.

While many buildings in the state partook only indirectly of the advantages of a great, impressive style, even of those directly affected by it only relatively few can be claimed as fully in the classic mode, and for most of these some license must be allowed.

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[18] Plate 13. The doorway of the (old) Lucas house at 611 Market St., St. Louis. An example of the use of doorway details before the ideas of the style were applied to the whole structure. My colleague, Professor H. S. Bill, tells me that here in Missouri the builders were supplied with several of the English 18th century books (originals and reprints), a prime favorite being Batty Langley's *Builder's Jewel and Carpenter's Chest Book.*

Probably pre-eminent among these latter must be placed the St. Louis Courthouse, especially as first planned by Henry Singleton, in 1839[19] on the general plan of a Breek Cross with a true Roman low dome over the rotunda and four Doric hexastyle porticos. Mr. S. L. Sherer, has this to say of it:

> "It may be of interest to record the names of the architects of the Court House, and they deserve recording for the beautiful building which they have left for our admiration, and which dignifies the city.
>
> "The original plans were drawn by Henry Singleton in the year 1839, and were for a building which was a Greek Cross in plan, surmounted by a low dome, and with a Grecian Doric Hexastyle portico (evidently based upon that of the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius) on each of its four sides; but the building as it stands to-day is largely the design of Robert S. Mitchell as made by him in the years 1851-55. He had been preceded by William Twombley, whose work was probably the execution of what had already been planned.
>
> "As the city grew apace it was found that more room was required, and the Market and Chestnut streets porticoes and the old dome were removed and the present wings and dome added by Mitchell and his successors. The present Market street facade is somewhat different from the one on Chestnut street in that its entablature is supported by pilasters, while that on Chestnut street is supported by columns in antis.
>
> "While Mitchell's design for the dome was not strictly adhered to, the outline and proportions are the same. His successor, Thomas D. P. Lanham (1857), unwisely substituted fluted cast iron columns for the stone columns around the drum of the dome, and consoles and bull's-eye windows for the engaged balustrade above the entablature. The seated figure of Justice in Mitchell's design was omitted through motives of economy, and the ball, supported by consoles, reluctantly substituted by William Rumbold (1859), who also finished the dome after Lanham's unsuccessful attempt to construct it of cast iron ribs, the inner and outer section of which were cast in one piece. The intercolumniations of the lantern were filled in with iron and glass by Thomas Walsh, the last architect in charge of the dome.
>
> "The building[20] was finally completed in the summer of 1862 at a total cost of $1,199,871.91."

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[19] Plate 14. The St. Louis courthouse in the early forties.

[20] Plate 15. The St. Louis couthouse. Mr. Sherer's account of it is taken from the St. Louis Architectural Club's Exhibition Catalogue, 1900, in which the picture was published, it then being cited as from an old photograph.

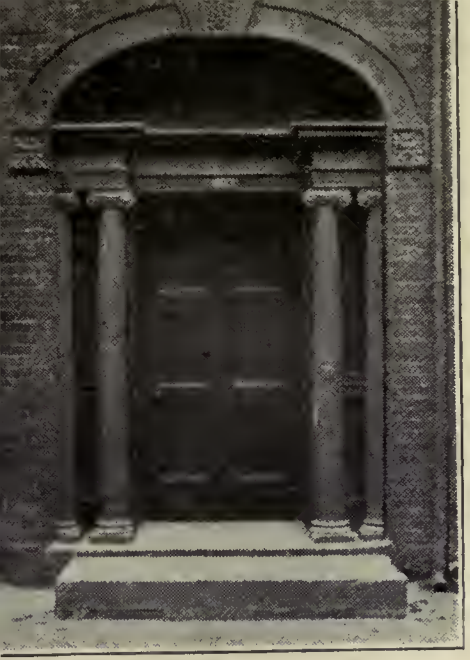

Plate 13 (Footnote 18.)
Doorway of the early period.

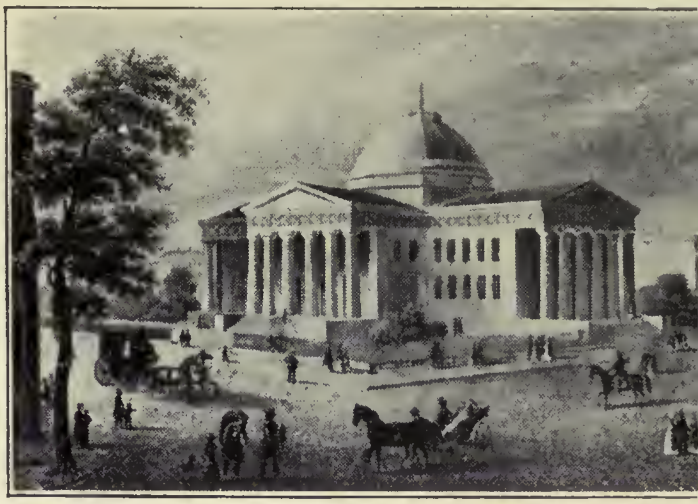

Plate 14 (Footnote 19.)
St. Louis Courthouse as originally planned.

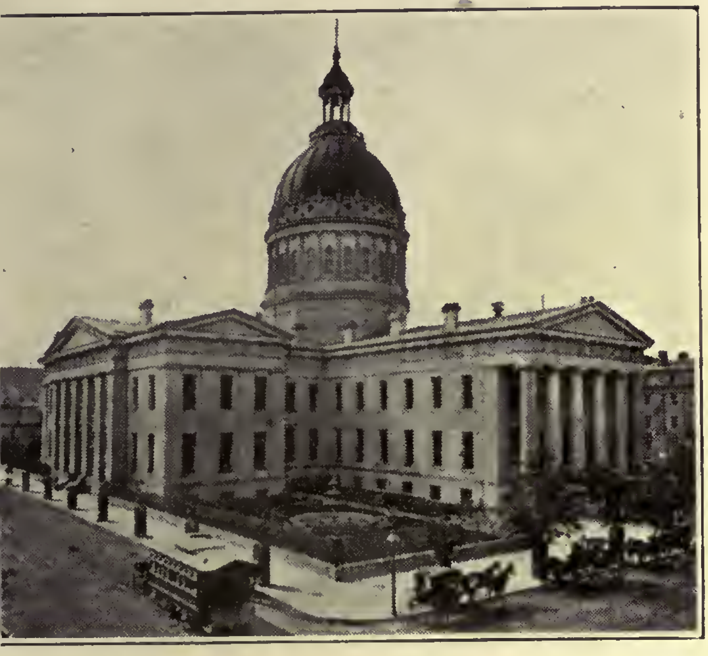

Plate 15 (Footnote 20.)
St. Louis Courthouse.

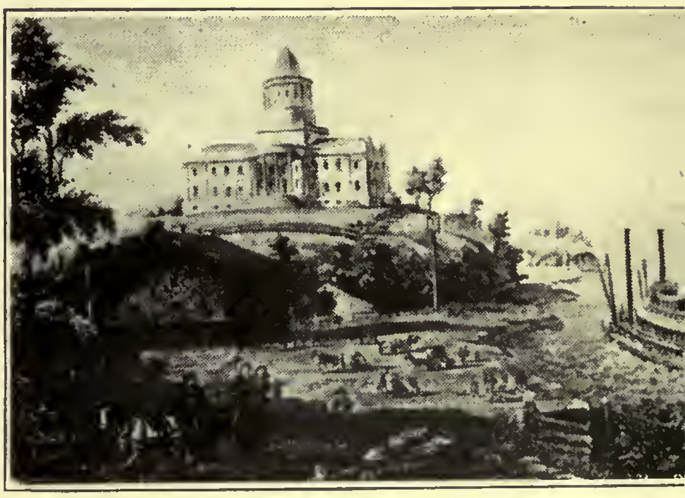

Plate 16 (Footnote 21.)
Missouri Capitol from 1840 to 1887.

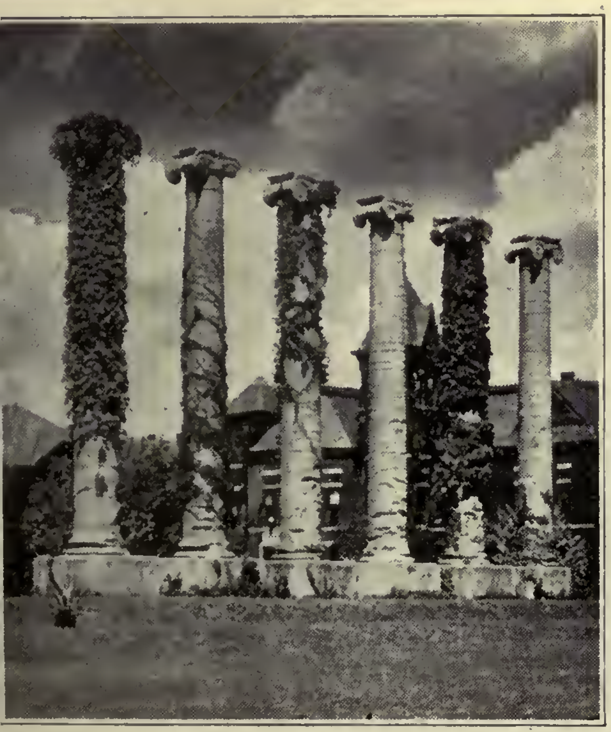

Plate 17 (Footnote 23.)

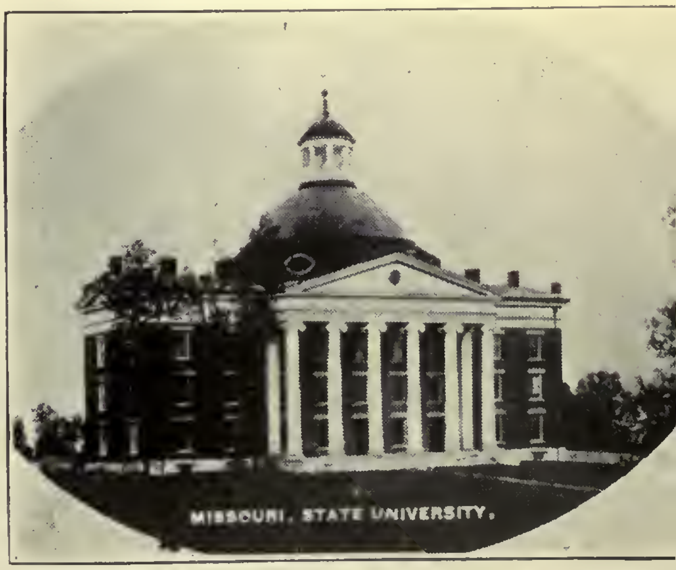

Plate 18 (Footnote 28.)

On the selection of Jefferson City as the capital, the legislature had a small brick building erected to serve both as Governor's Mansion and Legislative Hall, and from 1826 until its destruction by fire in 1837, it was so used.

Then the hill a short distance to the west was selected and here in 1840 the state government occupied the new capitol.[21] One can imagine its very handsome appearance to passengers on the river boats, especially if they passed in the forenoon of a bright day, when, to the dignity of the fine structure dominating the hill top there was added the brilliancy of sunlight on limestone and the enchanced interest of light and shade over detail of column and cornice of the monumental east portico.

The architect, Stephen Hills, planned a two-story structure 185 feet by 81 feet, built of brick and rubble work with exterior facing of four-inch polished stone.[22] Its plan consisted of a central portion subdivided into three adjoining circles with wings north and south. The state entrance to the east occupied the first circle of the plan and gave immediate access to the rotunda, west of which was another circular apartment. The great portico some forty feet in diameter, was rather unusual in that the interior half of its circle fitted into a recess in the facade while on the exterior six large Ionic columns supported the semi-circular cornice and roof. The cornice of the portico was on a level with and in the same scale of the cornice of the building, thereby adding greatly to the unity and monumental quality of the capitol.

The rotunda was crowned with a dome of a total height of some 130 feet from the ground and built with a free colonnade, of the Corinthian order, circling its base. The legislative halls and offices occupied the wings, the Senate Chamber occupying the second story of the south wing while the House had corresponding quarters on the north. The original cost in 1840 is said to have been some $350,000.00. The alterations of 1887 destroyed much of the charm of the original structure but it still retained quite some dignity right up to the time of its complete destruction by fire in 1911.

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[21] Plate 16. The State capitol, Jefferson City, from 1840 to 1887. I have been unable to procure a photograph.

[22] Viles: *Missouri Capitals and Capitols*, Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XIII, p. 241. Mr. L. S. Parker, Jefferson City, says the cutting of the columns was superintended by a Frenchman, presumably a sculptor. He also reports an old settler, who built the tables for a banquet set in the rotunda, 1855, as stating the diameter of the East Portico to be 42 feet and that of the well of the second floor of the rotunda, 35 feet.

Universally, visitors to the neighboring town of Columbia express admiration for "The Columns," beautifully proportioned and well cut in limestone,[23] that play the role of protecting angels to Francis Quadrangle, the west, or old, campus. Sole survivors of the first building erected by the curators of the University of Missouri, these stones, in their isolated grandeur, fairly force one to feel the inherent beauty of the column as a form of esthetic expression. Rodin expresses the idea well in saying:[24]

> "Before me, on a knoll, stands a beautiful column as if in prayer.* * * Stone, pure and beautiful material destined for the work of men, just as flax is destined for the work of women.* * *
>
> "The column is like a tree but simpler than a tree with a silent life of its own. And like the plants which cling about it, it also has its foliage and leaves. * * *
>
> "That column there rises up like a druid stone as though to converse with the moon at night. * * * in its immensity it bears witness that man has created it."

To student and instructor they enshrine a long chain of memories and symbolize the highest ideals of Alma Mater.

The University of the State occupied, at first, one building, of which the corner stone was laid July 4, 1840, the dedication occuring the same date three years later. Advertisements for bidders on the plans and specifications of Stephen Hills had been circulated in newspapers[25] to the east and south of Missouri and at a special meeting of the board, held March 31, 1840, it was agreed that the four lowest bidders should construct the building for $74,494.00. The procession for the laying of the corner stone interests us in that the fourth division, composed of the chief undertakers of the building, was headed by the architect. Indeed he came directly after the Governor's party, the curators and chaplain, and orators, and preceded the clergy, faculty and visitors. In this day when newspapers seldom mention architects, sculptors or painters of even important monuments, such attention is all the more notable and even curious.

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[23] Plate 17. The Columns, Columbia, erected in 1841-2 in the portico of the University. A comparison of these columns with those in plate 13 suggests a common origin. Possibly Stephen Hills used the same plates as Latrobe for guidance or he may even have studied the Philadelphia examples.

[24] *Rodin's Notebook*, by Judith Claudel, Century Magazine for September, 1914, pp. 746-7.

[25] Switzler: *History of the University of Missouri.* (Still in MSS.)

The materials for the building were found near at hand; the limestone for the high foundation and great portico being quarried in the immediate vicinity of Columbia and the brick burned on the campus just south of the foundations.[26] Great pains were taken to bring the best craftsmen and mechanics available to Columbia, and in their search the authorities ranged as far afield as Pennsylvania, where Mr. Lukens was found and entrusted with the building of the circular stairways[27] at either end of the entrance hall. A number of the important men remained in Columbia and made good citizens, helping to establish standards in the building trades.

The building[28] faced north and its great Ionic hexastyle portico gave entrance through a shallow hallway (described as elliptical), into the semi-circular chapel or auditorium, the gallery of which was on a level with the second floor; while over the chapel on the third floor were two rooms, one the forum, the other the library. This main body of the building was surmounted by a semi-spherical dome and lantern, the drum of the dome being octagonal, having for diameter the width of the porch, some seventy-six feet. The columns were forty-three feet high and full height wings to the east and west gave three floors of class rooms and offices.

Roof, dome, and cornice were covered with copper, while the frieze and pediments were of stucco. The end gables were treated as pediments and the heavy entablature continued in the cornice, making, in all, a very unified structure, and, excepting the St. Louis Courthouse, probably the handsomest one built west of the Mississippi during the next several decades. The great portico was twenty-three feet deep, thirteen of which projected beyond the wings while ten occupied a recess in the facade. East and west the total length of the building was 156 feet and the total height 135 feet.

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[26] Mr. Marshall Gordon, Columbia.

[27] Mr. R. B. Price, Sr., Columbia.

[28] Plate 18. The University of Missouri from 1843 to 1885. For the complete specifications see the article by Wm. F. Switzler in the *Columbia Patriot*, Aug. 14, 1841.

Although not improved by the addition of great wings to east and west in 1885, the destruction by fire, first of the University (1892), and then the capitol, have been irreparable losses, for they were great monuments of this period of the State's young manhood. *If we could only learn to preserve from harmful additions as well as destruction, the fine things that a previous generation gives us, our cultural growth might be speeded.* The realization that society eventually loses enormously in failing to protect the work of the architect and painter from garbling and unnecessary decay, would do much toward establishing the artist's work on the plane of comparative safety the author and composer now enjoy.

Some blocks north of the University and facing it, stood the Boone county courthouse, built about the same time and of the temple form so popular in Missouri in the forties. St. Charles on the east, in 1849, and Lexington on the west, in 1848, selected the same type.

The Boone county building[29] had a beautiful tetrastyle Doric portico with handsome entablature and heavy cornice that kept the temple aspect by making the two stories appear almost as one. The columns were well proportioned, of Boone County limestone, unfluted, and the brick walls had corner pilasters with stone caps and bases. The entablature, pediment and roof were of wood, the pediment rather high and the clock tower a trifle small but well placed over the entrance wall.

The St. Charles courthouse[30] was one story, had fluted columns, in a Doric hexastyle portico, with pilasters on the

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[29] Plate 19. The Boone county courthouse, Columbia, built in the forties.

[30] Plate 20. The St. Charles courthouse, built in 1849.

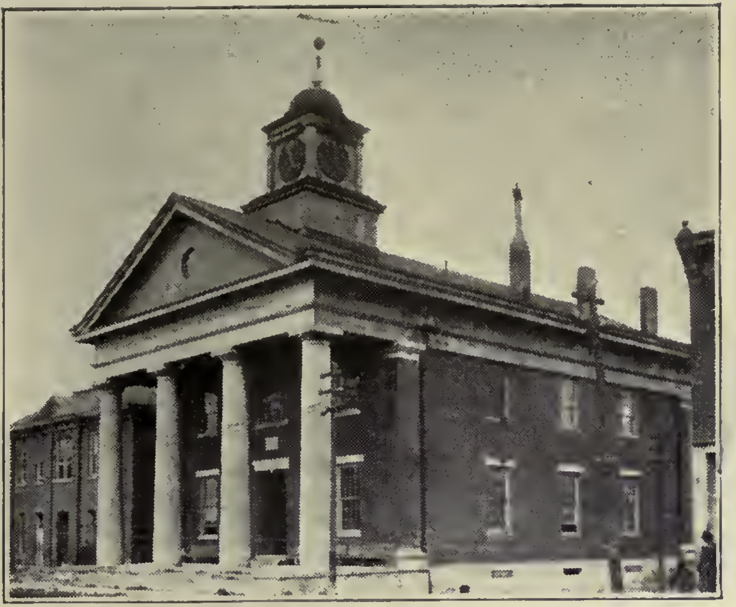

Plate 19 (Footnote 29.)
Former Courthouse, Columbia.

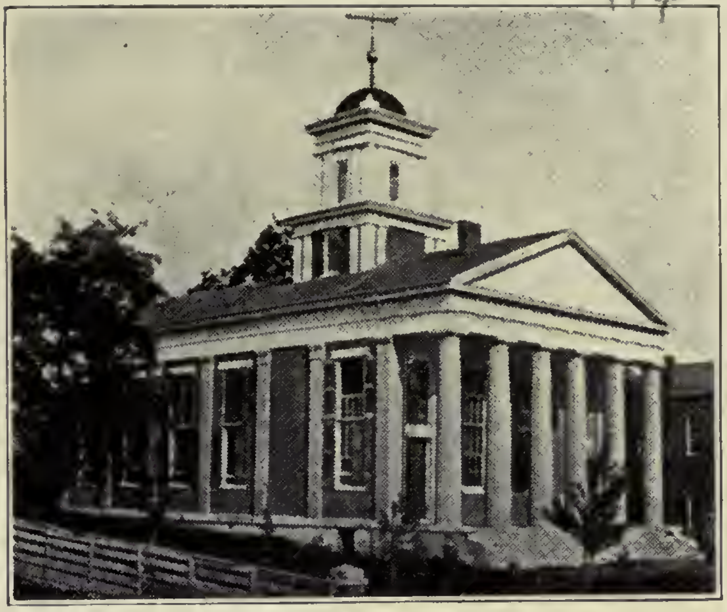

Plate 20 (Footnote 30).
Former Courthouse, St. Charles.

Plate 21 (Footnote 31.)
Former Courthouse, Lexington.

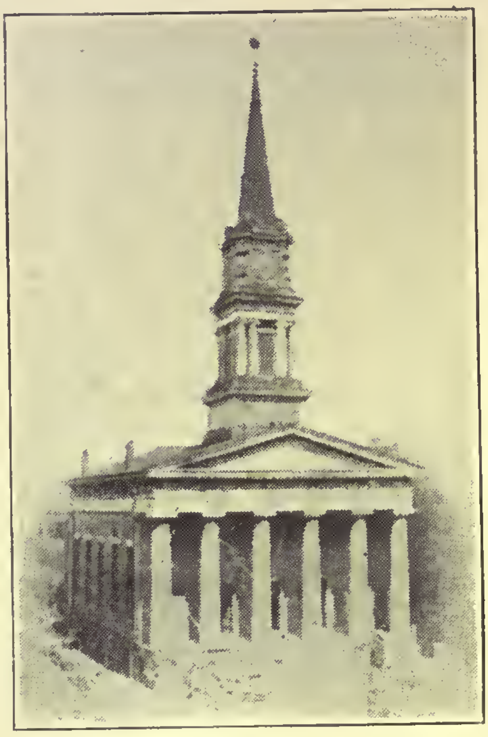

Plate 22 (Footnote 33.)
Former Second Presbyterian
Church, St. Louis.

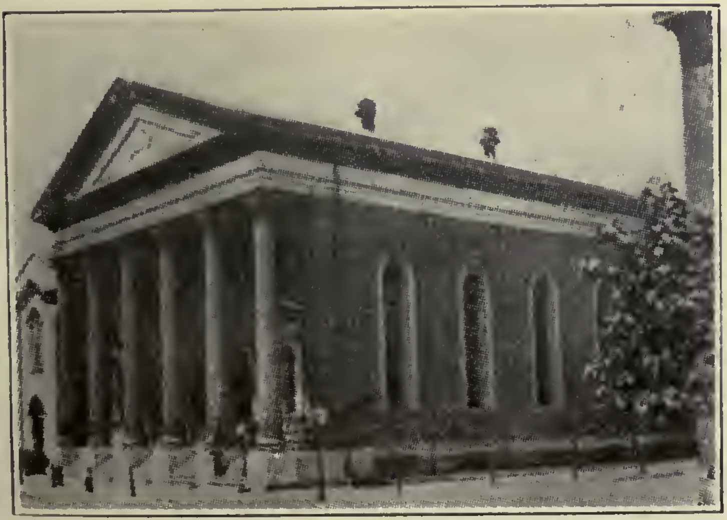

Plate 23 (Footnote 34.)
Former Congregational Church, St. Louis.

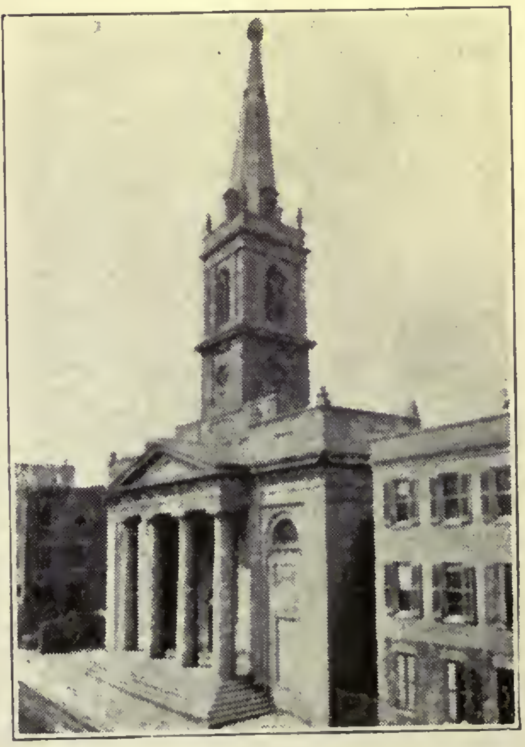

Plate 24 (Footnote 35.)
Former Catholic Cathedral, St. Louis.

side walls to recall the columns of the suppressed colonnade. The well proportioned bell tower was placed slightly back of the entrance wall.

In the Lafayette county courthouse at Lexington,[31] a two-storied building with tetrastyle porch and pilasters, the Doric order was used. It was built by local contractors, Alford & Hale, and is another example of the value to a community of a dignified style, of which the main tenets are simple and direct enough to be understood by the local craftsmen. The appearance of the building was harmed by the clock tower, which was poor in proportion as well as in detail, and placed directly over the porch.

According to a recent newspaper report, the old courthouse at Independence, built about 1830 of walnut and white-oak logs on a ground plan of 18x40 feet, is to be restored and remodeled for the Community Welfare League.[32]

It is not surprising under the influence of such a style as the classic, that the churches came into their own. Here the accusation of the temple form of classicism as concealing rather than revealing the plan, could not hold true, as the majority of religious organizations at that time demanded only a one-room hall; any other chambers being extremely small and relatively unimportant, or placed in the basement.

On the whole, the most attractive church building of this type was the Second Presbyterian Church,[33] erected in 1840, on the northwest corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, St. Louis, and destroyed some years ago. One quite agrees with Mr. Sherer when he says it calls to mind the work of Christopher Wren and James Gibbs. Its steeple was evidently particularly well designed and its proportions, subdivisions and details so carefully related to the building proper, and particularly to the facade, that one is tempted to accept it as a logical part of a classical structure. Some of the more obvious relationships employed were: the height of steeple from roof to ball as three times that of the Doric columns in the hexastyle portico; the distance from the porch floor to the top of the entablature repeated in the combined height of the two main divisions of the steeple and again in the spire proper; and the use of engaged columns (Ionic) and entablature in the body of the steeple.

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[31] Plate 21. Lafayette county courthouse, Lexington, built 1848. (Kindness of Mr. E. N. Hopkins, Lexington.)

[32] *Kansas City Star*, May 16, 1921.

[33] Plate 22. The Second Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, erected in 1840.

Twenty years later, at the corner of Tenth and Locust streets, St. Louis, a Congregational[34] Church was built with a handsome portico of the courthouse order.

One of the oldest churches in Missouri is the former Cathedral[35] of the Roman Catholic Church on Walnut, between Second and Third Streets, built from 1830 to 1834. The interior, said to have been very handsome at one time, is at present painted a heavy, monotonous gray. Still, in spite of such poor treatment, it retains an air of spaciousness. The nave has a flat arched ceiling, almost a barrel vault with heavy columns supporting the side aisles. Of the exterior, the columns and pediment are noteworthy, but the steeple strikes one as unfortunate, especially when seen from below, as this view exaggerates the discrepancy between the base and the slender spire.

Many of the churches of the State during this period were built without porticos, but had the front gable treated as a pediment and a belfry was placed just above it. The Presbyterian Church[36] at Columbia, built in 1846, was of this type.

As the prosperity of the people increased, the demand for better homes produced some very notable structures. To many people, the spacious chambers, wide central halls, and stately porticos of the house we may loosely denote as classic[37], make it seem the true symbol of the social graces and hospitality said to have been so characteristic of the pre-war Missourian. It is interesting to compare two residences of this type, the Henry Chouteau house[38] on the site now occupied

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[34] Plate 23. Congregational Church, St. Louis, built in 1860.

[35] Plate 24. Former Catholic Cathedral, St. Louis, built in 1830-34, still standing, and used as a parish church.

[36] Plate 25. The Presbyterian Church, Columbia, built in 1846.

[37] Classic via French and Palladian sources. For a discussion of classical influences in American domestic architecture see *K. and E.*, pp. 547-550.

[38] Plate 26. The Henry Chouteau house, St. Louis.

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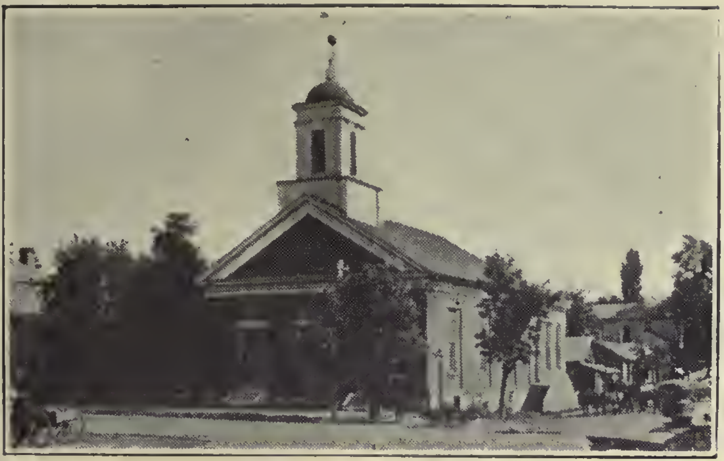

Plate 25 (Footnote 36.)
Former Presbyterian Church, Columbia.

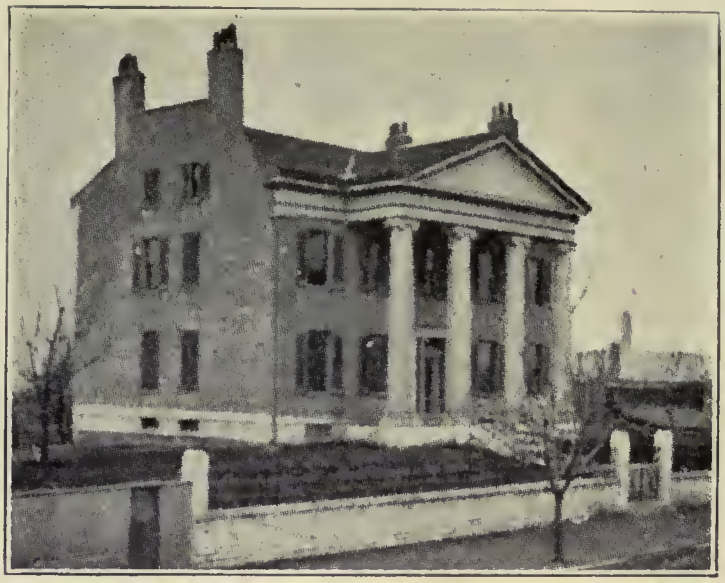

Plate 26 (Footnote 38.)
Former Chouteau house, St. Louis.

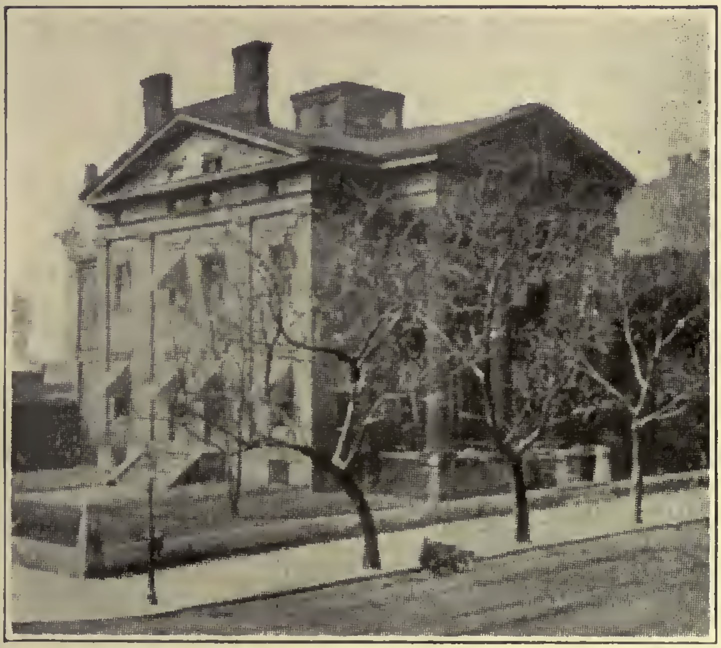

Plate 27 (Footnote 39.)
Former Lucas house, St. Louis.

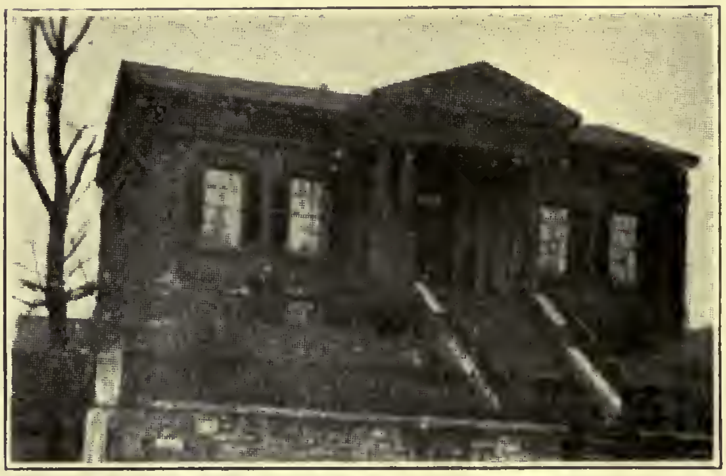

Plate 28 (Footnote 40.)
Former dwelling on Chouteau Ave., St. Louis.

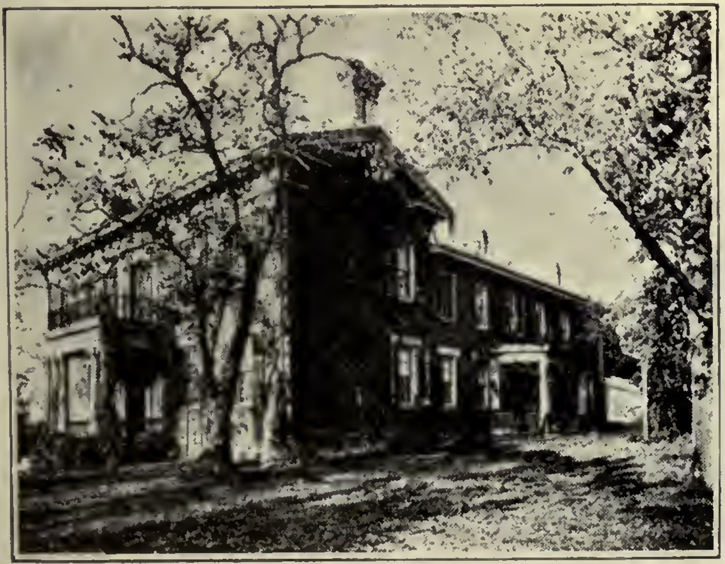

Plate 29 (Footnote 41.)
McCausland Residence, Lexington.

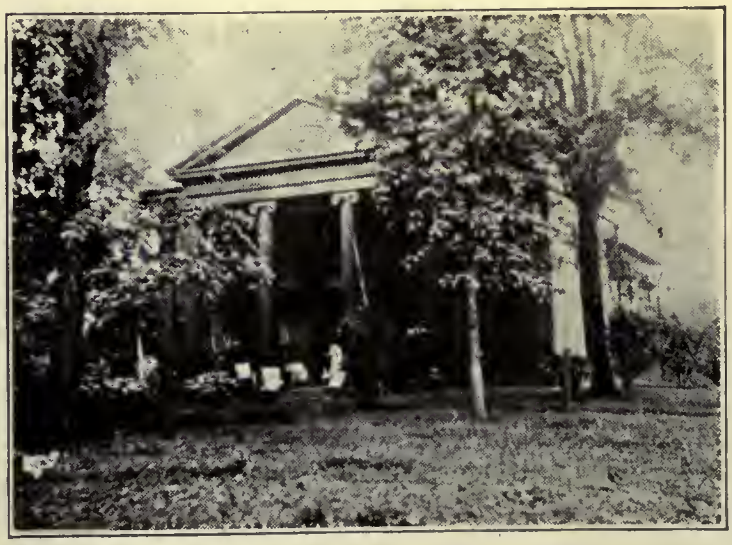

Plate 30 (Footnote 42.)
Willis Residence, Columbia.

by the Four Courts, St. Louis, and the James H. Lucas place[39], formerly at Ninth and Olive Streets, of which Wm. Fulton was the architect. The houses decidedly resemble each other in having similar plans and front elevations, but the treatment of the side elevations of the Lucas residence with pediment and pilasters gives that house a sense of completion quite lacking in the other one.

The one-and-one-half story dwelling[40] formerly on Chouteau Avenue and 17th Street, is very typical, with its portico of fine proportions, of many modest houses in various parts of the State; the Duncan house, formerly where the Hall Theatre, Columbia, now stands, being almost its counterpart.

Clear across the State, especially following the rich valley of the Missouri, commodious houses were constructed, some of which still stand. Among these latter, one of the most homelike in appearance was the residence of the late W. G. McCausland[41], at Lexington, Mo., built in 1848 by H. S. Chadwick.

One of the stateliest among these houses is the two-story brick residence[42] on East Broadway, Columbia, since 1889 the home of Mrs. Wm. H. Willis. Its full-height porch is supported by four Ionic columns, has a well designed pediment, and makes a dignified entrance to the very commodious interior. It was built in 1847-49 for John Fields and the owner conceived the idea of constructing large reservoirs or shallow basins, on the flat, copper covered roof. His plan of keeping these filled with water and stocked with fish came to an end after a few years and they were boarded over. However, when the Civil War sent the price of copper skyward the metal was sold for enough to pay for the entire reconstruction of the roof along lines better suited to this climate, with a surplus sufficient to remove a mortgage and supply an income for several years. Its plan of a very wide central hall, from which the stairs ascend, with eight large rooms, two below and two above on both sides of the hall in the body of the house, with six additional rooms and a double gallery in the rear wing, was probably more generally used than any other in the larger houses[43].

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[39] Plate 27. The James H. Lucas residence, St. Louis. (Kindness of Mo. Hist. Soc.)

[40] Plate 28. Dwelling on Chouteau Ave. and 17th St., St. Louis.

[41] Plate 29. Residence of the late W. G. McCausland, Lexington, built in 1848. (Kindness of Mr. E. N. Hopkins, Lexington.)

[42] Plate 30. Le Refuge, the home of Mrs. Wm. H. Willis, Columbia, built in 1847-9. A drawing still preserved was made in 1849 by Mr. R. B. Price, Sr., the father of the present owner, and shows the building as flat-roofed at that time.

In the early fifties Major John Dougherty had a large residence[44] of the same general style constructed in Clay county, some seven miles from Liberty, for which the bricks were shipped by boat from St. Louis. The columns are very slender for Ionic, which gives them the effect of being unduly tall, this being increased, probably, by comparison with the duplicates in miniature at either side of the door. In the Wornall house, built in 1857 in Westport, square pillars were used instead of columns.[45]

On the Crenshaw estate, five miles southwest of Springfield, stands the handsome house[46] of the late A. D. Crenshaw, built in 1856. But the house with entrance hall off the center, no portico, but a livable double gallery along one side of the rear wing—is well illustrated in the home of[47] Mr. and Mrs. George W. McElhiney on Jefferson Street, St. Charles, built in the forties for Col. Ludwell E. Powell, the first mayor of St. Charles, and still a very attractive house, although the galleries have recently given place to a more popular structure in the form of a terrace with pergola.

Of the great periods of the past whose various manners of building we have borrowed to use for our own purposes, for

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[43] The central hall is 14 feet wide and 40 feet long and every one of the fourteen rooms is 20 feet square. To contrast the picture of this house with that in plate 4 is a good way to make one's self appreciate the growth in design that took place in Missouri from the twenties to the forties.

[44] Plate 31. The Major John Dougherty house in Clay county, built in the early fifties. (Kindness of Mrs. Robert S. Withers, Liberty.)

[45] Plate 32. The Wornall house, built in 1857, Westport.

[46] Plate 33. The Crenshaw house, near Springfield, built 1856. (Kindness of Mr. E. M. Shepard, Springfield.)

[47] Plate 34. The residence of Mr. and Mrs. George W. McElhiney, St. Charles, built in the forties. Plate 35. The rear or garden view, showing the livable double gallery.

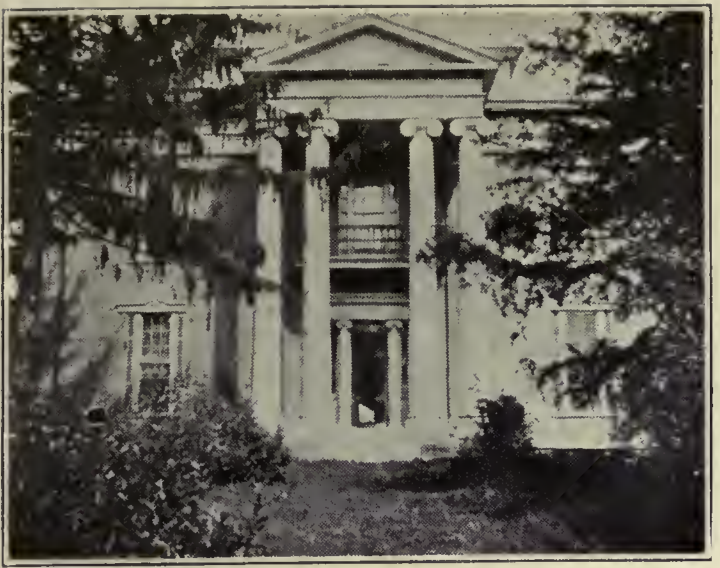

Plate 31 (Footnote 44.)
Dougherty house, Clay County.

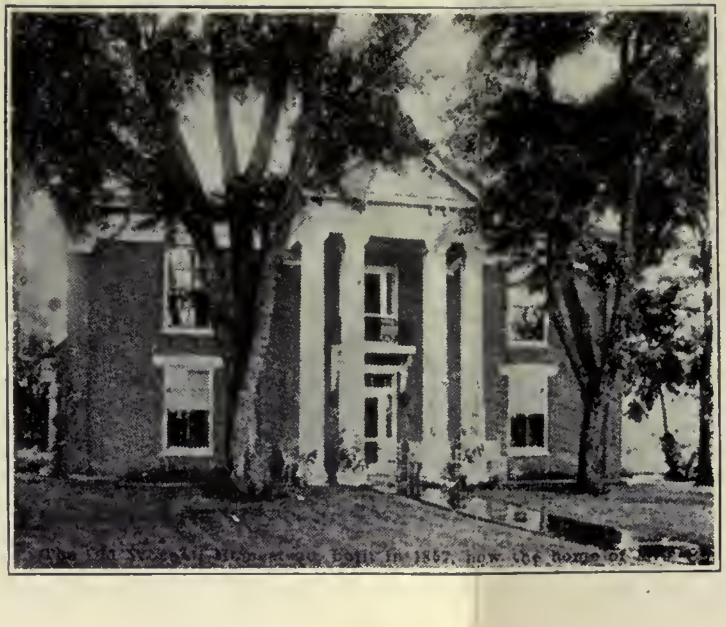
Built in 1857, now the home of

Plate 32 (Footnote 45.)
Wornall house, Westport.

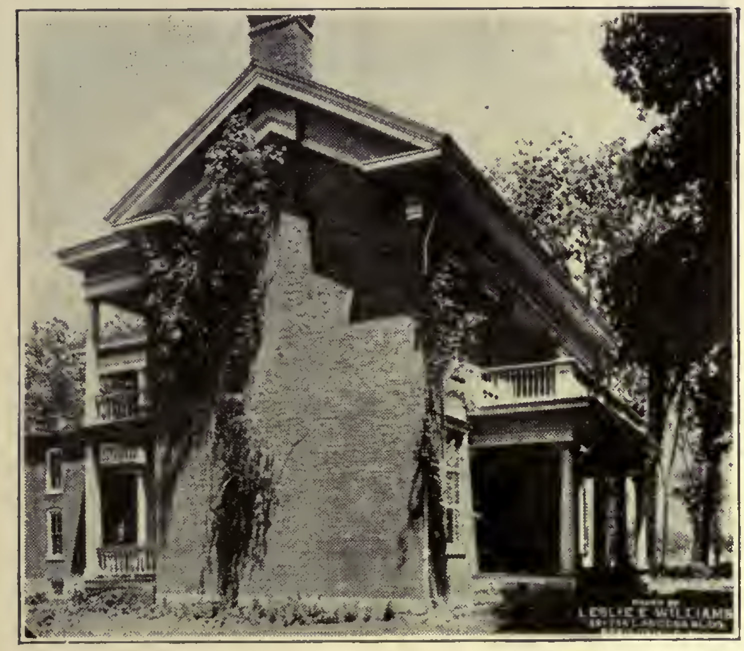
LESLIE E. WILLIAMS

Plate 33 (Footnote 46).
Crenshaw house, Greene County.

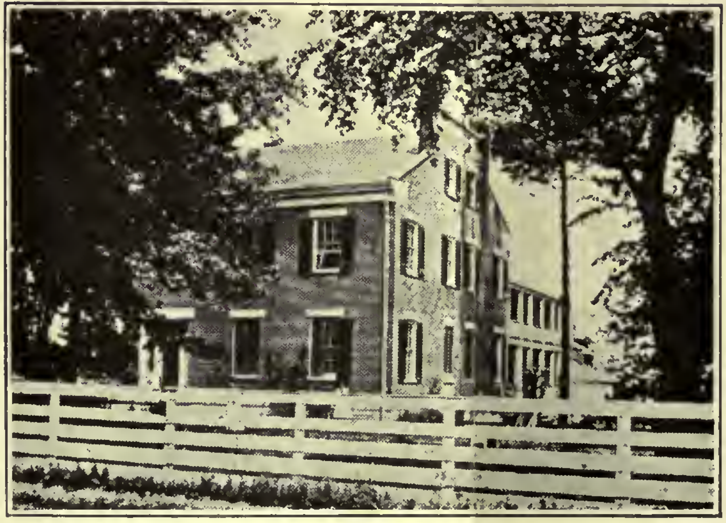

Plate 34 (Footnote 47.)
McIlhenny house St. Charles.

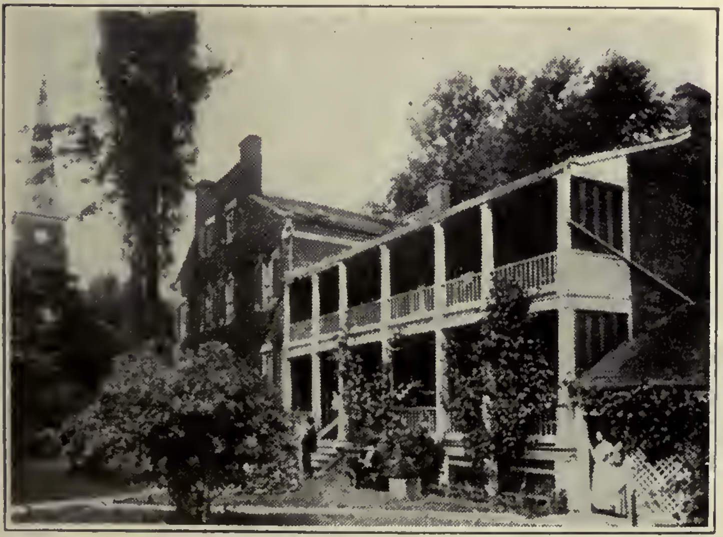

Plate 35 (Footnote 47).
Rear view of 34.

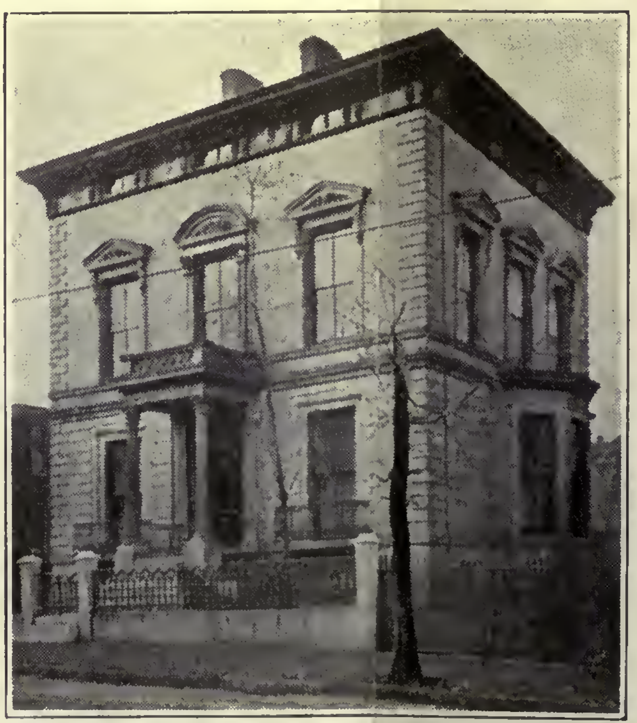

Plate 36 (Footnote 48.)
General Frost house, St. Louis.

example: the Greek and Roman Classic, the most highly prized by us of the Antique; the Byzantine, Romanesque and Gothic from the Middle Ages; and many phases of the Renaissance, particularly the Florentine and Roman Italian and the Early French, to say nothing of the English variations; of all these, one would probably select the general heading of English Mediaeval as the term most nearly fitting the Dr. Johnson residence. Style in architecture arises from the people who practice a certain mode of building; fine examples being those in which the style reaches real excellence; and a succession of great monuments creates traditions which become the basis and life of the school or style. Fortunately these traditions are capable of application to structures greatly removed in space and time from the starting point.

An echo of the Italian Renaissance is felt in some of the city residences built at the close of this period. The former home[48] of Gen. D. M. Frost, Washington St., built in 1859, awakens memories of palaces of the 16th century in Rome. Although the house is modest in scale, the workmanship is of a high order; probably quite an advance over the earlier dwellings. More of the spirit of Florence seems to have dominated in the Giles F. Filley residence[49] built on Locust Street, 1859-61. The Brant residence at 8th St. and Chouteau Ave., the Dr. Pope house at 10th and Locust, and many other places[50] might be cited to show that the building standards in St. Louis at this time were well above the mediocre. Mr. Sherer places the Frost residence as first among the old homes of St. Louis on account of its fine proportions and breadth of treatment. It is the work of George I. Barnett.

Possibly several well trained architects either lived in Missouri at the time or made professional visits and practiced here. Of one of them we are very fortunate in having definite information, as he still has two sons who are themselves able architects practicing their profession in St. Louis. Born in Nottingham, England, in 1815, George I. Barnett came to America in 1839 and soon afterwards found his way to St. Louis. Although only in his 25th year he had already been grounded in classicism by his studies in London and other parts of England. One of the charter members of the American Institute of Architects, he was also an honorary member of the N. Y. Society of Architects. During an extensive practice lasting forty years he gave St. Louis many of her best structures. The first, Lindell Hotel, built 1857-63, at that time the largest hotel in the United States, and the Southern Hotel,[51] 1858-65, were both designed by Mr. Barnett, as were also the later hotels of the same names.

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[48] Plate 36. Residence of Gen. D. M. Frost, Washington St., St. Louis' built in 1859. Geo. I. Barnett, architect.

[49] Plate 37. Residence of Giles F. Filley, Locust St., St. Louis, built 1859-61.

[50] Plate 38. The Lucas Place residence of Thomas Allen. Geo. I. Barnett, architect. The cornice is particularly interesting.

In 1839 Henry Spence designed the old Planters' House, while the old National Hotel at 3rd and Market streets dates from 1829. This was by an unknown hand, as were so many of these early buildings. On the levee at St. Louis stand great stone warehouses splendidly designed for the purpose, silent witnesses of the volume of river traffic in bygone days.

Another important contribution by Mr. Barnett was the old Chamber of Commerce,[52] St. Louis, completed in 1857, in which he combined the beauty of Italian Renaissance design with utilitarian purposes.

The Gothic revival which had taken on new life during the century, in the rebuilding of the House of Parliament in London, 1840-60, in this style, and in America by the selection of the Gothic style for Trinity Church (Episcopal), built in the English manner at the head of Wall Street, New York, 1839-46, followed by St. Patricks Cathedral (Catholic), on Fifth Avenue, New York, 1850-79, in the French scheme, with twin western towers, bore fruit in Missouri, toward the close of the pre-war period, in Christ Church Cathedral (Episcopal), St. Louis, designed by Leopold Eidlitz in 1859 and occupied in 1867. Though its Early English Gothic

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[51] Plate 39. The Southern Hotel built in 1858-65. Geo. I. Barnett, architect.

[52] Plate 40. (Old) Chamber of Commerce, 1857. Geo. I. Barnett, architect.

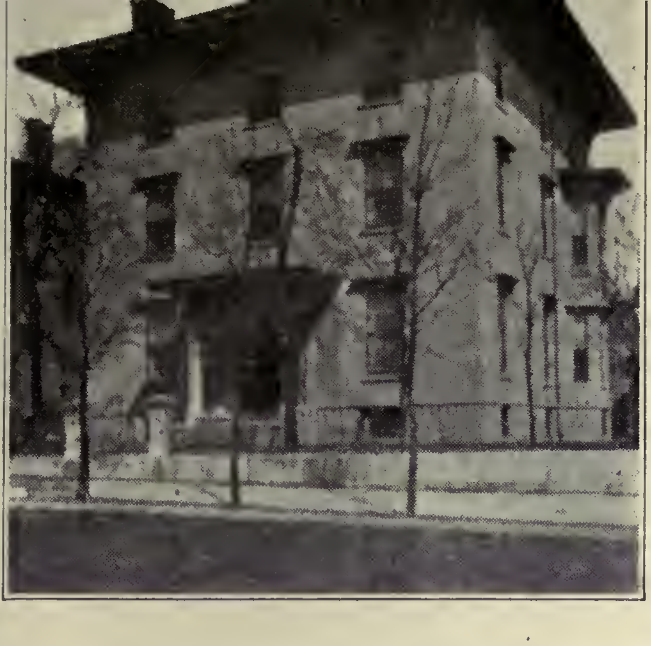

Plate 37 (Footnote 49.)
Filley house, St. Louis.

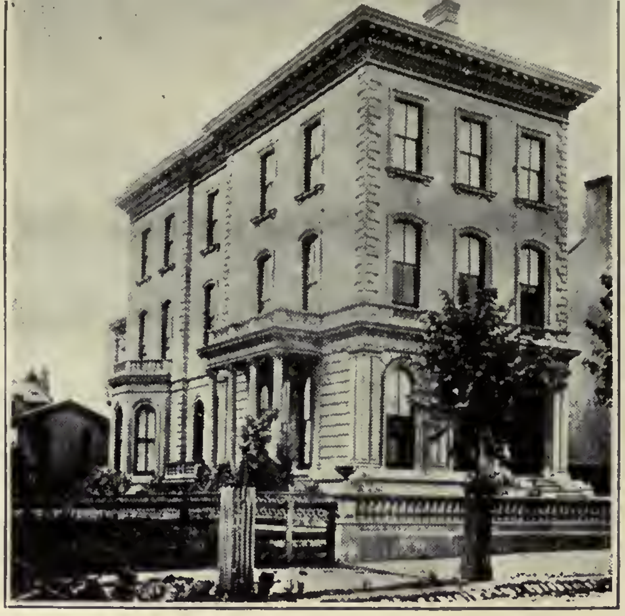

Plate 38 (Footnote 50.)
Allen house, St. Louis.

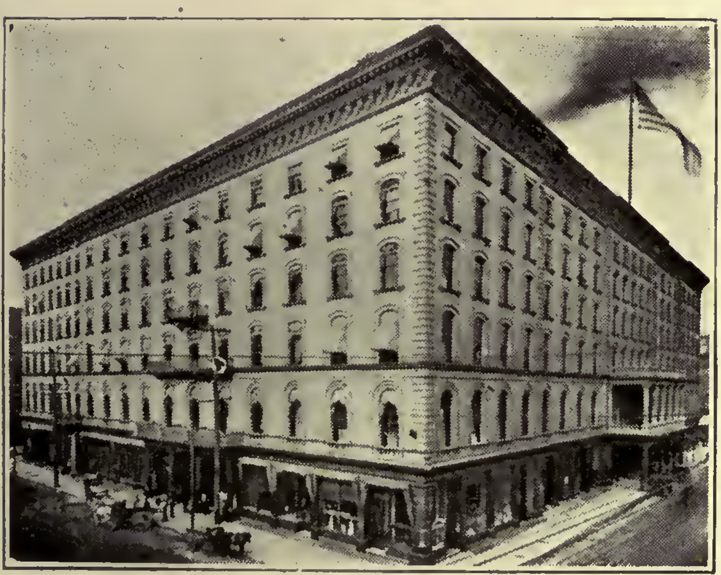

Plate 39 (Footnote 51.)
Old Southern Hotel, St. Louis.

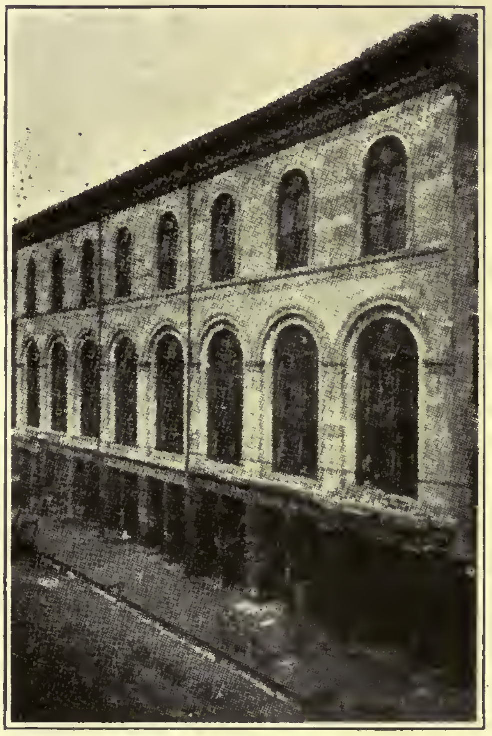

Plate 40 (Footnote 52.)
Old Chamber of Commerce, St. Louis.

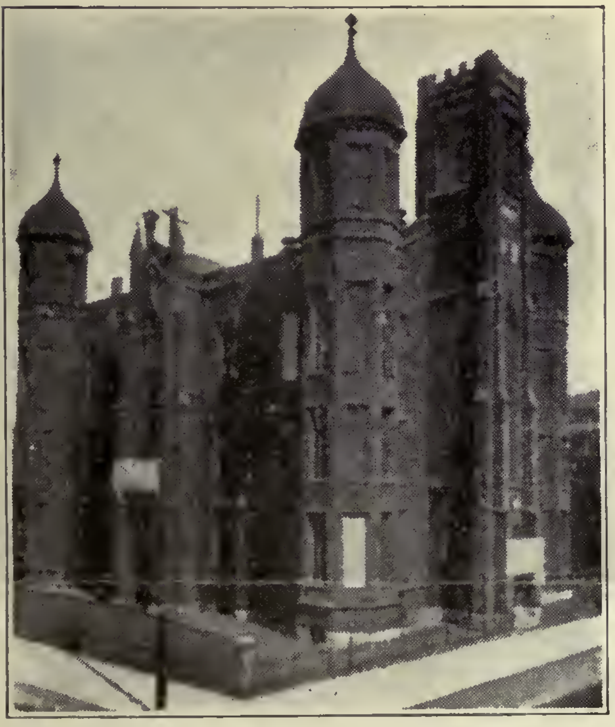

Plate 41 (Footnote 53.)
Former High School, St. Louis.

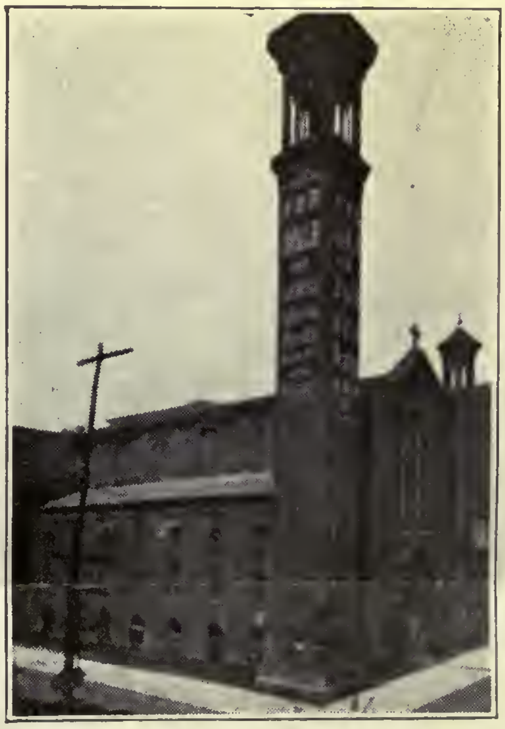

Plate 42 (Footnote 54.)
Former Union Methodist Church, St. Louis.

design has been much harmed by later additions it is still a notable building.

The High School[53] formerly at 15th and Olive streets, St. Louis, of Tudor Gothic style, is another example of this influence, while the Union Methodist Church,[54] formerly at 11th and Locust streets, designed by George I. Barnett, though mediaeval in character, expressed a North Italian mixture of Romanesque and Gothic. The Campanile was evidently a thing of great beauty, due to its refinement of both line and proportion, and the man who placed such a disfiguring sign on it would deserve punishment for the maltreatment of beauty, were our social organization visually conscious!

I have not been able to trace any direct influence of the Gothic out in the State during this period, although it is easily possible to have overlooked examples of it.

A society formed of diverse elements such as constituted the life of early Missouri, builds in many styles; or, rather, one finds many types in an embryonic or immature stage and generally so mixed as to be difficult, if not impossible, of characterization. Primative types of the Antique, Mediaeval, or Rennissance stood side by side with an occasional entirely original structure. After all is said, style must have this preliminary activity as soil for growth, and happy is the community which learns to express its own best ideals in terms of its own making. Next to such good fortune is the second choice of making a wise selection in the adopted style, whether consciously or unconsciously chosen. In this respect Missouri was fortunate in that she at least followed a great style early in her career, many of her builders desiring to work in the classic mode, the result depending on the knowledge of the master workman.

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[53] Plate 41. (Former) High School at 15th and Olive.

[54] Plate 42. (Former) Union Methodist Church at 11th and Locust Sts., Geo. I. Barnett, architect.

WHEAT RAISING IN PIONEER MISSOURI

BY ASBURY GOOD-KNIGHT.

As my ancestors were pioneers of Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Indiana, and Missouri, and having spent my boyhood days amid pioneer surroundings of Pettis county, Missouri, the history of the early settlers and the many Indian relics that make up my collection, make it natural for me to take a great deal of interest in rural life at a time when Missouri was still in the making. Of the thousands that saw the display of pioneer and Indian relics which my brother and I had at the Centennial Celebration during the first week of the 1921 Missouri State Fair at Sedalia, many expressed to me their appreciation of our concrete facts of the beginning of Missouri history. Too, the many questions asked about the various relics, their manufacture and uses convinced me that the people of our State are still very much interested in colonial Missouri. And as the pioneers and their children have about all passed away in Pettis county, thereby lessening the chances for first hand information, I will try to write an article on wheat from the time it was sown till it reached the table.

The farmers of Pettis county did not farm so extensively in pioneer times as they do to-day. Their farms consisted of a very few acres of land which was first fenced in with brush, later the brush fence gave way to a worm fence which was made of rails with stakes and double riders. The plowing was done with oxen hitched to a wooden moldboard plow and a brush was used to smooth the land, the harrow was a later invention. However, I can truthfully say from my own experience that with these rude implements the farmer was able to put his land in the very best of condition.

The pioneer raised very little wheat. As there was no market for it, the aim was to just grow enough wheat to supply the family with flour. Some parched the wheat and used it as coffee. Flour bread was used only on Sundays unless the circuit rider, who was supposed to have the best, should happen to stop over night. One acre was about the average wheat acreage per family. The yield ranged from twenty-five to forty bushels to the acre.

September was generally the month when the farmers sowed their wheat. The wheat was usually sown on land which had been planted to corn the previous spring. After the corn had been cut and carried off the land, the farmer would plough the land with his wooden moldboard plow drawn by oxen. The ploughed land was then thoroughly pulverized and ready for sowing.

When he was ready to sow his wheat he would get a two-bushel sack, instead of the modernized wheat drill with fertilizer and timothy seed attachment and spring balance seat, tie the lower corner of the sack to within eight inches of the top corner so as to leave a space for a shoulder pad and his wheat sowing machine was ready for work. After placing guide stakes on opposite sides of the field, he would pour about a bushel of wheat into his seed sack, swing it across his shoulder, and with one hand scatter the seed as he walked across the field from stake to stake. The particular pioneer would cross sow his field so as to insure an even stand.

The harvesting of the wheat was a long and tiresome task. The cutting was done with a cradle. The cradle was a scythe with a wooden fingered frame fastened above the blade. The father usually handled the cradle. One of the boys or girls of the family, after the wheat had been thoroughly cured in the swath, would rake the grain into bunches with a hand rake and tie it in bundles with a band made of straw. The next step was to shock the wheat. The farmers in those days did not shock their wheat as we do now. They built what was called hand stacks. They would put from one hundred to one hundred and fifty bundles in a hand stack. Hand stacks were supposed to contain each a day's threshing.

Boys and girls as well as grown people took part in the threshing of wheat. The first step in threshing was to sweep off with a broom made of buck brush a clean place on the hard ground. A shock of wheat was then hauled in on a sled drawn by a yoke of oxen. The sheaves were placed in a circle upon the threshing floor with the heads to the inner side of the circle. Oxen and horses were used to tramp out the wheat. Neighbors would swap work in order to have enough boys and girls to ride horses and drive oxen. The sheaves were usually turned twice during the tramping. Flails were used in finishing up the process of separating the grain from the straw. All the straw was then carefully raked off and the wheat was ready to be winnowed. This cleaning process was done either by one man or two men according to the help at hand. If one man did the fanning, he would place a sheet on the ground then take a tub of wheat, and while the wind was strong, pour it slowly upon the sheet; by repeating this process several times, the wheat could be thoroughly cleaned. If two men did the winnowing a sheet was used instead of a tub. The wheat was then placed in granaries.

As very few people of to-day have seen a real pioneer's granary, I shall tell how they were built. The farmer would first build the floor. He would split open oak logs about eighteen inches in diameter, hew smooth the flat side of each half, hew the edges straight and smooth, and then place the hewn logs side by side on a rock foundation. He would then go to the creek bottoms and cut down a hollow sycamore tree from four to six feet through. The tree was then sawed into cuts eight feet long. The hollow logs were hauled home and there burned and scraped out till those cuts were reduced to a shell with walls from three to four inches thick. These hollow logs were placed on end in a row on the granary floor and covered with clapboards. All holes and cracks were filled with clay. Such granaries were rat and rain proof and would last a lifetime. The modern cylindrical granaries of to-day which hold millions of bushels of wheat were modeled after the pioneer's granary. My grandfather had five granaries made of hollow sycamore logs.

The first mills were called water-mills because they were run by water-power, and were usually located on some large creek. Sometimes the creek would get so low that the water would stop running and the mill would stand idle for several weeks at a time. Folks went to mill twice a year; early in the summer, and late in the fall. My folks went to Gravois Mills, the nearest mill, some forty miles away. As well as I remember, this mill was operated by a Mr. Hume. He would take a certain part of the corn or wheat to be ground, called toll, as his pay for the grinding. The grinding apparatus consisted of two large circular stones placed one above the other in a wooden case. The mill was turned or driven by a large water-wheel. Mr Hume understood his work so well that with such a plain outfit he would grind wheat into two grades of flour, shorts and bran. The bran was seldom taken from the mill as at that time no one knew that wheat hulls contained so much protein, vitamines, and egg-building material. Sometimes there would be so many at the mill that one would have to camp at the mill several days waiting for his turn. In time windmills and horse-power mills greatly increased the number of mills of the pioneer days.

The cooking was all done on the open fireplace in the oven, the skillet, and the big iron pot which hung in the chimney. The women were first class cooks, and I believe those biscuits and corn pones were far superior to any cooking we have to-day.

THE INFLUENCE OF POPULATION MOVEMENTS ON MISSOURI BEFORE 1861

BY WILLIAM O. LYNCH.

Missouri passed through the first stage of colonization by American pioneers in the same period as Indiana and Illinois. The three territories were ready for admission to the Union at about the same time, largely because Missouri, though farther west, had such excellent river connections with the sources of her population, that came almost entirely from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina.[1] During the early portion of the nineteenth century, there was nothing to induce people to migrate from the New England or Middle Atlantic States to Missouri, since vast vacant and sparsely peopled areas lay between their settled portions and the Mississippi. From Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina, large numbers of colonists flowed into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as into Missouri, but a fundamental difference was, that among those going into the Missouri country, there was a considerable proportion of slaveholders. By the census of 1820, the number of slaves in Missouri more than equaled one-sixth of the number of free persons.[2]

It is not true that colonists from slaveholding states were necessarily pro-slavery. Many of the southern pioneers who migrated to the Old Northwest were strongly anti-slavery. It was not necessary, however, that a territorial population of southern origin should include a majority of slaveholders in order to be strongly pro-slavery, as the conditions prevailing in several territories that became slaveholding states demonstrate.[3] In territorial Missouri, though the slaveholders were probably in a minority, the anti-slavery cause found little support during the struggle in Congress over the question of restriction, or in the Missouri constitutional convention of 1820.[4] This was a fact of great significance. Both elements in the congressional controversy assumed that the people of Missouri would frame a pro-slavery constitution unless prohibited by Congress.

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[1] *St. Louis Enquirer*, quoted in *Niles Register*, Dec. 25, 1819. The census of 1850 reveals that the four states mentioned were still far in the lead. The total number of free persons born in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina and living in Missouri at that time was 172,450, as against 15,668 from the non-slaveholding states and territories, and 72,474 from foreign countries.

[2] U. S. Census of 1820.

The debate centered about the question whether, under the provisions of the Federal Constitution, Congress had the right to place a restriction on one state that was not placed on all. In itself, this was an interesting problem in constitutional interpretation, whatever might be the nature of the restriction. The Missouri Compromise which resulted from the debate was an attempt to solve a more dangerous but more limited problem,—that of slavery in the territories. In-so-far as it related to the people of Missouri, it was a recognition of the principle of "popular sovereignty." Throughout the territorial period, the people had maintained slavery, and it was as much for this reason as because of refined reasoning on the Constitution, that they were left free to make a pro-slavery constitution if they so willed. Where "squatters" had already exercised their "sovereignty" in the matter, slavery was not prohibited. To the remaining vacant portion of the Louisiana territory lying north of 36° 30′, Congress applied the principle of the Wilmot Proviso. Thus, long before the Mexican War, or the crisis of 1850, or the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, at a time when Lincoln and Douglas were boys, these unnamed and rival principles were accepted and applied.

It is a matter of interest that several members of Congress, during the progress of the Missouri debate, were able to get away from the anti-restriction argument, in the form in which it was voiced by Senator William Pinkney and others.

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[3] For example, the number of slave-holding families in Kentucky in 1790 was 1,855, or 17 per cent of the total number of white families. The number of white persons belonging to the slave-holding families of Texas in 1850 was 44,158, or 28.7 per cent. of the total white population.

[4] Shoemaker, F. C., *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, chs. 3-4.

Some of these stated the doctrine of popular sovereignty with clearness and force. Speaking in the House on January 26, 1820, Henry Meigs, of New York, said: "I cannot believe that I or any other man or men, are better capable of governing Missourians than they are of governing themselves. . . . I do not discover anything in the genius, the will, or the circumstances of Missouri that demands my interposition. They are better able to judge for themselves than I am to judge for them."[5] A few days earlier, Senator Freeman Walker, of Georgia, had presented the following argument before the Senate: "I had thought, Mr. President, that the pride of opinion was the American's boast. I had fondly hoped that the old doctrine of saving the people from their worst enemy, themselves, had long since been exploded; and that one much more congenial with the principles of our Government had been substituted. I had thought that as the people were the source of all power, they might be permitted to judge for themselves in all original and important questions in which their welfare was materially involved. I must contend then, sir, that whether slavery is really an evil or not, is a matter for the people of Missouri to decide for themselves, and not Congress for them . . . Shall we take from them the right of judging for themselves upon a subject so intimately connected with their welfare? . . . Shall an American Congress basking in the sunshine of the only free Constitution upon earth, unmindful of the blessings which they themselves enjoy, undertake to impose a government upon a portion of their fellow citizens against their will and to restrain them in the exercise of rights enjoyed by others."[6] Senator Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, was thoroughly concerned with the rights of the people of Missouri, and with the rights of the people of future territories. He not only defended the principle of popular sovereignty, but unlike most of the southern members of Congress, refused to vote for the Compromise, because the 36°30′ provision violated the principle for which he contended.[7]

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[5] *Annals* of Cong., 16 Cong., 1 Sess., I, pp. 941-942, Jan. 26, 1820.

[6] Annals of Cong., 16 Cong., 1 Sess., I, p. 174. (Jan. 19, 1820.)

[7] Ibid. 16 Cong., 1 Sess., I, pp. 223-229; Ibid., p. 427 (Vote against Thomas Amendment). See also Dodd, W. E., *Life of Nathaniel Macon, p. 323.*

The process of peopling Missouri was only well begun at the time of her admission to the Union. Except for a part of the lands along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, the State was still an extensive area of undeveloped resources and unoccupied land. For some years, the incoming settlers were mainly from the same states that had furnished the territorial population. In the meantime, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois became more mature, and before 1850, a considerable portion of the surplus population of these states found its way to Missouri. At the same time, the number of foreigners arriving in the State increased from year to year. Thus, more and more, the southern stream was paralleled by northern and foreign elements. The greatest change came between 1850 and 1860. In that decade, there poured into Missouri a larger number of foreigners and northern colonists than ever before, while the flow of southerners continued, the tides from Kentucky and Tennessee being especially large. So varied a flood of incoming settlers greatly changed the character of the population, and produced a far more complex society.[8] This rapid change intensified the political contests of the time, and exerted a profound influence on the settlement of the problems presented by the crises of secession and war.

With a population of less than 700,000, in 1850, Missouri added a half million more by 1860. St. Louis with a population of 160,773 at the end of the decade, was more than twice as large as in 1850. Of the more than forty million acres of land in Missouri, about ten millions were included in the farms of 1850. By 1860, another ten million acres had been added to the total.[9] New towns sprang up over the State, while old ones expanded to meet the needs of the increasing agricultural population. It was in this decade that Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Hannibal first became important commercial centers. A great part of this growth was due to the settlement of the vacant lands of Missouri, and to the exploitation of her undeveloped natural resources. Her great expansion was also due to her unparalleled river connections, that gave rise to an enormous steamboat traffic in every direction; to the railway connections established during the decade; to the fact that her strategic location gave her control of the trade that passed over the Oregon and Santa Fe routes; to the fact that a great part of the migration, traffic and travel connected with the settlement of Kansas was dependent on the Missouri river; and to the fact that parties of gold-seekers, bound for Colorado or California, used St. Louis and other Missouri points as centers for the purchase of outfits and from which to make their departures.[10]

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[8] U. S. Census. Compare nativity tables of 1850 and 1860.

[9] Census of 1850, *Compendium of*, p. 169; Census of 1860, *Agriculture*, p. 222.

This most strenuous stage in the peopling of Missouri came while the struggle for Kansas was on. In this struggle, a portion of the people of Missouri had a tremendous interest. It was believed that Missouri could throw so many colonists into the new territory that, with the aid of other Southern states, the designs of the "abolitionists" would be thwarted.[11] In 1860, there were living in Kansas 11,356 persons who had been born in Missouri, which appears to be an insignificant number when compared to the 300,000 people who in the same years came to locate in St. Louis, or to find homes in the towns and on the available agricultural lands of Missouri.[12] The truth is that the State was too immature, before 1860, to send forth many colonists to any frontier area, no matter how intense might be her interest in its colonization. The flow of Missourians to Kansas was about normal for the stage of development which Missouri herself had reached. Lafayette county, the Missouri county with the greatest number of slaves, a committee of whose citizens drafted a most impassioned appeal to the other states of the South to come to the aid of Missouri in the peopling of Kansas, increased in population by almost 7,000 between 1850 and 1860. The increase in this county alone was equal to about 60 per cent of Missouri's total contribution to Kansas.[13] The obvious conclusion is that even in a Missouri district where the people were extremely anxious concerning the outcome in Kansas, they were, in most cases, too well off to migrate to that territory.

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[10] *DeBow's Review*, 21: 87-89 (1856) and 24: 213-216 (1858); Chappell Philip E., "A History of the Missouri River," in Kansas State Historical Society *Transactions*, 9: 237-294; Trexler, "Missouri-Montana Highways," in *Missouri Historical Review*, 12: 67 ff. and 145 ff.; Violette, E. M.; "*History of Missouri*," chs. 9 and 11; *Herald of Freedom* (Lawrence, Kansas), April 26, 1856 (Letter of the editor written at St. Louis).

[11] *The St. Louis Intelligencer*, Jan. 1, 1856, quoted in Kansas State Historical Society *Transactions*, 7: 36; Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, July 5, 1854 (Correspondence from Independence, Mo.); St. Louis *Evening News*, April 21, 1856; *DeBow's Review*, 20: 635-637.

[12] U. S. Census, nativity tables of 1850 and 1860. The total number of free persons born elsewhere and living in Missouri in 1850 was 317,018; in 1860 the number was 591.835, an increase of 274,817. The number coming in was greater than this increase as a per cent of those counted in 1850 had died or left the state before 1860. The estimate that 300,000 colonists came to Missouri between 1850 and 1860 is probably a safe one.

Kansas was thoroughly advertised in every older community of the country. Everywhere people were urged to migrate to the territory. Societies were organized in the North and in the South to stimulate migration, directions and guides were furnished that colonists might more easily reach their destination, and even direct aid in the form of passage money was in some cases supplied.[14] The results of this wide-spread agitation and effort were extremely meager so far as the actual settlement of Kansas was concerned.[15] Indeed, the probability is that Kansas would have been peopled more rapidly, had the natural forces controlling westward migration been allowed to operate without interference as in the case of other frontier areas. People of both sections were undoubtedly kept away from Kansas by the violence which developed in the territory.[16]

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[13] The total number of free persons born in Missouri and living in Kansas in 1860 was 11,356. The population of Lafayette county in 1850 was 13,690; in 1860, it was 20,098. For the appeal "To the People of the South" sent out from Lafayette county, see *DeBow's Review*, 20: 635-637.

[14] Webb, Thos. H., *Information for Kansas Emigrants*; Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 2: 186-188 (testimony of persons aided by the New England Aid Company); Brewerton, G. D., *The War in Kansas*, pp. 211-213 (Address of Colonel Buford); Clayton, Victoria V., *White and Black under the Old Regime*, chs. 4-5; *The Wabash Courier* (Terre Haute), Feb. 23, 1856 (Article copied from the *St. Louis Intelligencer*).

[15] Lynch, Wm. O., "Poplar Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas," in *Proceedings* of the Miss. Valley Historical Assoc., 1917-18, pp. 380-392; *Kansas Free State*, March 3, and March 24, 1856; *St. Louis News*, July —, 1856, (Quoted in the Kansas State Historical Society *Transactions*, 7 37).

The real difficulty, however, was that, in that early period of her history, Kansas had not enough economic prizes to offer—the agricultural and commercial opportunities of the territory were too few. She had not the gold of California to offer; nor could she, at that time, furnish the golden opportunities that the slaveholders and non-slaveholders of the older southern states could find in Arkansas and Texas; nor the surplus population of the older northern states find in Michigan, Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and Iowa; nor the capitalists, tradesmen, laborers, and tillers of the soil of both sections find in Missouri.[17]

It is not to be wondered at, that, though there was a tremendous migration to frontier areas during the Kansas struggle, the great mass of those who moved westward sought locations in competing areas, ignoring the urgent appeals of those who were wrought up over the Kansas issue. Great numbers of people from both sections, who could have gone on to Kansas had they cared as much about the outcome of the struggle there, as they cared about finding homes and opportunities, were received by Missouri. From 1850 to 1860 Tennessee contributed to Missouri eleven times the number of people that she furnished to Kansas, and Kentucky five times the number. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois together furnished over 30,000 colonists to Kansas, more than the aggregate of all the slaveholding states, but they contributed twice that total to increase the population of Missouri. Pennsylvania and New York each did 50 per cent better by Missouri than by Kansas. Most startling of all, the New England States contributed more persons, in this decade, to Missouri, a slaveholding state, than they furnished to save Kansas to freedom,[18] the figures being, respectively, 4,793 and 4,208. The use of the word "startling" is not meant to imply that the New England States should be condemned for sending so few colonists to Kansas, or for furnishing a larger number to Missouri. The number, in each case, is probably about what should be expected from the operation of the natural forces of the time. The figures are only startling in relation to what has so long been accepted as the true history of New England's part in the Kansas struggle.

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[16] Brewerton, G. D., *The War in Kansas*, p. 259; Letter of Gov. John W. Geary to Sec'y Wm. L. Marcy, Sept. 9, 1856, quoted in Kansas State Historical Soc. *Transactions*, 4: 522; *Weekly Western Argus* (Wyandott, Kansas), June 4, 1859. (Letter from "Americus" of Leavenworth).

[17] Lynch, Wm. O., "Colonization of Kansas," in Miss. Valley Historical Assoc. *Proceedings*, 1917-1918, pp. 388-391. In this connection, it is worthy of notice, that the hope that Kansas might become a profitable field for slave owners was based chiefly on the possibilities of hemp growing. The advantages of Kansas as a hemp-producing area were widely disseminated through the South. *Kansas Weekly Herald* (Leavenworth), March 16, 1855. (Letters of Gen. B. F. Stringfellow and Gen. J. W. Whitfield, that were written to southern leaders, published and widely circulated in the South). *New York Times*, December 8, 1854. (Editorial summarizing a report of a certain Dr. Middleton to the editor of the *Mississippian* of Jackson, Miss.) The following news item copied in the *New York Times*, May 18, 1857 from *The St. Louis Democrat* speaks for itself: "The steamer *A. B. Chambers* arrived yesterday, having on board, with other freight, 19 bales of hemp, consigned to U. Rasin by A. B. Miller of Leavenworth City. We tried to discover the name of the grower, but did not succeed. His farm is in the vicinity of Leavenworth. This is the first shipment ever made of this article from the Territory".

Where born.	Increase in the number living in Missouri from 1850 to 1860.	Number living in Kansas in 1860.
Tennessee	28,624	2,569
Kentucky	30,120	6,556
Ohio	22,652	11,617
Indiana	17,711	9,945
Illinois	19,221	9,367
New York	9,545	6,331
Pennsylvania	9,629	6,463
New England	4,793	4,208
Foreign Countries	88,067	12,691

The distribution of that portion of the population born outside of Missouri, as between St. Louis county and the remainder of the State, in 1860, reveals some interesting differences. The total number of foreign-born in the State was 160,541. Of these, 96,086 lived in St. Louis county, constituting over half the population of that urban district. Of the 8,013 natives of New England in Missouri, 3,010 lived in St. Louis county, and 5,003 in the remainder of the State. Those from New York and Pennsylvania were somewhat less prone to locate there, while those from Ohio and Illinois showed a yet smaller tendency to do so. People from Virginia, Indiana, and Kentucky showed a very decided preference for the remainder of the State, while emigrants from North Carolina and Tennessee almost completely avoided St. Louis county. Of the 73,594 natives of Tennessee who lived in Missouri in 1860, only 633 are reported as residing in the county which included the metropolis of the State.[19]

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[18] The following figures are compiled from or based on the nativity tables in the Census Reports of 1850 and 1860.

Where born.	Living in Missouri.	Living in St. Louis county.	Living in remainder of State.
New England States	8,013	3,010	5,003
New York	14,585	5,172	9,413
Pennsylvania	17,920	4,281	13,639
Ohio	35,389	3,455	31,934
Indiana	30,463	816	29,647
Illinois	30,138	2,978	27,160
Virginia	53,957	2,364	51,593
North Carolina	20,259	206	20,053
Kentucky	99,814	2,736	97,078
Tennessee	73,594	633	72,961
Foreign Countries	160,541	96,086	64,445

In the election of 1860, Lincoln received 17,208 votes in Missouri, or about two thirds of his total vote in the slaveholding states. In St. Louis county, he received the highest vote, that cast for Douglas being slightly less. The vote for Breckinridge, in Missouri, was greatest in the southern interior counties, not in the important slaveholding counties. The vote for Douglas and Bell was almost exactly even in the State as a whole, the greatest strength of Bell being, in general, in the counties where the slaves were most numerous. An analysis of election returns reveals that Bell was strong in the same areas that had been strongly for Fillmore in 1856, and for Whig candidates in earlier elections.[20] One cannot escape the conclusion that the bulk of the voters who supported Bell, Breckinridge, and Douglas were controlled by established party ties, rather than by the principles laid down in their platforms. The Democrats were under the necessity of choosing between Douglas and Breckinridge, but great numbers of them must have been as much concerned about which candidate should be regarded as representing the real Democratic party as about their differences in principles and policies. The election of 1860 was no very real test of the attachment of the voters of Missouri to the Union. Severer tests soon followed. The line-up of the people and of the political leaders of the State on the questions of secession and war was, of course, far more significant. The fact that not one of the 99 delegates elected to the convention of 1861 to determine for or against secession was an out-and-out secessionist, though the majority were not "unconditional" Union men, reveals the situation at that time.[21] The fact that Missouri ranked seventh among the Union States, and that she also ranked seventh in the number of soldiers furnished to the Union armies,[22] is the most significant of all, for it shows what choice the majority of her people made when at last they were called upon to make the supreme decision.

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[19] The following table reveals more fully the interesting and puzzling distribution of immigrants to Missouri as between St. Louis county and the remainder of the State.

Missouri was a western state, but the conditions prevailing during the territorial period and for some years thereafter caused her to be peopled by southerners only, and, because profitable use could be found for slaves, a sufficient number of slaveholders located on her fertile river lands to dominate the situation. Splendid commercial advantages caused St. Louis to develop into an important city, that attracted a multitude of foreigners, principally Germans, to the State. The economic opportunities of this growing western metropolis and of many lesser centers of trade in this State, so strategically located in relation to trade routes, drew also an increasing number of enterprising business men from the older northern states. The maturing of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois caused a large flow of colonists from these states in the last period before the Civil War, while a southern stream still poured into the State. By the time the great sectional conflict culminated in an appeal to arms, Missouri had become vastly different from the simple, southern frontier community of 1820. In 1860, the State was still western, with the process of occupation of her vacant lands uncompleted, and with society in a great part of her area in a frontier stage. She was still a slaveholding State, no longer having one slave to six free persons, but one to ten. There were now present in city and country large numbers of northerners. There were twice as many foreigners as in any other slaveholding state. There was a large and rapidly growing city. These complex conditions fully explain the uncertainties and violent struggles of the crises of secession and war, for there were then several Missouris in one, each powerfully influenced by its own natural interests, traditions, sentiments, and historical background.

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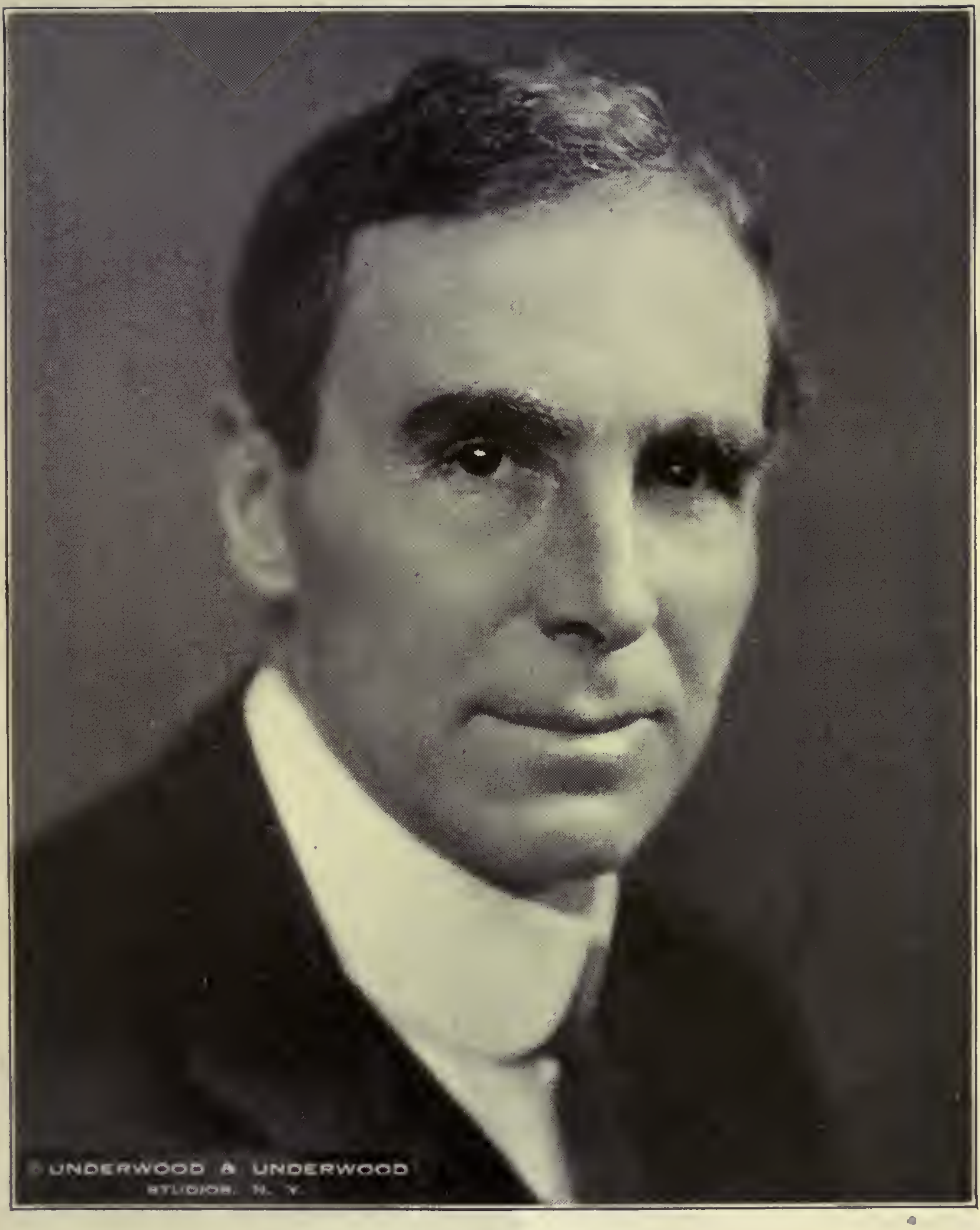
[20] For maps showing party strength by counties in 1852 and earlier elections, see Cole, A. C., *The Whig Party in the South*, Appendix; for election figures, 1856, see *Tribune Almanac*, 1858, p. 55; for election figures, 1860, see *ibid.*, 1864, pp. 64-65.

[21] Violette, E. M., *A History of Missouri*, p. 329.

[22] Grover, Captain Geo. S., "Civil War in Missouri," in Missouri *Historical Review*, *8*: *5*.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WINSTON CHURCHILL.

MISSOURIANS ABROAD — NO. 11

WINSTON CHURCHILL.

BY J. BRECKINRIDGE ELLIS.

In the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, when American fiction was running excessively to historical novels, and the general public, always slow to nibble at straight history, was insatiable in its appetite for such diluted dishes as "When Knighthood was in Flower," there appeared several solid works, heavy with research and not exceptionally enlivened by love interest, that reached the high tide of popularity. At that time it seemed that the reading public would buy any romance built on the past, and they bought these books of Winston Churchill.

Since that day, most of the novels sent gallantly forth under the flags of olden times have gone to the bottom of oblivion. But "Richard Carvel" and "The Crisis" have weathered the gales of the varying winds of general approval. They ride the waves as the best fiction-ships that have brought the stores of the past into the present day. "Hugh Wynne" was one of the books of that period that out-distanced the lighter craft; dry as a chronicle, it yet preserved enough of the truth of local color and the riches of tradition, to insure a long life. But better, more substantial than "Hugh Wynne," are the historical novels of Winston Churchill; which is to say that they are the best pictures from American history in our national gallery. To be best in anything merits recognition. To be best in painting the vanished life of one's native land is to have reached the inner circle of the great. This is one reason why we are unwilling for the world to forget that Winston Churchill is a Missourian.

We are proud not only of what he has done as a writer, but of the recognition that has come to him. He has occupied the highest literary seat of honor in this country—that of president of the Authors' League of America. And our critics who are hardest to please and slowest to praise, concede the superiority of his historical novels to those of any other native son.

But he has not been content to rest his case upon his books. He has not only written deeply, but lived with an intensity and a high purpose rare among even men of action. An enthusiast in the cause of reform, he has plunged into the conflicting tides of politics, risking all that is unpleasant in such contests, scorning to be withheld by the fear of misrepresentation and calumny, in order to lift higher the ideals of his country. It was purely from altruistic motives that he stood for the legislature in New Hampshire, his adopted home. In 1903, and in 1905, he successfully overcame all opposition. The story of his battle for reform went throughout the country and inspired others to enter the practical field of politics when politics could bring no personal advantage to the man advocating the cause of the people.

At one time it was noted that the initial "C" entered into the titles of all his works, as a sort of trademark, just as his home to-day is Cornish, N. H., and his name is Churchill. That this was by design seemed certain when one looked at the "C's" on his books—"The Celebrity," "Richard Carvel," "The Crisis," "The Crossing," "Coniston," "Mr. Crewe's Career," "A Modern Chronicle," "The Inside of the Cup," "A Far Country." But with "A Dwelling Place of Light," in 1917, he deserted his mascot, and it cannot be said that the last book measures up to the best of the others.

But all of one's books never do. If Mr. Churchill has failed in his attempt to solve the social and religious problems of his day, it is a failure his readers share with him. Such excursions are to his credit. But, after all, it is as the painter of America's vanished days that he must be content to accept fame.

Mr. Churchill is the most modest of writers, and the least prone to furnish biographical data for comprehensive sketches of his life. Of course everybody knows that he was a St. Louis boy. He was born there November 10, 1871 and for years he and the writer of this sketch looked at the same horse-cars and breathed the same sooty atmosphere. In 1894 he was graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy, since which time the degree of A. M. and LL. D. have been conferred on him. St. Louis enters prominently into one of his romances. It was in St. Louis that he depicts the singing of "Lead Kindly Light" at a period when the hymn had not been written. The error proved, by the wide comment it evoked, how rare were the historical inaccuracies in his pains-taking works.

As a St. Louis boy he was fond of games and pleasures, but did not take much interest in his studies. "I used to think I wanted to write," he admits in a delightful little causerie exclusively for the *Missouri Historical Review*, "but I could not imagine any one conceiving and executing a novel. Or getting what is called a plot." He did not like the Naval Academy—"However, I stuck it out," resigning the year of his graduation "with the hope of a literary career." For a while he was on a service paper, then went to the Cosmopolitan, of which he shortly became managing editor. "I resigned from that position to make the plunge into literature—in 1895—and after three years of hard work succeeded in getting published a short novel called 'The Celebrity,' which I wrote and rewrote—and rewrote. It attracted attention, and I think it was a more natural expression of myself than the books that followed—'Richard Carvel,' 'The Crisis,' etc."

It is always interesting to learn how a successful man regards his successes, and supremely important to discover how he achieved them. Possibly Mr. Churchill has heard so much about his best sellers, that he is tired of their names and a little jealous for such of his brain-children as have not been so extensively introduced into society. "I am not particularly proud of my novels," he declares. "I worked hard on them and gave to them what was of my best at any time. What helped to give them vogue was my faith. I was simple myself and they attracted simple people. They were sentimental, but sincere. All were written with extraordinary care, labor and fervor. Each, with the exception of 'Mr. Crewe's Career,' was as hard to write as the last. I would write quantities of pages for a year and a half, and then write—or rewrite—the books all over again at fever heat in six months."

Mr. Churchill does not belong to the coterie of writers laboring to prove by long, and be it admitted, admirably built novels, that life is as dull as a close-set page of "Main Street," as foredoomed to misery as a story by Sherwood Anderson, as choking as "Dust," as hopeless as a "Moon Calf," as far "This Side of Paradise" as H. L. Menchen. In this year of 1922, while the ear of the world is being caught by the "Young Intellectuals," who call their lack of faith "disillusionment,"—because since the Great War we strain for new names for old things—the following expression of Mr. Churchill's confidence in the Universe is as refreshing as it is rare:

"I am happy to say that at the age of fifty I have, by what seems grace indeed to me, my belief in human nature and in God. I have been tossed about, have been led into some strange alleys, but I have found my way out, or rather, it has been found for me. I believe in self-reliance, in free will, and I believe in predestination. The two are not, I have found, incompatible. Any life is interesting. Mine has been a series of adventures—mental ones. I have always been ready to pack up at a moment's notice and leave; and I have always been leaving. I had an interesting adventure in 1906 when I ran for the nomination for Governor of New Hampshire against the politicians. I had not learned then that they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Mr. Churchill married Miss Mabel H. Hall in 1895 and four years later went to live in Cornish, N. H., where he has since resided. But that there is something essentially Missourian in his make-up is very evident to me from his indifference for those passing contacts with folk who have fluttered into the glare of temporary recognition. "I have never cared about meeting people—interesting people. I have met a good many and not found them interesting to me. So I have stopped looking for them." Surely this is a trait of his native state. I remember once when the old settlers of my village refused to leave loafers' bench to step around the corner to see the jail when it had caught on fire.

Winston Churchill belongs to half a dozen of the most notable and exclusive clubs of the East, as listed in "Who's Who in America." But his sentiment for Missouri was shown when he was made an honorary member of the Missouri Writers' Guild. He wrote:

"I feel much honored at being elected as honorary member of the Writers' Guild of my native state. Please convey to the Guild my deep appreciation. If I am ever near Missouri in the autumn I shall indeed be glad to attend the Guild's annual outing."

In the State's galaxy of first-star magnitude, Augustus Thomas, foremost playwright, Sara Teasdale, first of modern lyrists, Fannie Hurst, best of short-story writers, we are proud of Winston Churchill, foremost novelist of his day—and all the prouder because of his loyalty to Missouri.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

NINTH ARTICLE.

THE FIRST YEARS ON THE FARM IN THE FOREST.

"My father's resources were not sufficient to buy an improved farm, so we followed the advice of our neighbor Mr. Bailey and bought eighty acres of Government land, which Bailey selected for us, since we were totally ignorant of land values. As later developments showed, 'Uncle' Caleb Bailey had advised us well, for our land proved to be very good. 'Uncle' Caleb was at that time the only one in our neighborhood who had a real wagon. It was his custom to drive to St. Louis with a four-horse team once each year, just before Christmas. Butter and eggs had been saved up for a long time for this journey. Besides these products he took honey, pelts, the hides of deer and cattle and the like to market. If his load was not full, then he and his older sons went on a hunting expedition for a few days, and usually they brought back enough deer and turkeys to complete the load. On his return trip he carried salt, coffee, sole-leather, tools, etc., etc. He also attended to all sorts of errands for his neighbors. On the trip following the selection of the eighty, which we wished to acquire, my father gave him $100 to make the purchase at the land office, and a week later my father was in possession of the deed.

"That same first winter my friend Ferdinand and I began to clear our first little field. Father made a contract with the older sons of Mr. Bailey to erect a log house for us on the new farm. A very skilled German carpenter, a Mr. Kloentrup was engaged to do the interior finish work. At the close of the year 1835 we moved into our new home.

"The government survey of 1818 and 1819 had marked only the section lines. For this reason my father was always obsessed by the fear, that our house and our spring might be on some one elses land. To make sure he bought an adjoining forty and later another forty. Subsequent surveys showed that our house was located exactly in the middle of this 160-acre plot.

"The land purchases had almost entirely exhausted my father's coffers. During the summer we had raised some corn, potatoes, and a few vegetables. It was not yet cold enough to kill hogs, so it happened that many an evening we had nothing but corn bread and baked squash for supper. Occasionally I secured some small game, and for the rest we had to rely upon our chickens for food.

"My poor mother had many a mishap before she learned to cook and bake on an open hearth.

"My father decided that he could earn more money in St. Louis than on the farm. He went to the city and gave private instruction in mathematics. Later he was employed in the office of the surveyor-general, General Milbourn, by whom his services were highly appreciated.

"Since there were no German youths of my age in our neighborhood, I was constantly thrown in with the boys of American farmers. In a surprisingly short time I, as also my sisters, learned the language of the backwoodsmen perfectly. Much of my time I spent with my neighbors in the woods.

"There being no German youths around, my eighteen-year-old sister, associated only with the boys and girls of our American neighbors, fell in love with Thomas Bailey and married him. There being no preacher present they decided to be married by a justice of the peace. The groom was an honest, good fellow but, like so many of his associates of the woods, lazy. The bride was kindheartedness itself but very inexperienced and regarded the phlegma of the old American women, who spent the whole day at the fireplace, carding wool and smoking tobacco, as the ideal of things feminine. She did not smoke tobacco, but in the matter of phlegma she made considerable progress, and in this matter was the exact opposite of her good, industrious mother.

"The day of the wedding was set and the nearest justice of the peace was notified. It was old Squire McDonald. Excepting several brothers and sisters of the groom and our own immediate family no one was present. The squire finally came on horseback, tied his horse and came into the house. He wore the vestment which he always wore at official functions, namely an old-torn felt hat, a threadbare jacket of jeans, trousers of the same material, which at several places had begun to be transparent, and a torn, unpolished pair of shoes. In contrast to his general attire he had on a freshly laundered shirt, which shone blinding white from his bosom and from the holes in the sleeves of his jacket. After he had greeted all present, I conducted him to a corner at the fireplace, which was considered the place of honor. Here he took a large quid of tobacco out of his mouth and threw it into the fire. Then he took a short clay pipe out of his pocket, stuffed it and deliberately raked a live coal out of the fireplace, and after he had gotten it to go well, he settled down and chatted with me about all sorts of things, that had absolutely nothing to do with the solemn act for which we had assembled. Among other things he complained that his neighbors' hogs broke into his corn field, expressed the fear that the wheat was badly frozen out, and that the apple trees had suffered from the frost. After a while he got up, stretched himself, laid his pipe on the mantel of the fireplace and said: 'Well, if you are ready, we will begin.' The bridal couple stepped forward. After he had awkwardly written the names of the contracting parties on a slip of paper, crumpled it up and stuck it in his pocket, he cleared his throat, and turning to the groom he said: 'Do you, Thomas Bailey, promise to love and protect the person whom you hold by your right hand as your lawfully wedded wife and be faithful to her till Providence may separate you?' When this question had been answered in the affirmative, a similar, equally brief question was addressed to the bride, and when her affirmative reply had been given, he continued: 'And so I declare you herewith to be husband and wife.' Then he shook hands with them, reached for his pipe and continued to smoke. This solemn act did not affect him more than if he had looked up the date on the calendar. My mother, who did not understand a word of what had been said, left the room bitterly weeping, when it had been told her that this was the marriage ceremony, for she could not see how it was possible that this was a legal marriage. And yet they were legally married, and I have never seen a happier relation than that which continued to exist between these two people. They lived strictly according to the words of holy writ, that is, they lived like the birds of the air and the lilies of the field: they sowed not, neither did they reap,—and yet they lived.

THE GERMANS WHOM WE FOUND AND THOSE THAT SOON FOLLOWED US.

"Aside from Franz Boing and Mr. Wetter there were very few Germans in our neighborhood. These few were for the most part bachelors, who in the meantime have died or moved away. Only one, Johann Diener, who later bought a farm near Washington, remained. In the neighborhood of Union two splendid Germans had settled, J. T. Vitt and Mr. Meiersick. Vitt had been a member of the first division of the Giessen Society. He soon gave up farming, opened a store in Union, later a steam mill, and for a time was a county judge. Meiersick stayed on his farm, which is now being operated by his son. About six weeks after our arrival Wilhelm Braun from Lauterbach arrived. He bought the farm on which Wetter lived, cultivated it for twelve years, and then moved to St. Louis. Soon after Braun there came Gottfried Eberius, the brother of Charles Eberius. He planned to build a steam mill on Boeuf creek, where Peter Bray had earlier undertaken a similar enterprise, but who had to give it up on account of lack of funds. The timbers which Bray had cut for the mill lay about in the woods and rotted. Eberius, too, did not have the finances to complete his undertaking. He went to Florida where he participated in the war against the Seminoles. Then he returned to Germany, but came back after sixteen years and settled at Dundee, where he died. The families Busch and Debbe from Bielefeld also came about the same time. Busch's only son now owns a well equipped farm near Washington. Busch, Sr., died in August, 1876. Debbe bought the larger of the water mills on St. John's creek, and a few years later built a steam mill. One of the most intelligent Germans that came to the country at that time was the Reverend Hundhausen, who first bought land on the Meramec, but later moved to Hermann where he preached for a number of years, and where he died in his eightieth year. At this time there also came Friedrick Steines who organized a school for boys, and a Mr. Bruggerhof, who opened a hotel on the road to St. Louis and did a thriving business.

"At the time of our coming there lived only one German family, that of Bernhard Fricke, in Washington, the others were bachelors. Mr. Fricke was a saddler by profession and came from Kassel. His saddlery business brought him a satisfactory return. The unmarried men of the town prevailed upon Mrs. Fricke to give them board, and her place soon became so popular that new additions had to be built to the house. Later on Mr. Fricke opened a hotel, the Washington House, and during the time when Washington was the terminus of the newly constructed Missouri Pacific he did an enormous business.

"Franz Anton Seitz from Hechingen and Dr. Jacob from Oberkirch, Baden, were among the earliest arrivals. Dr. Jacob was a thoroly trained physician and became a blessing to many of his countrymen, for the treatment accorded the sick by most of the early American physicians only too frequently had death, or at least a lifelong illness in its wake.

"In 1839 Dr. Carl Ruge from Schleswig-Holstein arrived. On the way from New Orleans to St. Louis he had the misfortune to lose all his belongings by the sinking of the boat. He practiced a long time most successfully in the counties of Franklin, St. Charles and Warren, and died in October, 1876.

"Upon the wave of the so-called 'Latin Farmers' there followed a much greater wave of men who advanced the material development of the country vastly more than the former group. This class was made up of farmers, artisans, and day laborers. Most of them came very poor, even in debt for their passage money, so poor that in many instances two families had to go in partnership to buy 40 acres of Government land at the insignificant price of $50.00. After building a most humble hut, the men usually hired out among their older neighbors, while the women and children cleared away the underbrush in the forest and burned it. Some women even made fence-rails. Every spare day and even the moonlit nights were used by the men to build fences, for which they and their wives and children carried the rails on their shoulders. The first horses, cows and hogs were bought on credit, and paid for in labor at from fifty cents to a dollar per day. After a few years these people usually had rather large fields cleared, better houses were built and the old ones were used as stables, barns were built and orchards laid out, thus proving to their American neighbors that by diligence and frugality even the poorer land could be made to pay. Cash was very scarce. Only occasionally could horses and other live stock be sold for specie. Communication with the world market was too imperfect to sell the grain that might be raised, and for this reason corn was almost the entire crop that was produced. For a long time even adequate wagons for the hauling of produce were wanting. To procure cash many boys and girls were sent to St. Louis, where unfortunately many found their moral ruin. Others resisted temptation, and with the money they were able to send home, one quarter after another of Government land was bought, until the little farms were expanded into large ones.

"The influx of this class of immigrants increased so enormously from year to year that in the fifties scarcely a forty of land, that was at all tillable, even in part, could be found unclaimed in the counties of St. Louis, St. Charles, Warren, Montgomery, Osage, Gasconade, and Franklin. Year by year this flood of immigration poured more and more into the counties farther to the west. As my father-in-law used to say: 'These fellows clear all the land on which the rocks don't lie three feet thick.'

"The letters which these first immigrants sent back to their home towns did more to bring other settlers than all the books dealing with America, and all the land agents.

"At a very early time, even before the founding of Hermann,* we heard from time to time of a German settlement on Maries creek, and of a certain Dr. Bernhard Bruns. The region in which this settlement was established was little known at that time, and communication with it was difficult, because in approaching it from the east the Gasconade had to be crossed and from the west the Osage. Nevertheless the early settlers attracted countrymen of like faith to that region. The whole community is strictly Catholic. I know scarcely another settlement in which almost all the residents belong to the same faith as in this settlement called Westphalia.

"Dr. Bruns later moved to Jefferson City, where he died in 1864. To the end he remained a staunch supporter of the Union.

"In the spring of 1838 I decided to travel a bit. I did not get far, however, for when I found numerous German settlements along Lake creek and the Femme Osage, and again felt genuine German sociability, I stayed almost an entire year among these people and worked wherever I could get something to do. During the first years of residence here I heard nothing but English, except at home, and my intercourse was chiefly with Americans. In all this time I had a vague yearning for something else, and in the German settlements I realized what it was. In the constant association with such men as Freidrich Muench and George Muench, Paul Follenius, Carl Strack and many others, I felt at home again, and many of my most cherished youthful memories date back to this year. Within a few years the greater part of Warren and St. Charles counties had become almost entirely German. The Americans still held the bottom land of the Missouri. Those in the hills had been bought out by the Germans, and at the present time the Germans have also taken peaceful possession of the bottoms.

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*Hermann was founded in 1837. See Bek's German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony Hermann, Missouri.

RESOLUTE MARRIAGES.*

"Most of the Germans, who came to the far west during the third decade or even earlier in the past century were unmarried young men. The greater part of the married immigrants were young couples, with either a few small children or none at all. Even in later years when immigrants commenced to pour in in continually increasing numbers, the number of young women immigrants was far behind the number of young men who immigrated. At least this was true in so far as the new arrivals in the country were concerned. The girls who had resolved to emigrate independently ususally sought the protection of some respectable family during the voyage. In most instances they remained in the cities, where they found employment without difficulty, and where they usually married very soon.

"Wherever a marriagable girl lived there were found a great many suitors, and even if the young damsel could boast of merely the most modest pretensions, it generally did not take long before she had given her hand to some young swain in marriage. There was no lack of American girls and many of them would not have declined to give their hand to a good, honest German. However, many of the immigrants had not yet shaken off the views and pretensions of the so-called refined classes in the old country. They considered the plain and simply natural housekeeping of the old backwoodsmen too heterogeneous and uncongenial for them. Moreover, the lack of a common language was a great handicap. Still there are cases on record, where Germans married American girls, and Americans German girls, and neither understanding the language of the other properly. It cannot be asserted that such marriages had an unhappy result on that account.

"Young, unmarried men were rather numerous in the settlements along the Missouri during the third and fourth decades. Many of them were compelled to return to the cities, tho they had lucrative employment in the country, simply because they could not find a wife. Some kept bachelor hall and tried to farm on land which they had bought or which they were 'squatting' on. If they finally found a housekeeper they stayed on their farm and very often proved to be good farmers. If they did not find a mate, they sold their land or their improvement at the first opportunity and moved on.

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*The chapter of "Resolute Marriages" does not appear in Mr. Goebel's book, but only in the English manuscript.

"It is very obvious that under such conditions the resolve to marry matured and was carried out at times with astonishing rapidity, whenever an opportunity, suitable or otherwise, presented itself. It is also quite natural that sundry ludicrous incidents occurred when such offhand weddings took place.

"In the year 1838 I made the acquaintance of a Swiss by the name of von Ax. He lived on a farm in St. Charles county, on Tuque prairie. The temper of my friend and that of his wife were as opposite as water and fire. He might well be called the personification of phlegm itself. He worked industriously but very slowly, talked very little and was very modest in his pretensions. To his outer appearance he never devoted the least attention or care. She was in every respect the exact opposite of her husband. She was very handsome and indefatigably busy and alert as a weasel. Everything about her household was an evidence of accuracy and cleanliness. Without being vain or given to outside show, she always looked as neat and trim as if she were about to go on a visit. Her liveliness and passionate bearing contrasted at times strangely with the imperturbable, even temper of her husband, and on that account little family scenes were not infrequent occurrences. His frowsiness and disregard of her domestic good order occasionally afforded her an occasion to display her astonishing oratorical capacity, which at least did not lack in fluency and volubility. During such eruptions, which had an easing effect on her agitated mind, not a muscle would move in the features of her husband. Only when he was of the opinion that the elocutionary efforts of his better half had been long enough, he would growl: 'Madlee, Madlee (Magdalena) just be good again.'

"At one time, when one of these domestic dissonances had been reiterated in my presence, I asked how it had happened that these people with such a dissemblance of mind had come together. I was informed as follows: von Ax, when he first settled had kept bachelor hall, but washing, cleaning up, cooking, sewing, etc., were so averse to his taste, that he concluded to marry. This laudable intention was easier to contemplate than to carry out, because in the whole neighborhood, which was very sparsely settled, not a single marriageable woman could be found.

"One day while he was plowing, and when he had been meditating over his miserable housekeeping with more vivacity than usual, his immutable phlegm was overcome by his urgent want of a wife. In his attempt to carry out his object of marrying at all hazards, he evinced probably more resolution and energy than he had ever shown in his life. He unhitched his horse and saddled it. Then after he had washed, shaved and dressed in anticipation of a wedding, he rode away and arrived in St. Louis on the following morning.

"In the city he hunted up one of his countrymen with whom he was befriended and informed him as to why he had come to the city so abruptly. At the same time he asked him if he could not recommend to him a suitable person. After pondering a while his friend replied, that at the boarding house, which he was patronizing, a young Swiss girl had recently been taken in to work. He said that she was waiting on the boarders during the meals and that she seemed to be a very decent girl, who might suit for the wife of a farmer. 'Do you know what you can do?' continued his friend, when von Ax scratched his head, as if his courage was beginning to fail, 'you go to dinner with me and there I can point her out to you without her perceiving it, and then you must judge for yourself whether you like her or not.'

"This proposition was accepted, and after the necessary hints had been given to this bold and adventurous suitor, his eyes followed the handsome and agile girl wherever she went. Before dinner was over, our friend was as much enamoured as his limited capacity for tenderness would admit.

"After the table had been cleared off, the young man mustered all his courage, followed the young girl to the kitchen, and without any tedious preliminaries he made her acquainted with his wishes. The girl, who had recognized the suitor as a Swiss countryman, as soon as he had begun to speak, did not get angry, but rather seemed to consider his proposition as a joke. Von Ax became embarrassed by her railleries and was so confused, that he was entirely helpless, but his friend who had watched him thru the open door came to his rescue. He assured the girl that the offer of his friend had not been a jest, that he honestly meant what he said, that she now had a good chance to become her own mistress, and after he had depicted to her in alluring colors, the charming and independent life on a large farm, the girl, after a brief reflection, promised her hand.

"Von Ax, whose courage had now revived, declared to his fiancee that she would have to go with him immediately, if she wanted to be his wife, that he had no time for courting, because he had to cultivate his corn, and if she did not go with him now, he was not certain whether he could come back again.

"The prospect of becoming an independent wife of a farmer so suddenly and unexpectedly seemed to have had an irresistible charm for this girl for she consented to go to the nearest squire with her betrothed, as soon as she could fix up a little. Half an hour later this young couple were husband and wife.

"After the young wife had packed up her belongings, she seated herself on the horse behind her husband, as it was customary in the old times, and off they rode. On the following evening she was safely in her new home.

"It seemed that the bridegroom had been entirely absorbed during the marriage ceremony, for after they had left the city for an hour or so, he suddenly jerked his horse up, turned half around in his saddle, and asked his wife: 'Well, my dear, please tell me, what is your name anyhow?'

"As this couple never had any children, they, in time, felt too lonesome on the farm by themselves. Von Ax sold out and moved to St. Louis with his wife, opened a beer saloon, and a few years later died.

"Not very many years after the above described wedding another one took place in the vicinity of Washington. This also was a model of originality, since twenty-four hours previous neither of the contracting parties had ever seen or even heard of each other.

"A German, a somewhat superannuated bachelor, a cooper by trade, whom we shall call 'Henry', resided in Washington. Having a good trade and being tired of boarding-house life, he yearned to have a wife. Whenever I came to town he would complain to me of his lonely condition, from which I had no means of alleviating him.

"At the same time a watchmaker lived in the place also. He did not follow his trade very assiduously at home, but traveled almost incessantly thru the country, on both sides of the river, where he repaired the old and defective watches and clocks of the farmers. This roaming artist did not lack curiosity and inquisitiveness. During his wanderings he had many opportunities of becoming familiar with the state of property of his customers, real estate and personal, Moreover, he was also initiated into the private affairs of many families. This knowledge enabled him occasionally to make a few extra dimes. Whoever wanted to sell or buy a horse, mule, ox or cow, or whatever it might be, could in many instances receive the information desired from this watchmaker. When a trade was made, he was generally compensated by a small remuneration.

"The benevolence of this watchmaker, however, extended farther than merely assisting others in trades and repairing of clocks. Occasionally he functioned as a sort of matchmaker for bachelors, widowers, widows and girls, desiring to enter into the bonds of matrimony.

"One Sunday, when the cooper sat all alone behind his glass of beer, in the only saloon of Washington, this watchmaker took a seat at the same table and tried to draw his vis-a-vis into a conversation. Henry, however, did not seem to be in a talking mood and was depressed. The watchmaker at once divined the cause of this depression and remarked, 'Henry, you must get married.' To this remark Henry only uttered an unintelligible growl. The watchmaker then related, apparently not noticing Henry's ill humor, that he knew a good-looking widow on the other side of the river, that he considered her a very decent and orderly woman, that she had only one child, that she owned a little farm, and in closing remarked, 'I really believe, Henry, she would suit you.' Henry, who during this discourse had commenced to show signs of life again, remarked, 'But I don't know anything at all about that woman.' 'That does not make any difference,' interposed the watchmaker, 'I can very soon assist you to make her acquaintance, if you only will, but,' he continued, 'the widow, who is at present living with her cousin, intends to go to St. Louis some of these days to find some employment, so if you want to marry her, you better make up your mind quickly.'

"This argument was perfectly clear to the cooper, and before the two separated for the night they agreed to start on their expedition early the next day, crossing the river on the little ferry boat.*

"After a march of about an hour the two arrived at the farm where the widow was said to live. The watchmaker explained to the farmer, with whom he was befriended, the cause of this unexpected visit without much preface. The farmer shrugged his shoulders and replied, 'I am sorry, but you are too late, my cousin has left this morning.' Vexed and disappointed at the failure of their expedition, Henry and his attorney were about to start home again, when the farmer interposed, and turning to Henry, remarked, 'If you are really determined to marry my cousin, there is still some chance. It is true, she is on the road to St. Louis, but she is riding on an ox-wagon, and such a team is very slow. I will lend each of you one of my horses. If you ride a tolerably brisk gait, you can overtake her in less than two hours, and you can bring her back here again before sundown—provided, she consents to have you.'

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*At that time and for several years afterwards the ferry boat consisted of only two large canoes, which were kept apart six or eight feet by a platform with railings on each side. This boat was propelled by a shovel wheel, worked by cranks. The wheel was fixed in the front part of the boat between the two canoes. This concern was so small that two trips had to be made when a four-horse team had to be crossed over. Pedestrians generally were crossed in skiffs. (Goebel's note.)

"This proposition was accepted and soon the two horsemen trotted on the only and not much frequented road thru the bottoms, following the fresh wagon track. After a few hours they saw ahead of them an ox-wagon slowly dragging along. The wagon was loaded with beds and household furniture of various kinds, and on top of this plunder sat a woman and a little girl. The teamster walked leisurely alongside of the steers which he prodded on from time to time.

"The watchmaker now requested his companion to stay behind until he should call him. He wanted to open the preliminaries without witnesses, in order to save to Henry a less humiliating retreat, in case the widow should not consent to capitulate. Then he dashed ahead, and in a short while a loud 'halt' resounded thru the forest. The team came to halt, and the widow, somewhat frightened, wheeled around on her seat, but seeing a familiar face was completely pacified. Henry was too far off to understand a word of the deliberations between the two. He saw that the woman climbed off the wagon, and that she seemed to listen with great attention to the words of his intercessor. He could not fail to perceive that he himself was the topic of their conversation, because the watchmaker at times pointed towards him, and the widow turned her head more and more frequently in his direction. At last the watchmaker beckoned to him. Leaving his horse behind him, Henry advanced and soon stood before a woman who was an entire stranger to him. He was greatly embarrassed. In the manner of those days there followed a very brief introduction, whereupon the watchmaker very discreetly withdrew. Neither person said a word. Their whole intercourse consisted only casting down their eyes, as if lost in profound meditation, then they indulged in a mute reciprocal ocular inspection, which, however, seemed to have had a favorable result, for after a while they joined hands.

"The watchmaker now stepped up and extended his congratulations, and the teamster, who had watched these strange proceedings in the woods, now comprehended the meaning, came up to offer his best wishes also, remarking that under such circumstances it might be expedient to turn the wagon towards home again.

"The turning in a road in the woods, which is just wide enough for one wagon track, is not always an easy job; it was however practicable. When the command was given, the oxen turned into the woods to the left, and by hallooing and lashing they were made to understand how to wind thru among the trees. Small saplings were no impediment. They were bent down to the ground by the foreaxle. When the wagon had passed over them they whipped up again and stood as erect as ever. After the team had made a considerable circle thru the woods it stood in the road again facing in the direction towards home.

"Henry was courteous enough to assist his bride to her seat on the wagon again. He and his friend rode alongside of the wagon. Since the most serious difficulty had been overcome, he had become quite talkative and tried to entertain his fiancee as well as he could under the circumstances.

"In the course of the conversation the watchmaker proposed to go a little ways off the main road past the house of the squire, and make an end of it at once. Henry had no objection to make, but the widow considered it an impropriety to be in such haste. Henry being a little downcast, his companion tried to console him by whispering, 'Never mind, she will have come to her senses again we get to the fork in the roads.'

"When the fork in the roads had been reached, the watchmaker ordered the wagon to stop, and addressing himself to the lady, he said, 'Well, it is for you to say now, which road we are to take. By this road,' pointing to the right, 'we have only a quarter of a mile to go to the squire's house. The other road leads towards home.' After hesitating a while the widow replied with a sigh, 'Well, if it is the will of the Lord, that I shall have another husband, let's go to the squire and be done with it.'

"That was enough. The wagon turned into the byroad, and soon halted before the gate of the squire. The watchmaker officiated as interpreter. He spoke English poorly enough, altho much better than the couple intending to marry. At the house he was informed that the squire was in a distant new clearing, rolling logs with the aid of his neighbors. A little boy was started out for him, with the orders to tell his father to come home at once, that there was a couple at the house who wanted to get married right off. After some time the squire was seen marching slowly and with dignity towards the house, followed by all the log-rollers, who wished to witness the marriage ceremony.

"Whoever has attended log-rollings knows how a man looks after he has handled dirty and half-burned logs and chunks. Thus it is no wonder that this crowd of log-rollers did not have the appearance of a decent wedding party. However, the exterior appearance amounts to nothing in the eyes of reasonable men. So the squire shook hands with his newly arrived guests, and declared his readiness to wait upon them as soon as he should have washed his hands.

"The many curious spectators had all crowded into the small room, so that but little space was left for the ceremony. The watchmaker had posted himself behind the couple, for he was apprehensive that they would not fully understand the squire's remarks. In such a case he had intended to indicate to his proteges the proper moment to say 'yes', by a slight punch in the ribs. His precaution, however, had been superfluous. The ceremony took its regular course without any irregularities. After the customary fees were settled a friendly and cordial leave was taken. Then the little caravan moved on again, and about dusk they arrived at the house of the lady's cousin.

"A little wedding celebration was improvised, as well as the circumstances admitted it. A little while after sunrise the next morning the wagon, which had not been unloaded the night before, halted at the landing place opposite Washington. An hour afterwards Henry introduced himself and his lady to his landlord as husband and wife.

"A few days after Henry had brought his wife home, I had occasion to go to Washington. There I met my friend on the street and I was not a little surprised, when he asked me to go home with him to be introduced to his new wife. There he related to me, over a bottle of wine, all the particulars of his marrying expedition from beginning to end.

"Now the grass has been growing over the graves of Henry, his wife and the watchmaker for many years.

IN MISSOURI THE INDIANS WILL SCALP YOU.

"At the time when the first Germans came to the State the Indians had no permanent dwelling places in Missouri any more. Several tribes had withdrawn to the Indian Territory, while others had moved to the great plains. Small groups of Indians still came to Missouri to hunt. They really had no right to do so without permission from the governor, but since they hunted only in unsettled parts and caused no disturbance, no one paid any attention to them. Now and then a few families stayed long enough to raise a small crop of corn. I myself have seen distinct traces of such Indian fields on the upper Bourbois, a tributary to the Meramec. These corn fields never embraced more than one or two acres, and were cultivated in the most primitive manner. The Indians usually sought out a piece of ground the clearing of which caused them the least possible difficulty. They planted and tilled the corn with the hoe, for the use of the plow was unknown to them. They had no fences around their fields. They did not need them, for in the wilderness there was no live stock running at large, and birds, squirrels and raccoons could not be kept out by a fence anyway. At the time when the deer are in the habit of frequenting the fields, the corn had all been gathered; moreover, an ordinary fence does not keep out the deer.

"Our old hunters often related of meetings which they had with the Indians. Occasionally they quite unexpectedly came upon an Indian camp, or in their turn were surprised by them, for the walk of the native is almost inaudible. Their conception of politeness forbids them from speaking first, when they come into a house, or when they come to the campfire of a stranger, which to them is the same as a house. If their approach has not been noticed they will stand motionless for hours until in some way one's attention is directed to them. Only after they have been greeted will they sit down beside the fire.

"My neighbor Bailey related much of their customs and manners. Among other things he related, that they were very found of the foetus of the deer. He himself was once invited to partake of such a meal, but pretending to be ill, declined.

"The large hordes of Indians which, according to accounts, were in the habit of going to the large cities to dispose of their hides and pelts, were not seen any more when I came to the State. Only occasionally one could see them drifting down the Missouri with their canoes loaded high with skins. The small steamboats, which in times of high water went up as far as the waters were navigable at all, brought back not only huge bales of buffalo hides, but occasionally also great crowds of Indians, who attired in their queer costumes, often filled the entire upper deck of the boats.

"Theodore Bates (his real name was Betz, for he came from near Graefenthal in the Thuringian mountains, his name had been Americanized) related many interesting things about them. Many years ago he settled in Chouteau's bottom, where he farmed and also sold wood to the steamboats. Among other things he related concerning an Indian who came up the river in a canoe with his squaw and several children. Bates greeted him, and the Indian, who knew but a few words of English, made him understand that he was in need of food for himself and his family, and that his gun was 'sick', so he could not hunt. Bates fed them and gave them a good supply of provisions on the road. Several years afterwards Bates was at the landing, when a steamboat had given the signal to stop. On the deck of the boat were many

Indians. Among them he noticed one, who was gesticulating and talking to his comrades. He wondered what this bebehavior might mean. The boat landed and at once the whole swarm of Indians came to land. All shook hands with Bates. Among them was the Indian whom he had befriended years ago. He had told the story to his comrades, and all wanted to be Bates' friends.

"On the western border of the State whites and Indians mingled freely. Almost all accounts of these Indians describe them as a very much run-down and demoralized people, who had taken on many of the vices of the whites and had lost many of their native virtues. They were not vicious, but by their obtrusive begging, their drunkenness and their stealing they were nuisances. The whites among them were safer than the gold-seekers are in the Black Hills, whose life is often not safe, even in the immediate presence of Government troops.

"I am not aware of the presence of Indian remains in Missouri which would point to a higher state of civilization. There is no lack of traces of these people, but they consist chiefly of stone arrowheads or tomahawks. Many a German pioneer carried such an arrowhead in his pocket as a flint stone, before matches had come into general use. Many an old hunter fastened one of them to the hammer of his flintlock. In some localities such remains are found in great numbers. It may be that on those sites different tribes had fought with one another, but who is in a position to write the history of those battles?

"Formerly one frequently came upon Indian mounds in the forests. Sometimes they were single and then again in great numbers. During some surveys, which I had to make along the Little Bourbois, our survey led thru a region which was thickly covered with such mounds. They were circular in form and had a circumference of from thirty to forty feet, and a maximum height of from three to four feet. They must have been very old, for the vegetation on them could not be distinguished from that of the surrounding country, and on some of them large trees had grown. The

Americans say they are Indian graves. The few excavations that have been undertaken revealed either nothing at all or only a few remains of weapons. Might it be that the former were the graves of women who did not carry arms, and the latter those of warriors? The use of metals seems to have been unknown to these primitive inhabitants of the wilderness. Now the plow has made its furrows over most of these old resting-places.

WILD ANIMALS.

"In 1834 the larger beasts of prey, namely the wolf, bear and panther had become rather scarce in the neighborhood of the more densely settled regions. Still we could hear the wolves howl almost every evening, but only rarely was one seen in the open. They detected the presence of man much sooner than man discovered them. Usually it was a dead sheep or a missing shoat, that told of the presence of these beasts. Whenever their tracks were found in the mud, dust or snow, the old settlers were sure to start in pursuit. The track of a wolf can easily be distinguished from that of a dog. The four toes of the latter form a rather even semicircle, while in case of the wolf the two middle toes protrude far, and the claws are often distinctly seen in the impression.

"Occasionally they are caught in iron fox traps, but more frequently wolf-traps are built. They consist of a little, low log hut, made of round timbers, six to seven feet long and two to three feet high, and provided with a trap door. A piece of raw meat serves as bait. A wolf, which has been caught in such a trap, could count itself lucky if his life was ended with a rifle bullet. Usually a gruesome sport was practiced with these poor animals. The tendons of the hind legs of the wolf were cut in two, and in this mutilated condition, which made his escape impossible, the dogs were set on him.* His defense was, even then so effective, that in order to save the dogs, a shot had to bring a close to the horrible scene.

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*Cf Duden's "Report" in "Missouri Historical Review," p. 261 of Vol. XII, No. 4, for an account of a similar practice.

"Bears must have been numerous in Missouri at the time of the first settlements. Many of our first neighbors had been bear hunters. When we came, they still succeeded in getting some bears twenty or thirty miles west of us. I myself have seen tracks of so-called 'travelers' near our house. This happened chiefly in the late fall, when the bears were going to their winter quarters.

"James Roark, Caleb Bailey and John Cantlet were noted bear hunters.

"In the summer of 1835, before I had been a year in this country, Billy Bailey and I had an adventure which might have turned out seriously. We wanted to hunt deer, tho neither of us knew much about this sport. We hunted a long time in vain. All of a sudden we noticed that our dog was acting strangely. We urged him on, and presently we saw an animal running thru the high grass. It was spotted like a fawn. To our amazement it suddenly climbed a tree and lay down on a tree branch. Its rather short tail switched back and forth, its ears were laid close to its thick head, and showing its teeth it snarled at the barking dog below. We watched it for a moment silently. Both of us slipped from our horses, both rifles were raised to the shoulder, and almost simultaneously the two reports rang forth. The animal twitched, the tail described a circle and then hung limp, the hind part of the body slowly rolled over, one front foot let loose and then the other, and lifeless the creature fell into the grass. It was heavier than a large tomcat, its legs were shorter and much stronger, its great paws were provided with vicious claws, the clumsy, thick, cat-like head showed frightful teeth, the color was dark yellow with white spots. Neither one of us had ever seen such an animal. Remembering something of my study of natural history, I surmised that it must be a young panther, but Billy called me a fool, and said that his father had shot the last panther in that region when he was still a very little boy. Billy had never seen the inside of a school room, so he did not even know that there was such a study as natural science. For him the animal kingdom was divided into two classes. All the large beasts that he did not know were just 'animals', all the smaller ones simply 'varmin.' Therefore to settle the dispute, it was agreed to skin the animal we just had killed, and let Caleb Bailey be the judge. We found that the skin was very tender, and that the process of skinning was very difficult, so we decided to scalp the animal. While we were engaged in this work the dog again began to bark, this time into a hollow tree. Billy thought that a rabbit had probably hidden in the tree, so he decided to twist it out with a hickory stick. When he began to do this, he suddenly called out to me: 'Did you ever hear a rabbit growl?' I ran over to the tree and also heard the snarling and spitting. We were now resolved to have this prize, whatever it might be. We had no ax, to chop it out, so we resolved to smoke it out. There were no matches in those days. We therefore undertook to light a fire in the manner that we had seen the backwoodsmen do. A little tow was collected and forced between the battery and the touch-pan of our flintlock gun, and the pan containing a little powder, then we snapped the hammer of the gun, the powder ignited and set the tow on fire; on this we laid grass and soon we had a pile of small twigs and pieces of bark burning. Our amateurish effort was soon crowned with success. We heard a sneezing and puffing and coughing in the tree, and then a dull thud. Removing the fire quickly we found another animal just like the one we had shot. We scalped it, too, and rode home.

"On the way home we stopped at the house of Billy's brother-in-law, and asked him to identify the scalps. He could not do it. After thinking a moment, he said: 'My neighbor over there, beyond the hill, was hunting his horses in the direction in which we heard your shots, and he told me that he found a deer, which had been torn to pieces, and the remains of which had been covered up in the manner that panthers do.'

"Ariving at home without any game, Caleb Bailey teased us a good deal. Then we pulled the two scalps out of our ammunition pockets and spread them out on his knee, and asked him if he could tell us what kind of animals these were.

He jumped up and said: 'For God's sake, boys, how did you get hold of these scalps?' We told him every step of our adventure. He was silent for a moment and then he said: 'You are lucky to be back whole; those were young panthers that you scalped, and the old ones, who never leave their young, while they are still little, were most probably right close to you, either in the top of the tree or in the grass. The noise you made and the barking of the dog kept them away. If, however, one of the young had uttered the least cry, they would have been at your throat, and what would you stupid boys have done then with your unloaded guns?'

"The assertion of many old hunters that no other beast of prey will touch a piece of game which a panther has covered up, may not be provable, and yet it may not be entirely unfounded. I can only say what has come under my personal observation. After I had become a better hunter, thanks to the constant association with old professional hunters, I often accompanied them into parts that were very sparsely inhabited. When we had killed a deer and did not wish to take it with us at that time, we cleaned it, and covered it with branches. Often we did not get back until several days afterwards, but we always found the deer, which we had thus covered, untouched, altho there were many wolves and foxes in those regions.

"Fights between hunters and beasts of prey occurred frequently, but I know of no instance in which the animal made the attack without having been wounded or provoked in some manner. The panther is known to be inclined to make an unprovoked attack, but if his intentions are discovered early enough, a slightly distracting movement suffices to deter him from the attack. Old Mr. Bailey, who in the early years shot many a panther, related an instance in which such an animal placed him in a dangerous position. Far from the settlements, he came upon two fine bucks. One fell upon his first shot. The other ran away a short distance, and in the manner peculiar to the deer, remained standing. Bailey's second shot only wounded the deer. After loading, the hunter pursued the bloody tracks, and coming upon a rocky summit of a hill, he had an opportunity to shoot another time at the deer, which was going down the other side of the hill, thru low brushes and shrubs. Immediately after firing, the hunter heard a suspicious swishing and beating in the dry leaves behind him. Looking around, he saw a large panther lying in a small depression of the ground, ready to leap. It was no more than five paces away. Now it was the time to be coolheaded, for the least attempt to escape would have meant certain death. Taking his hunting-knife in his mouth and fixing his eyes steadily on the panther, Bailey began to reload his gun, as quickly as possible. Just as he was ready to put the priming powder on the pan, the panther leaped past him in a mighty jump and disappeared under a projecting ledge of rock. The old hunter was honest and frank enough to admit, that he had been calm and composed while danger was imminent, but after it had passed and he had time to think his situation over, he had become nervous and had trembled as in a fever.

"Some thirty years ago, some hunters of our neighborhood, who had undertaken a hunting expedition on the upper Gasconade, related that they had there found a dead hunter, a dead panther and a dead deer all close together. The supposition was that the hunter had wounded the deer, had pursued it and had arrived at the expired game simultaneously with the panther. This is the only case in this region, that has come to my attention, in which a human being lost his life in a combat with a wild beast.

"The catamount was another very strong animal, that was found in these parts. It belongs to the lynx family. It was found more numerously than the panther. It was hunted like the panther and also trapped.

"A description of the smaller beasts of prey, as also the manner of hunting deer and turkeys, would take too much space in a volume of this kind, and would, after all, be interesting only to the friends of the chase.

"There were many snakes, poisonous ones as well as nonpoisonous ones, in the early days. The danger, to which one was exposed by these reptiles, was much exaggerated by outsiders. There were places where great numbers of them hibernated. Farmers who lived in the neighborhood of such places had to be vigilant in the spring when the reptiles awoke from their winter's sleep. More than a hundred snakes were sometimes killed in a single such snake den. at the approach of spring.

"In spite of the fact that there were many snakes, it rarely occured that a person was bitten by them. The live stock in the woods was much more frequently bitten. I cannot recall a single instance, however, in which such a bite had been fatal to stock. Whiskey was the common remedy for snake bites. The wound was washed with whiskey and the patient was given it to drink till he became drunk. Then he was put to bed and made to sweat. After he got over his stupor, he was usually well again. Animals that had been bitten were also given whiskey till they staggered.

SQUIRRELS BECOME A PLAGUE

"The squirrel, this frisky little animal, which in Germany generally receives little attention, caused the settlers in the far west much damage, vexation and loss of time.

"There are two main varieties of squirrels. The smaller and more numerous variety is dark gray with a white belly, somewhat stronger and heavier than the German squirrel. The larger variety is called the fox squirrel, the head and back of which are dark red with a touch of yellow, throat and belly are yellow. Both varieties have short, bare, mouse-like ears.

"The wooded regions of the west, especially Missouri, were formerly a genuine paradise for squirrels. For hundreds of miles there was unbroken forest with an abundance of food, and when the farmers began to cultivate corn on their little fields, the squirrels' delights were only increased.

"In the spring they ate the young treebuds, and scratched the young corn out of the ground, just at the time when the young sprouts came out of the ground. A little later they plundered the mulberry trees, and then visited the wheat fields. Before the corn was ripe, they completely ruined the rows, that were close to the forest, unless they were daily decimated with the rifle. Still later they gathered hickory nuts, after which they returned to the corn fields, and since some corn was always left out in the fields the whole winter long, they had food enough. For sake of variety they also gathered immense quantities of acorns in hollow trees. They had a peculiar habit, which I have not been able to explain; they ate the ends of deer antlers, when they had been shed. I have found such antlers, every prong of which had been gnawed off.

"Those farmers who did not make diligent hunt upon squirrels suffered great loss. I have often seen the women and children of newly arrived German families, who either had no guns or could not shoot well, go thru the fields and try to scare the squirrels away with noise. The little marauders soon accustomed themselves to this noise, and when they heard it on one side of the field, they calmly hurried to the other and continued their devastation. Dogs and guns were the best means of combating them. During the time when the corn began to ripen, one could hear the guns popping in every direction. Especially on Saturdays, which were considered a sort of half holiday, one could have imagined that he heard the firing of military outposts, if the real cause had not been known.

"As a rule squirrels gathered rather numerously about the settlements, but occasionally they were only scattered. Lack of food, or the approach of a severe winter, which their instinct foretold them, were probably the main reasons for their migrations. When they traveled singly or in small groups their coming and going remained unobserved. It was different however, when they moved in large compact masses. Then they did not roam aimlessly about the forest, but in dense columns they pursued a beeline to their destination, and allowed themselves to be deflected from their course by absolutely nothing, not even a great river as wide as the Missouri stopped them. The crossing of such a stream caused the death of thousands of them. Even while swimming many may have been crowded under the water and drowned, but a doubtful fate awaited them at the landing, for the choice of the landing place was entirely beyond their control, depending entirely upon the wind and the current. If they were driven against a solid river bank most of them landed safely; not so, however, if they were driven towards the mouth of a tributary stream. Then thousands and thousands found an untimely grave. The mouths of all the tributaries of the Missouri are sandy and muddy, and when the water in the main stream is low, these tributaries represent only a narrow bed of mud which does not contain enough water for even a squirrel to swim in. The first who reached such a dangerous place were pressed into the mud by those coming on behind them, and not until in this manner a bridge of suffocated squirrels had been formed, could the rest land in safety.

"In the spring of 1839 the settlements on the south side of the Missouri, for a great distance up and down the river, seem to have been the goal of such a squirrel migration, which came in enormous masses from the north across the river. Early in spring, when the corn had just been planted, we began to notice the gray squirrels more numerously than ordinarily, and the complaints concerning the damage which they caused became more general day by day. In those days Newport was the gathering place of many farmers, who lived in the neighborhood. At one of these gatherings a general squirrel hunt was resolved upon. The organization was simple enough. Of those present two were chosen as captains, (on that occasion Nathan Richards and Billy Hammock were chosen captains) and each of these selected as many hunters as he wished. These men were to deliver, at the expiration of two weeks, all the squirrel scalps which they had in the meantime obtained. Such a scalp consisted of a strip of skin off the head of the squirrel, to which the two ears had to be attached. These scalps were counted and the hunters that had obtained the smaller number had to treat the crowd to a gallon or two of whiskey. At the expiration of the two weeks the hunting parties gathered at Newport, and more than 2,000 scalps were counted.

"During the next couple of months the squirrels could do no harm to the fields, because the corn was not yet ripe, nevertheless, merely for the sport, and also to obtain young, tender meat for the table, we continued to hunt, and another thousand may easily have fallen. But in August, when the corn began to ripen, we found the squirrels still more numerous than before. Strange to say, the gray squirrels, which ordinarily were the more numerous in our forests, had become scarcer, and in their place the red squirrel had come, and indeed in such enormous masses, that the forest literally teemed with them. Our little hunting parties were again organized, and after two weeks over 4,000 scalps were delivered. Before the crowd adjourned, it was resolved to hunt for another two weeks, and at the following meeting the scalps were delivered in such enormous quantities, that the counting was considered too time-consuming and laborious, so they were measured in bushel measures, to determine who the victors were.

"In spite of all our shooting no apparent decrease in their number could be observed. Late in the fall the squirrels disappeared suddenly, and for a while there were fewer squirrels in the woods than under ordinary conditions. We knew, that they had come to us from the north across the river, but where they had gathered again, and where they had gone nobody could tell. It is impossible to estimate their number even approximately, but it must have been enormous. Hundreds of thousands must have perished in the river, and the number which we shot was infinitesimal compared with the killing by the hundred of hunters in the entire country.

"We ourselves had only two small fields of corn in the woods at that time, but I was obliged to shoot all the time to save our small crop from total ruin.

"Before I conclude this chapter, I must mention a beautiful bird which has ceased to come to central Missouri since many years. Until the later thirties great flocks of paroquets came into our region every fall and frequently remained till the following spring. They were a small variety, about the size of a dove. They were bright green in color, and their heads were orange colored. These flocks of paroquet were a real ornament to the trees stripped of their foliage in the winter. The sight was particularly attractive, when such a flock of several hundred had settled on a big sycamore, where the bright green color of the birds was in such marked contrast with the white bark of the trees, and when the sun shone brightly upon these inhabited tree tops, the many yellow heads looked like so many candles.

"This sight always reminded me vividly of a kind of Christmas tree, which was used by the poorer families in my native city. A few weeks before Christmas a young birch tree was set in a pail of water. In the warm room it soon began to produce delicate leaves. When on Christmas eve such a tree was decorated with gilded and silvered nuts and with apples and candies, it did not look unlike one of these bird-covered tree tops, only these enormous Christmas trees of the forest looked vastly more imposing than the little birch in the narrow room.

"As the settlements increased and the forests were more and more cleared away, these birds ceased to come.* The few old settlers of the days, when the paroquets frequented these parts, feel just as little at home as those beautiful birds did; they long for peace and quiet, whether above the earth or beneath, it does not matter."

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*These paroquets were mentioned by Duden in his letter dated January 10, 1826, the translation of which is found on page 263, No. 4 of Vol. XII of the "*Review.*" The writer will confess that at the time of translating Duden's "Report," he was sorely tempted to doubt the veracity of this scholarly tho highly imaginative gentleman, for during some thirty years of residence in Missouri he had never seen a paroquet except in captivity, neither had he had the pleasure of meeting any old-timers who mentioned seeing such birds at large. A footnote which he contemplated at that time would now look strangely out of place. A fine object lesson not to jump at conclusions too rapidly.

"ARIUS, THE LIBYAN"

BY WALTER B. STEVENS.

Nathan C. Kouns is coming into his own. After thirty-nine years this Missourian of genius is recognized by the republication, in the East, of his "Arius, the Libyan," and Nicholas Murray Butler, head of the great university and admitted authority on literature, writes the introduction to the book,—telling that when it first appeared in 1883 he was one of the most eager and most interested readers of it.

In the Globe-Democrat's recent "Reviews of Leading Books," now one of the outstanding departments of that newspaper, ranking in the West as the New York Times' literary commendation does in the East, Miss Jane Frances Winn, the reviewer, writes that "Arius, the Libyan," "has all the thrilling imagery of 'Ben Hur' and 'Quo Vadis' with the same intensely dramatic features." Miss Winn adds, "The book has become a classic in its truthful interpretation of the time when Constantine tried to make himself the head of the Church, the days of discussion of the Nicene Council and finally the day when Constantine was denounced as anti-Christ by 'Arius, the Libyan.' "

What Dr. Butler has said in his introduction and what Miss Winn has written in her review will prompt many to read the book, and warrants something about the genius of pathetic memory of the Missourian who wrote it.

Nathan C. Kouns was a native of Missouri, born in Callaway county and educated at Westminster college at Fulton. He served in the Confederate army. That service was a succession of desperate missions, hardships in prison, escapes from death for being a spy, and strange experiences in battle. When he came home to Missouri, Confederate though he had been, he started a little Republican paper in Fulton, the last place in Missouri where prudence and business sense would have dictated such a venture. Always rash and radical, he said, "Come on! I'll try to kill as many of you as you kill of me," when people warned him that such things as he was printing would certainly lead to his death. He remained right there with his little paper and waited indifferently for the fight which never came.

Later he moved across the Missouri river to Jefferson City and opened a law office, but he never tried to practice beyond what was absolutely necessary to keep the wolf from the door. All of the time he could command was spent among books. He read and wrote. Fugitive poems began to attract more than local attention to his literary ability.

He wrote a tragedy which he called "Benedict Arnold." It was an historical defense of the American traitor; or, if not a defense, it was a presentation of facts which gave the color of provocation to Arnold's course. The tragedy was never published so far as is now recalled by the writer of this, but competent judges of that day, more than forty years ago, pronounced it of fascinating interest. A Missourian of much more than ordinary literary judgment, afterwards forsaking books for banking, Will Zeveley, to whom Mr. Kouns once handed his tragedy, with the request that he look it over, and give an opinion upon it, said he threw it into a drawer with a sigh at the task before him. There lay the manuscript until one rainy Sunday Mr. Zeveley, state librarian, as a matter of duty, took it out and began to glance over the pages. He did not return the work to its resting place until two o'clock in the morning, of such entrancing interest did he find the story.

"The language which the author put into the mouth of Arnold in relating his wrongs at the hands of the American Congress and authorities," said this gentleman, "was, it seemed to me, the most powerful I had ever read."

Mr. Kouns possessed genius but no business ability. When he had created something he could not utilize it to bring the dollars in. "Arius, the Libyan," existed only in manuscript for some years, until a friend of the author brought it, in 1883, to the attention of the publishers who made their own terms. No word of preface accompanied the strange tale. The author at first would not permit his name to appear, nor did he employ a nom de plume. He cared nothing for personal reputation. He studied and explored history and wrote because he loved to.

One New Year's day the carriers in Jefferson City distributed an address which was a literary gem. Some who read it, with the ability to appreciate it, made inquiries and found that Mr. Kouns was the author.

When his work first began to attract local attention men of literary attainments who had known Mr. Kouns, could scarcely believe his products were genuinely original with him. It was half suspected that he had borrowed from his extensive reading. When the eastern publishers had "Arius, the Libyan" in press they wrote to Mr. Kouns calling his attention to the fact that he had given a translation to some passage different from that generally credited. Mr. Kouns replied that he was satisfied his version was the correct one. The publishers wrote again citing authorities, saying that it would be best to change the translation. Mr. Kouns replied again, this time making an exhaustive argument, going back to earlier authorities, and so conclusively establishing the correctness of his translation that the publishers wrote again, conceding the whole controversy and congratulating him on having made a valuable contribution in reference to the disputed meaning of the passage.

After the publication of "Arius, the Libyan," in 1883, there was much inquiry in eastern literary circles, as Dr. Butler says, for the author. And though he got some reputation in a limited circle, and only a small amount of money out of the book, Mr. Kouns became known and respected by his own craft.

"Dorcas, the Daughter of Faustina," was his next book and he more than upheld the promise of his first book. He allowed to go upon the title page, as author, "Nathan Ben Nathan, an Essenean." The preface was a marvelously smooth and interesting introduction to the story. It is, in short, a model preface.

"In the catacombs of Rome is an ancient tomb wherein repose the mortal remains of some Christian martyr. A slab of white marble closes a little crypt cut out of the rock to be her sarcophagus, and upon this slab, a careful but unskilled hand has cut an inscription that readeth after the fashion shown at the beginning hereof, the beginning of which is, 'Here lies Faustina. In Peace.' The name is Latin. The inscription is in the Greek tongue. The word Shalom or 'Peace' is in Hebrew. The character in the lower middle portion of the slab indicates that she died a martyr to her faith and the urn at the left is a symbol of Christian burial. Who was she? How died she? When?

"Musing alone beside this lasting place of one who died for Jesus centuries ago, my lamp flickered and expired; and then in the subterranean darkness of the catacombs, the dead forms around me seemed to live again, re-peopling the past in which they lived and suffered, and what I beheld as in a vision, I seek now to reproduce in this story of anti-Christ. Those of whom I learned it knew whereof they spoke, and the reader may rely upon the verity of all things that are set forth as facts."

That is the whole of the preface.

At the time his mental malady overtook him Mr. Kouns had completed the manuscript of another story of a religious character. He had been made the state librarian at Jefferson City, nothing great judged by the money standard. But it meant a livelihood and an opportunity to live in the atmosphere of books, without worry about the flour barrel or the coal shed. It meant paradise to Kouns. He reveled in it a scant twelve months and then the mind which had promised to enrich literature and win fame became diseased, so much so that confinement was necessary. He wrote a book on "Pardons". He was unsparing of himself. He sacrificed his strength in ways of which a sane man would hardly have dreamed. There was a new book which he thought the state library ought to possess, but the funds were lacking. It was a law book of limited circulation and the price was fifty dollars. Rather than have the library go without the book Mr. Kouns obtained the volume for temporary use, and actually copied it entire, printing the letters slowly and laboriously with a pen. The manuscript copy remained in the possession of the State. And while carrying on this kind of work he was engaged in translating old Latin books and collecting material for further literary productions. He labored incessantly. He had but one weakness, and that was the inordinate use of tobacco. Between the work and the tobacco he became subject to hallucinations. On ordinary matters his mind seemed as clear as ever, but in certain directions he became possessed of the strangest fancies. His writings were marvelously pure in thought and diction. His insanity developed the opposite tendencies.

He retained his position as state librarian until within a few days of being removed to the asylum, so rapidly did his mania develop. When the supreme court judges called him before them to tell him that he could no longer retain his position, he burst forth with abusive epithets, charged that the court had been guilty of bribery in a celebrated case, and swore the judges had divided $25,000 among them. His irresponsibility was evident. The court could do nothing but let the tirade exhaust itself. Mr. Kouns was taken to the asylum at Fulton.

He was a man of impressive appearance. He was quite bald; had a long, white beard. His literary work showed a wonderful command of language. The few who came to know him intimately described him as a most agreeable conversationalist.

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

BY WILEY BRITTON.

FOURTH ARTICLE.

CHAPTER XIX.

FREIGHTING ON THE PLAINS.

Recently I had handled a four-mule team in hauling sand for Mr. Wornall's new mansion, and I had handled a pair of oxen in ploughing and hauling wood at home, and felt that I would be competent to handle and manage any team that might be entrusted to my care. Impatient of enforced idleness I lost no time in trying to bring the boy and job together, and early the next morning I was on the road from Independence to Kansas City to take the first steamboat to Leavenworth; but on arrival at Kansas City I found that a boat was scheduled to arrive that evening or during the night, and waited for it on the levee, half sleeping and resting in a large smokestack.

About midnight the whistle of the steamer aroused me and I got up and went on board as soon as the passengers for Kansas City came down the gangplank, and sought further sleep and rest. The boat had freight for all river points, which required time for unloading at the different landings, and we did not arrive at Leavenworth until daylight. At that time all steamers on the river burned wood in their furnaces for making steam and stopped to take on wood at different landings, where we saw many cords stacked.

On landing at Leavenworth the keen disappointment I met with in the spring came up in my mind; but somehow I felt that I should succeed, and after getting my breakfast and looking around for a short time, I went to the office of Majors, Russell & Waddell, stated my case and at whose suggestion I was there. My name was taken down and a note handed me to take to the wagon-master of an ox train then being assembled at Salt Creek two or three miles southwest of Fort Leavenworth, waiting for a complement of men to drive the teams and to provision and provide for the needs of teamsters for the round trip. Reporting to Mr. Shockley, the wagon-master, I was assigned to work preparing everything for readiness to start out for Fort Kearney, Nebraska, the wagons of the train having already been loaded at Fort Leavenworth with freight, which consisted of two-bushel sacks of corn for the troops stationed at the military posts between Fort Kearney and Salt Lake.

There were thirty wagons in our train, and each wagon was loaded with five or six thousand pounds of freight, drawn by five to six yoke of oxen. When a train went into camp, it was formed in a heart-shape, called a corral, an inclosure for keeping the draft animals in when not grazing, for handling and yoking them up and getting them ready to hitch to the wagons, for defensive purposes if attacked by hostile Indians and lastly in times of such danger and stress, to keep the animals in to prevent the Indians from stampeding them and driving them off.

A wagon train stretched out upon the road in open order was a mile to a mile and a half in length. To form a correl the front wagon and team were halted at a place convenient for the purpose, and the wagon and team next to it were driven up beside it in forming the right wing of the corral, the left front wheel of the second wagon came into position almost in touch with the right hind wheel of the first wagon, and so on to the completion of that wing.

In the formation of the left wing of the corral, the first wagon and team were driven up eight to ten feet to the left of the first wagon of the right wing, and continuing the formation of the left wing, the right fore wheel of the second wagon came into position near the left hind wheel of the first wagon, and so on to the completion of that wing, the terminal part of which curved inward to meet a similar curve of the terminal end of the right wing, so as to leave an open space between them of ten to twelve feet.

When the wagons of the train were thus placed, with the wagon tongues pointing outward, they made an enclosure that held the train oxen of about three hundred head, the front and rear openings of the corral being closed with chains and ropes when the stock were on the inside. To any one familiar only with the ordinary farm wagon of the country, these freight wagons of the ox or mule trains, seemed of giant proportions; they were made large and strong for this particular kind of service, and they were mostly made at Independence, Missouri, as a development of the plains and Rock Mountains region trade.

The tires of the wheels were fully four inches broad, and half an inch in thickness, with fellies, spokes and naves or hubs in proportion; and beds four feet in depth, painted green, and fitted with strong bows, covered with heavy canvass, to stand the storms and winds of the plains, and the jolting and jerking when passing over rough and uneven ground. The wagon-masters were generally perfectly familiar with the road and the country to be passed over and knew all the good places for camping; where there was water and grazing for the animals, and when on the road, as soon as the train was halted to go into camp, the corral was formed and the oxen unhitched from the wagons and driven to water to the nearest pool or lagoon, and then turned out on the prairie to graze for an hour or so without removing the yokes.

If the halt was made for the night the oxen were unyoked to give them greater freedom of movement and rest while grazing, except some animals not sufficiently broken to the work; but when grazing day or night, they had to be herded to keep them from scattering, or from being stampeded by the Indians, when we were in the country of the hostiles. The teamsters had to take their turns in herding, which was always attended with more or less discomfort during the day or night and it took five or six of the train crew for this service who were kept busy nearly all night on foot to keep the herd together. This night hearding of the train animals was the most disagreeable feature of the train service; but the herders were provided with rubber coats and leggins to protect them from the heavy dews on the grass during the night.

On the stormy, rainy nights in the vast open prairies without shelter or cover, the deep rolling or loud crashing thunder, the vivid and almost continuous flashes of lightning, and howling winds, the pelting rain, and the barking of coyotes, all combined to produce a feeling of loneliness and littleness impossible to describe. On such dismal nights sometimes several herders would get together and roll up in their rubber coats and blankets on the ground until the storm passed over to wake up and find that the herd had drifted out of sight, leaving us in anxiety as to the direction we should look for it in the darkness. If there had been a strong wind we knew that the cattle had drifted with it, and at once struck out to overtake them, turn them and head them for camp.

It is impossible for any one who has never had the experience, to realize the overpowering sense of sleepiness that comes over one after midnight in herding, particularly after a strenuous day of yoking and unyoking the animals of his team, driving them to water, and walking beside them on the road when the train was moving. This task of herding the train animals at night, was different from that of the soldier on guard, who was allowed to rest and sleep up to the moment he was called to relieve his comrade; besides his turn was only two hours, whereas ours was half of the night, or all night, without any time for rest or sleep before going out.

On starting out from the point where the train was made up and loaded, perhaps as many as one-fifth of its oxen were untamed and unbroken and had to be worked in with other oxen that had seen service, and it was frequently quite a task for the teamster to yoke these unbroken animals and place them in their positions in the train.

There was usually a skirt of timber along the rivers and larger creeks; but there was none on the smaller creeks and prairie branches, and it was along these that had dried up leaving little pools or lagoons of stagnant water under overhanging banks, which made good breeding places for the mosquitoes.

These were not running the latter part of summer, but there was plenty of water in them in pools or lagoons for our stock and to replenish our water kegs for our own use, and it was in these pools or lagoons with low shelving banks and over-hanging grasses, that were bred the swarms of mosquitoes that tormented us.

If a wind sprang up and we were to the windward of the lagoons or pools, the pests did not trouble us; but the change of weather or other conditions were such that the annoyance came at intervals, sometimes of several days, and could be borne.

Those who have seen racing between steamboats on our great rivers, or between passenger trains on our railroads where the tracks of two roads run near each other for a considerable distance, will perhaps think it difficult to get much excitement out of two ox or bull trains racing with each other on the vast plains between Fort Leavenworth and Kearney.

An ox train coming out from Leavenworth, overtook us beyond Maryville on the Big Blue River and commenced going into camp just as we were pulling out, and the wagon-master intimated to our wagon-master that he was going to beat us to the Sand Hills or to the Platte River Valley. This was the challenge and our wagon-master accepted it and the teamsters entered into the spirit of the contest. Before leaving our next camp the train we were racing with came up and passed us; but we were soon moving again, and after being passed and passing our competitor several times, we finally drove nearly all night before going into camp, so that our rival did not pass us again, and we came out winners in the race.

Soon after meeting the troops of the Utah Expeditions we struck the Little Blue River, a section where we might meet the hostile Sioux or Cheyenne Indians who had recently been at war with each other, and it was thought might venture to attack our train. Several boxes of Mississippi rifles, with ammunition, had been sent along, as a precaution, and a gun and several rounds of cartridges distributed to each of the teamsters. This gun was about the length of the Sharps's carbine or rifle, with which our regiment was armed in the war; but was probably without much merit, for we never heard of it being used by the Southern Army during the war. It was our understanding that it had been sent to Kansas a year or two before by those interested in the pro-slavery propaganda to make Kansas a slave state, and had been used or intended for use by the regiments or military companies from the South who had been brought to the Territory under Colonel Buford and other Southern leaders. After disbanding the companies, these arms were sold to Majors Russell and Waddell, the Government freight contractors.

Every boy had heard of emigrant trains and of the trains of freighters being attacked by the plains Indians, and every man of the train crew felt the necessity of being vigilant and ready to meet any emergency that might arise.

We were in the region where the buffalo made their annual movements north and south, and were on the lookout for them, hoping to be able to kill one or more for fresh meat. After we entered the Platte Vally we saw a small herd of buffalo at a distance of several miles from the train; but no one made an effort to get a shot at them, for the wagonmaster and his assistant were the only parties of the train mounted, and gave no attention to hunting, having passed so much of their lives on the plains that it had lost its novelty for them.

Almost every family in the west, that is, west of the Mississippi river, had one or more buffalo robes in those days, and buffalo overcoats were quite common with those who were much exposed to severe weather during the winter. For many years the Government furnished buffalo overcoats to the soldiers stationed at forts in the northwest where the winters were severe, and were almost indispensable when the troops were on the march or on scouting service in the region of the hostile Indians. A good buffalo robe was worth several blankets as covering in keeping one warm a cold night, and they were always in demand in our section.

We entered the Platte Valley about twenty miles below Ft. Kearney, and from that point to the post, appeared to be almost a dead level, with no trees or shrubbery, or human habitations to break the monotony of the desert, for settlements of the new Territory had not yet extended that far west. The Valley was probably three or four miles wide from the point where we entered it to the post; the river nowhere flowed in a single channel; it was divided into several small streams or lagoons with numerous small islands between them, scantily clothed with cottonwood and other indigenous trees, generally of small growth. Some distance above Kearney the river flowed in a single channel and was of considerable depth and might have been used for light draft steamers, had the country been settled; but there were no settlements to amount to anything after we left the Big Blue River in Kansas, though the country was adapted to agriculture and grazing, and was destined to attract settlers in a few years.

On the south bank of the Platte River where we camped one night, we saw a number of graves, which we were informed were the graves of emigrants to California and Oregon who died of cholera that broke out among them in 1849. On our arrival at Fort Kearney to discharge the cargoes of our prairie schooners, as our big wagons were sometimes called, we found Major May of Mexican War fame in command of the three- or four-company post.

The place was not strongly fortified, but with the battery of light artillery stationed there, with plenty of ammunition could have successfully resisted the attack of a large force of Indians, and it was a place where emigrants and freighters could feel the friendly protection of the Government in time of danger, and get reliable information of the movements of hostile Indians in that section when on the warpath.

At Kearney we first saw houses made of sod, all low and one story, and we were impressed that a family might live quite comfortably in one, particularly in the winter, for being built on the ground and the walls of such thickness that the frost would not penetrate them; the smaller ones were occupied by laundresses, the wives of soldiers stationed at the post, two or three being allowed to the company.

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREAT COMET OF 1858.

When we were just about ready to move with the supply train from Salt Creek enroute to Fort Kearney, several of us noticed in the evening twilight in the northwestern sky, about halfway between the zenith and horizon, a comet that had developed a tail, a celestial phenomenon of unusual interest to us and that has attracted attention of men in all ages. This was about the middle of August, and as darkness increased, both head and tail became brighter until the celestial visitor sank below the horizon, the tail continuing to illuminate the sky for perhaps an hour or so afterwards.

From the time it became visible to the eye, it rapidly increased in size and brightness until in the course of a week to ten days, and then when its head was low down on the horizon near setting in the northwest, its fiery tail touched the zenith, a celestial sight such as none of us had seen before and such as may be seen by the world only at long intervals of time.

We took turns in herding our stock of nights, and the howling and barking of coyotes and the great flaming tail of the comet that dimly lighted up the landscape on clear nights so as to cast a shadow, made an impression on my mind never to be forgotten. The greater part of the tail of the comet was visible all night, as the comet as a whole seemed to spin around the Pole Star, perhaps within the radius of the constellation of the Great Bear, the head setting just below the horizon in the northwest, and rising in the northeast early in the morning, and visible almost up to sunrise.

Sitting around our camp fires of nights made of buffalo chips, and observing the comet with a curious awe, we discussed and speculated the meaning of the wonderful celestial visitor, and some thought from what they had heard, that it portended war or some other great disaster, having always heard unusual heavenly phenomena so interpreted. For one

I did not regard it with superstitious fear, or as having any connection with the affairs of men on this earth; but there were a good many people at that time who were not yet emancipated from the superstitions of the past, who did regard its appearance as protending evil or some great calamity to the world.

The movements of the stars in the Dipper around Polaris served us in measuring the time of the night almost like the hour hand of a clock, and if the herd was moving during the grazing hours of the night, we knew the direction it was moving, which enabled us to keep within a reasonable distance of our camp, and the position of the Dipper moving around Polaris, gave us very nearly the time of the night.

Most of the farmers of our section got hold of an almanac every year, Dr. Jaynes' or some other, with testimonials advertising their medicines, and on the first page of every almanac under the fly leaf, was printed a picture of the Zodiac, with its twelve signs, from Aries, the ram, the head, to Pisces, the fishes, the feet, representing the twelve constellations, and these signs guided many farmers in planting, pruning and in the sterilization of their stock, for if the sign was not in the right place for an operation it might not turn out successful.

It was some years after the Great Comet of 1858 had disappeared in the depths of space, that I was able in the examination of a witness to fix the year and month of the birth of a child whose parents were dead, and whose family record had been destroyed in the war. The witness was able to testify that the child was born on a certain day of the month in September; but could not say how many years it was before the war, when finally after several efforts to refresh her memory, she was asked if she remembered the Great Comet of 1858, and she at once replied that she did, and that the very night it was born she and one or two friends went out into the yard to look at the great splendor and brightness of the comet, which, in a few days began to wane and about the first of October disappeared from the view of mortal eyes.

After returning home and talking to father about the

Great Comet, which he and every one in that section had observed with great interest, and many with evil forebodings, he said it recalled to his mind the great meteoric display in 1833, in Kentucky, which caused great excitement amongst all classes, many of whom believed that the world was coming to an end, some making hasty preparations for the Judgment Day; that the whole heavens was ablaze with the falling meteors, or "falling stars," as the display was called there, from early in the night until the next morning. It was in the autumn he said that his father had a negro boy who had gathered a lot of walnuts that were being dried for winter, and being deeply impressed with the grand display of the falling meteors, he solemnly proposed bringing out the walnuts to eat before the world came to an end. My father described the meteors as falling like snowflakes and as disappearing before they touched the ground.

Very few people living in the country at that time had ever heard or read that the meteoric showers of 1833 were of periodical recurrence of about thirty-three years, so that it is not strange that there was much excitement about the phenomena. Western Missouri was not very thickly settled at the time; but I have heard some of those who had recently moved into the country speak of the meteoric display as wonderful, and that many believed that the end of the world was at hand.

CHAPTER XXI.

A PRAIRIE FIRE.

From the early settling of the country the pioneers had been familiar with prairie fires and woods fires, and every year suffered losses from the burning of their fences, and sometimes from the burning of their homes and crops. By the latter part of August, except when we had a wet season, the grass in the prairies was usually dry enough to burn, and was frequently burned near the homes of the farmers in order to get what was called a "late burn," meaning by this expression that when the grass was burned off at that season that it would grow out again in a short time as fresh and green as in the spring, affording excellent grazing for the stock on up to cold and freezing weather.

But when the grass was fired for the "late burn," it was in that condition, part green and part dry, that it did not burn freely; the fire was easily controlled and rarely did any damage, and if near a farmer's field, was expected to protect his fences against future fires that might break out when high winds were prevailing, and destroy them. It was generally late in the fall, when the fires which had been carelessly set out that the greatest damage was done to the farmer's fences, and sometimes to his fields of corn and stacks of grain; and it was then too that the childish mind was most vividly impressed with the grandeur of a prairie fire, when witnessing it at night, for it was an interesting sight to watch the flames from the burning grass rising high in the air and descending like waves on the ocean, along a front as far as the eye could see.

In the southern counties of south and southwest Missouri, there were not many large unbroken areas of luxuriant wild grass, such as were found on some parts of the western plains, so that we rarely had an opportunity of witnessing prairie fires of lare proportions, such as had been witnessed by those who had traveled over the grazing region west of Missouri on to the Rocky Mountains. We sometimes heard exciting stories from men who had been over the fine grazing region of Kansas and Nebraska territories, of the great height of the grass, and of the tremendous fires that sprung from it when started by Indians or emigrants in the late autumn when it had become thoroughly dry and crisp after heavy frosts and freezing.

On returning from Fort Kearney on our last trip the latter part of October, we met ox or mule trains nearly every day coming out from Missouri river points, but mostly from Leavenworth, with freight for Kearney and posts between that place and Salt Lake, the wagons and teams sometimes being strung out more than a mile on the great road known as the Salt Lake Trail.

It was the intention of freight contractors, as far as practicable, to have their teams return to the outfitting points before winter set in, which in that latitude, might be before the end of November. The large number of wagon trains passing over the great road during the spring, summer and autumn, beat it out in places perhaps two hundred yards wide, so that the trains going in opposite directions, passed each other without inconvenience.

In rainy weather the heavy loaded wagons of freight and emigrant wagons and animals, cut up the road so that the next train following, drove over the grassy turf close beside the old well-worn road, and when the ground dried a train coming along would not pass over the wake of a train that had left the road muddy and badly cut up, but close beside it until the road was thus gradually widened in many places to a hundred or so yards.

The latter part of October on our way in from Fort Kearney the last time, and after the grass had been killed by the frost over the prairies, the great road rendered us a splendid service one delightful afternoon a few days after we left the Platte Valley, a service that was impressive under the circumstances.

The air had been dry and crisp for several days, drying the high grass over the vast prairies into a tinder, and then a soft balmy breeze sprung up from the southwest, and casting our eyes to the windward we noticed a little ribbon of smoke rising in the distance, perhaps several miles away and scarcely distinguishable from the haze low down on the horizon, the have of Indian Summer, as we called the smoky condition of the atmosphere at that season of the year. We had always heard that Indian Summer followed a mild spell of weather after the first cold blasts from the north, accompanied by heavy frosts, have killed or withered all tender vegetation.

Watching with deep interest, the ribbon of smoke in the distance, it rapidly increased in size, and in a very short time, became a great volume of dense black smoke, with tongues of flame shooting high into the air, and a few moments later we saw hawks and birds of the prairies, flying wildly before the sea of surging, writhing and leaping flames. In an incredibly short time, the whole visible horizon to the southwest was obscured by the thick black smoke, ashes and flames, and then came antelope, deer, jack rabbits and wolves, racing with the roaring, billowy, writhing flames, in a mad flight for safety, thus affording the most impressive sight I had ever witnessed, and rivaling the descriptions of men who had spent much of their lives on the plains.

In those vast prairies the grass over thousands of acres was as high as a man's head, and when dry enough to burn and set on fire, the fire spread and traveled almost with the velocity of the wind, giving to the scene life and animation difficult to describe. As the wind was blowing directly across our road, we became quickly conscious of danger, for we knew that the flames would soon be upon us if we did not move out of the way. We were not long in doubt about what we should do at such a critical time, for the wagon-master quickly took in the situation and directed that the teams be driven to the leeward side of the road, and barely had his instructions been complied with, when the thick clouds of smoke poured over us, and the roar of the flames was only a hundred yards or so away.

But as the grass for some distance on each side of the well-worn road, was trampled down and ground into dust by the heavy wagons and train animals passing over it, the flames on approaching it, suddenly died out and the cloud of smoke drifted away to the leeward—the great wide road had saved us.

Had this grand prairie fire been witnessed by us at night, it doubtless would have been much more impressive, for the flames, rising high in the air, would have lighted up the landscape for several miles around, At that time there were no regular settlements between Maryville on the Big Blue River and Fort Kearney, so that when a fire was once started in the almost limitless prairies, there was nothing to stop it until it reached some stream, the Salt Lake Trail, or a heavy rain.

When the grass was dry, men traveling over those vast prairies were generally on the lookout for the starting of prairie fires low down on the distant horizon to the windward, particularly if a stiff breeze was blowing, so that they might start a back fire against them in time to give them protection against the onrushing flames. This back fire consisted in starting a fire in the dry grass around the exposed parties and making it burn to the windward, and was easily controlled, for it could not be made to burn very rapidly against the wind.

Every plainsman could tell you how he had saved himself and belongings by starting a back fire against the approaching whirlwind of fire racing over the boundless prairies and threatening destruction to everything in its path. Many farmers too, in our section could testify how they had saved their fences and crops by starting a back fire against approaching woods or prairie fires, driven by strong winds that threatened much destruction of property.

When the pioneers first came into the country, they each selected a rich tract of land, made rails of post oak, black oak or walnut and fenced as much of it as they could cultivate in corn and perhaps oats; but the fences were made through wild prairie grass, which, after heavy frosts was killed and soon becoming dry, was liable to be set on fire at any time, exposing the fences to destruction. After much toil in cutting the timber and splitting it into rails and hauling them up and making their fences, most farmers had the foresight to burn the grass around their farms in a strip wide enough to protect their fences from future fires, as soon as it was dry enough to burn, always choosing a time of calm weather when the fire could be easily controlled.

CHAPTER XXII.

REVIEW OF FREIGHTING ON THE PLAINS.

Our train returned to Fort Leavenworth about the first of November, and all the wagons, yokes and chains were left near there, and as soon as we were paid off, the oxen were driven to Daniel D. White's farm, some ten miles below Independence, in Jackson county, Missouri, where there was abundance of corn and pasturage for feeding and taking care of them during the winter.

We stopped at Leavenworth only a few days, but long enough to be impressed that the town was enjoying a very active business, not only in shipping Government supplies to the military posts west and northwest, but also had a good trade in outfitting the gold seekers who were flocking to Colorado that year on account of the recent rich gold discoveries in that Territory in the neighborhood of Denver.

Although I had endured a good many hardships in my two trips to Fort Kearney, they were a schooling for me that I never regretted, for they widened my view of life.

During the year I had rubbed against quite a variety of characters; some of them rather rough, but I had not been drawn into any bad habits, as drinking, gambling, swearing or using tobacco in any from, for it was impressed on my mind that a man indulging in such things, was not the kind of a man a boy should look to for examples that would be beneficial to him in working his way through the world.

After leaving home I had several fights; but the most serious one was on the Little Blue River in September on our return from Fort Kearney in the train under Mr. Shockley, and in this affair I was obliged to cut severely in the thigh a man who jumped on me to beat me, as I thought for the purpose of showing off, for I was not conscious of having done anything to offend him. When he struck me, knocking my hat over my face, I retreated over the end of my wagon tongue, snatching an iron bolt out of the goose-neck of the tongue, and struck him in the face with it several times, drawing the blood, as he was closing in on me; but my blows served to enrage him and he got hold of me, and in the struggle he had me in a position that I thought was breaking my neck, and to make him release his hold, I drew my knife from the scabbard, and like a flash, plunged it into his thigh, as he bent over me, causing the blood to gush forth in a stream that saturated his clothing, and he released his hold at once. He recovered from the wound in a few weeks; but I was terribly frightened over the incident for which he was to blame, and Mr. Shockley, the wagon-master, after inquiry, was satisfied of it; but as some of the man's foreign friends threatened to make trouble for me when we got in, Mr. Shockley decided to give me my time and transfer me to Raleigh White's train at Walnut Creek, and I returned to Kearney with that train.

The man was a foreigner, probably a Polish Jew, speaking broken English, and seemed to think that a boy had no right to resent abuse from a man and have his hat knocked down over his eyes; but I did not propose to take a licking from him because he was physically stronger, when I could not see that I had done anything to offend him. After the affair two or three other men of the train who had been inclined to have fun at my expense had a wholesome respect for me up to the time of leaving them at Walnut Creek, for they probably realized that stirring up a nest of hornets or wasps, just for fun, is not very funny when one gets badly stung.

With ever widening experience we become impressed that a man who makes a good fight in defense of his rights wins the respect of his associates and all the world, a respect that counts for much when one is thrown into the company of men who lead rough lives, like most of the men in the train service.

At that time most of the men teaming on the plains, were strangers to refinement and the kindlier sentiments that should prevail, so that a quiet, peaceable fellow was the one at whose expense they were inclined to work off their surplus humor.

These associations into which I had drifted, were not of my liking; but I determined to endure them for a while that I might save up enough money to pay my way through school; besides they impressed on my mind a phase of life on the plains that was new to me, of which I should know something by actual experience.

When we were in camp a sufficient time to rest up a little I engaged in wrestling and foot-racing with the men of the train, who were only a few years my seniors, and held my own fairly well, for I was healthy and active, but somewhat unbersize for my age. Probably there is no exercise that drings into play every muscle of the body so completely as wrestling, and perhaps tends to develop a feeling of confidence in controlling one's self in different situations.

The latter part of November I severed my connection with freighting and the plains; had a settlement with Mr. White, senior, and paid off and determined to return home and go to school while my money held out. How I would be received at home I had no idea; but proud of my achivements during the year, my return would not be as a penitent mendicant, and I had in mind to make as nice a talk as I could to father, and persuaded myself that he would not punish me for leaving home as I had.

Besides clothing myself comfortably, and after purchasing at Independence before starting, a new warm overcoat, an imitation of bearskin, and a nice Indian pony and saddle and bridle, for which I paid forty dollars, and in addition to this I had saved during the year upwards of one hundred dollars in gold, all of which produced a little conscious pride, and a feeling of being able to meet any situation likely to arise. Instead of the poorly clad boy I was when leaving home, I could now mount my pony and go anywhere I wished without being obliged to trudge along afoot carrying my carpet bag satchel filled with my belongings, consisting of a few articles of clothing and my book.

Having made my preparations for returning home to Neosho, nearly two hundred miles south, my mind made rapid excursions over the scenes of the past year, and I felt thankful that everything had turned out as well as it had. The day opened cloudy and threatening and I was soon overtaken by rain, sleet and snow and beyond the Osage river encountered high waters in the streams flowing into that river, which threatened to detain me; but having determined to go, I did not stop for the weather or swollen streams, some of which I found swimming deep to my pony, and ice cold, increasing the discomfort of the journey. There were no bridges over the streams at that time, making it very inconvenient for those on the road who desired to reach their destinations without being held up by high waters. It was a lonesome ride, the country nearly all the way consisting of vast prairies, except along the streams there were skirts of timber with a farm here and there on the prairie; but as I passed thru the towns of Harrisonville, Butler, Nevada, Lamar, and Carthage, I had a plain road and found suitable places for staying all night.

Every day of my ride south, brought me into a milder climate, and when I arrived at Carthage, it was still cloudy and threatening; but there had been no sleet or snow. Darkness overtook me ten miles from home, and as it was still thick cloudy with misting rain, I had some difficulty in keeping my pony on the road, a country road that was dim on account of the autumn leaves that partly covered it after I struck the timber. When I rode up to my father's house that night about ten o'clock, I found that the family had retired; but with my heart beating a good deal stronger than usual, I was able to rouse them and was kindly received. They all got up, for they said to hear my voice and see me seemed almost like the dead coming to life, they had heard so little of me since leaving, and tears welled up into the eyes of mother who was unable to restrain her feelings; but after felicitations all around and kissing the two little boys, Silas and Lane, my pony was put in the stable and fed and a warm supper prepared for me, which I ate with a relish.

It was not the prodigal son whom I had heard the preachers refer to so often in their sermons that had returned home from a far off country after spending a fortune his father had given him; but it was a boy who had rebelled against the old regime of family control, and left home nearly a year ago, scantily clothed, without a cent in his pocket, and had returned better clothed, with a nice pony, and with more money in his pocket made by hard work, than any other boy in the neighborhood.

During my absence I had sent only a couple of letters home and the family had come to doubt whether I was living, so that my sudden appearance was a genuine surprise, a most agreeable surprise when we consider the strong ties of family affection that existed.

They all wanted to hear something of my wanderings, and how I had fared during the terrible snow storm the second day after I left home, and they told how father had rode almost day and night in every direction for several days after I left, for tidings of me for fear that I had frozen to death.

When I told them of my different movements and hardships and dangers, the kind man and woman at Bower's Mills, and described the great wagon trains, the corrals, the steamboats on the great Missouri river on which I had taken passage, the forts, soldiers, the cannon, the vast prairies, the great prairie fire, the Indians, and buffalo I had seen, the howling coyotes, the vivid flashes of lightning, the loud roaring thunder, and the storms of pelting rain and wind, while watching the herds of nights, they became interested and almost regarded me as a little hero, wishing to hear more until we were kept up until after midnight.

Even father, who sat somewhat apart from us, listened to my story with interest, but I thought acted a little sheepish and as if ashamed that his severity had caused me to leave home under so many disadvantages and that had caused the family so much anxiety. My return home was sufficient evidence that I did not hold any resentment against him, and as years passed I came to appreciate that he did remarkably well in bringing up a large family so successfully that there was not a wayward child among the ten that attained their majority.

After spending a month at home helping on the farm and gathering corn, feeding the stock and getting up wood for winter, I was ready to start to school at Neosho, beginning with new year.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SCHOOL DAYS.

When nine years of age I was sent to the subscription school of John Price at Plummer's Mill on Shoal Creek, a distance of two miles that we walked morning and evening, crossing the creek over a narrow foot bridge about a foot wide, made of slabs, except sometimes we waded the creek, which would save us nearly half a mile. The school terms were short, averaging three or four months in the year, except that sometimes there were two short terms, one in the spring and early part of the summer, and the other in the autumn and early part of the winter. We attended these short term schools every year until I was fourteen years old, and during this period made no marked progress in any particular line of study, only I became one of the best spellers in the class, as was shown by spelling contests in which I frequently turned down every one in the class.

During these schools I mastered Webster's Blue Back speller; McGuffey's Readers up to the fourth, and started in on arithmetic and grammar; but as yet had taken no writing lessons, as this part of the child's curriculum was deferred until he entered upon more advanced studies. We kept a good deal of stock, and as I was busy working on the farm and attending to our stock, I had no time to study at home except at night after supper and after the chores were attended to and the family had retired, and then if I was not too sleepy and tired, I devoted some time to my books; but my light, usually made of dry faggots was not satisfactory, for we did not always keep tallow candles, or a small oil lamp with a wick in it.

We had no books except of a religious nature; but early in my school life I managed to get hold of Townsend's Speller and Definer, and it was not long until I knew the meaning of every word in it, for I would sit up of nights poring over its pages by the dim light afforded by the burning faggots.

When we were finally permitted to practice penmanship in school, we had few of the conveniences of later times; we had the old fashioned slate and pencil; we had no lead pencil and tablet, and when we used ink, we wrote with a quill pen, the only kind of pen in use, and a kind of pen the teacher was expected to be accomplished in making, the pupil furnishing the goose quills. We used quill pens mainly up to the war, and the first year of the war, the old form of requisition for stationery, in the heading of items called for, we had pens "steel or quill;" but when at home, if I could not make a good quill pen for myself, there was usually some one in the neighborhood who could make them.

In all the country schools I attended, there was more or less punishment of the pupils for infraction of the rules, by whipping them with switches; but that form of control has been growing less in favor with parents and teachers, for we are beginning to recognize such psychological facts as that sympathy begets sympathy, kindness begets kindness, harshness begets harshness, and that sharp words beget resentment.

The old fashioned teacher who did not take a school journal and who never read anything about the possible improvement in school work and government, knew little about tact and kindness in the training of the young. He was in the habit of giving his pupils severe thrashings for any infraction of the rules, a form of control that sometimes caused bitter feeling between the teacher and the parents of the children chastised.

A short time after returning from my freighting experience on the plains, I made arrangements for attending school at Neosho, four miles south of our farm on Shoal Creek. The year I had been away from home I had seen a good deal of the world, considering my restricted sphere of observation; I had some of the greenness rubbed off, for I had lived in Springfield, and had been in Independence, Westport, Kansas City, and Leavenworth, at that time the best towns in the west. On starting to school therefore, I was not the bashful, timid country boy I had been before leaving home, and I found that my travelling and mingling with all sorts of men, were useful to me in winning respect of boys of my age. I had heard of country boys when starting to school in town, being made the butts and objects of jests by the town boys, to their great humiliation and annoyance; but when I got acquainted with the boys of our school and matched their stories of exploits with the story of my travels and hardships and dangers just ended, the wrestling and fighting and foot-racing with the men of the train, the boys opened their eyes and always treated me with proper respect.

Having had no one to look to for guidance, I had been obliged to rely on my own resources in every situation, and now on commencing school at a time when I appreciated what it meant, I determined to use every moment to the very best advantage in mastering the subjects I thought would be most useful to me in the struggle of life. To my surprise I found that I was as far advanced in school work as the boys and girls of my age, which was a source of keen satisfaction, for I had an unpleasant feeling that I would be a big boy in a class of much smaller children. In attending school at Neosho, I paid my own tuition and board, by chopping wood and making the fires for the family with whom I boarded, and making the fires and sweeping and dusting the rooms of the academy for the teachers for my tuition. To my satisfaction I did not lose my standing with my teachers and classmates on account of the nature of my work in paying my way through school, for I argued, if the subject came up, that I should not be ashamed to do any kind of work that was useful.

The occasional disturbances and sometimes acute trouble in some of the border counties of Missouri or Kansas always made the slavery question a live issue, and while I knew that it was talked that I was an abolitionist, none of the students or young people said anything to me about it in an offensive manner. Now and then I had good-natured arguments with some of the young men or boys of my class on the subject of slavery; but our arguments never became so heated as to disturb our friendly relations, which was more than could be said for the men in that section who joined in the discussion of that question. Standing entirely alone in that school on the slavery question, I did not allow myself to appear dogmatic or aggressive in my arguments; but my statements were always made with a yielding deference to the views of my opponents, which probably in a measure softened the tone of their arguments. In this way I was able to fence against developing any bitterness and still present my side of the question at issue.

The year and a half I attended school at Neosho was uneventful; but everyone who took an interest in the slavery question, and in the sporadic troubles between the pro-slavery and free-state partisans in Kansas, seemed to think that we were drifting into war. While attending school there I ventured to sound several men as to their political leanings, with the view of securing recruits for the cause which I had so much at heart, and of getting up a club for the *New York Tribune*, then the chief exponent of Republicanism, and one of the strongest papers in the country. After a little effort I secured as many as half a dozen subscribers for the *Weekly Tribune*, and their copies of the paper were the only ones that ever came to Neosho before the war, for the pro-slavery people heartily disliked Mr. Greeley, the editor, on account of his teachings and influence in opposition to slavery.

My teachers were northern men and women with liberal sentiments, and several families from Illinois and Iowa had lately moved to Neosho and vicinity, so that I had quite a nucleus for the discussion of Republican doctrine, that was rapidly crystallizing all over the country and bearing fruit in our section.

After school hours I occasionally called on my teachers, R. J. Lewis, a lawyer from Ypslanti, Michigan, Joseph N. Savage of Baraboo, Wisconsin, and Miss A. B. Savage, his aunt, from New Britain, Conn., and found that they strongly sympathized with my aspirations to advance the cause of universal freedom among men, and held practically the same political views; but in the interest of the school thought it best not to take any part in the discussion of the slavery question.

In the spring of 1861, when the war fever and wild waves of secession were running high in west and southwest Missouri, and all over the Southern and Middle Slave States, Mr. R. J. Lewis, who had recently married in Michigan and brought his young bride to Neosho, saw the persecution that was beginning to fall upon all men suspected of Union sentiments, particularly northern men, decided to move to Fort Scott, Kansas, where he could talk for the Union cause without restraint or danger.

Later in July, when the regiment to which I belonged, the Sixth Kansas Cavalry, was organized at Fort Scott, Mr. Lewis was elected as first lieutenant in one of the companies and served with distinction to the close of the war, part of his service being on the staff of General Thomas Ewing, Jr., with headquarters at Kansas City, during the exciting times of guerrilla warfare, and was the legal adviser in connection with the issuing of the Famous General Order Number Eleven.

After the war he engaged in the practice of law in Kansas City, and for a time the firm name was "Lewis & Twitchell," names familiar to the older residents of the city. He had a poetical temperament and wrote numerous short poems on different subjects, some of which he read to me in 1895, when we were visiting each other, but which were then unpublished, and may yet be of interest as reflecting the thoughts of one of the most honorable and useful men I ever knew; he died in one of the suburban towns near Kansas City about 1913.

Mr. and Miss Savage left Neosho for Wisconsin in the spring before hostilities commenced in Missouri, and before all avenues of escape were closed; but their excellent qualifications as teachers and as honorable and useful citizens, were always appreciated, even by those who differed with them politically.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

One of the contributors to this number of the *Review* labored a year collecting and collating his data. He received no compensation for his time, which if devoted to his vocation would have brought excellent money returns. Moreover, he made trips over the State and these were at his expense. This man is not wealthy and he is not riding a hobby,but he is practical and successful. He is the type of Missourian who *works* to advance and to enlighten the citizens of the State. The readers of the *Review* are the recipients of his contribution.

What is this man's reward? He has the fine approval of his conscience for advancing the cause of civilization here in the Middle West. He has the workman's pride and joy in having created something. He has the commendation of his enlightened fellow citizens. We need such men. Their influence is wide. They make model cities out of slums, modern commonwealths out of provincial states, enlightened countries out of chauvinistic nations. They make us revere our ancestors' merits and warn us of our ancestors' mistakes. They hold up the past as a guide and as an admonition. So is history to-day serving.

Does such work merit support? If a rising civilization is desired, if an advancing people is hoped for, and if a better social, economic, and political life is wanted, then certainly the work of abstracting the records of history are as necessary for a people's title as the work of abstracting the records of the courthouse are necessary for a property title. We must know how far we have gone and what we have accomplished. If our title is clouded, we know what errors to correct; if perfect, we have greater satisfaction in our possession.

Support is too frequently regarded as a matter of money. Greater than money is credit, and underlying credit is character, co-operation, and industry. To-day history wants credit. It has cut loose from abstractions, stories, and theories, and is attempting to present facts. It has stopped concentrating on statecraft and war, and is giving attention to the civilization and the industries of peace. It finds art and agriculture, literature and lumbering, significant. It is concerned with painters and politicians, sculptors and statesmen, writers and warriors. To give power to this new history, co-operation is essential. Not all can write history, but everyone can forward history. Give our people the true concept of their past, *a historical consciousness*, and progress now delayed will advance.

Russia stands to-day a classic example of a people without a historical consciousness. This extract from the *St. Louis Star* of April 4, 1922, of an article by Maxim Gorky throws much light on one of the reasons why Russia is usually the most orderly of nations on the surface and the most unstable of nations internally. Her people know not their history.

"But all this left no trace in the life or memory of the Russian peasant. In the legends of Italy there still lives the memory of Fra Doloina; the Czecks remember Jan Zhizhka, just as the German peasant remembers Thomas Muntzer and Florina Geier; the French the heroes and martyrs of the 'Jacquerie'; and the English the name of Wat Tyler. About all these men there remain among the common people songs, legends, tales. The Russian peasantry does not know its heroes, leaders, zealots of love, justice, vengeance.

"Fifty years after Bolotnikov, the Don Cossack Stepan Razin raised in rebellion the peasantry of nearly the entire Volga Basin and advanced with them toward Moscow, aroused by the same idea of political and economic equality.

"Almost three years his bands robbed and slaughtered Boyars and merchants. He stood his ground in regular battles with the armies of the Czar Alexei Romanoff. His rebellion threatened to spread to the whole of peasant Russia. He was defeated, and then he was quartered. Only two or three songs remain of him in the popular memory, but the genuineness of their popular origin is in doubt. Their meaning was unintelligible to the peasantry already at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

"Not less mighty and widespread in its sweep was the rebellion started by the Ural Cossack Pugatchev in the days of Catherine the Great, which was 'the last fighting attempt on the part of Cossackdom against the regime of the state as the historian, S. F. Platonov, defined it. Also Pugatchev, even as all the other less important political movements of the Russian people, passed without leaving any clear memories in the Russian peasantry. It is possible to say of these literally the same that has been said by the historian of the terrible period of 'The Confusion':

"'All these risings changed nothing in, contributed nothing new to, the mechanism of the state, the order of ideas, the peoples' habits and strivings.'

"It is fit to add to this judgment the conclusion of a certain foreigner who carefully observed the Russian people:

"'*This people has no memory for history. It does not know its past, and apparently it does not want to know it.*'"

Not only the progressive citizens of a state but the rank and file must have an appreciation of their past. Here is work now waiting the leaders of city and country—to interest their fellow citizens and educate their children in the true story of our people's past. Without bias or prejudice the historian is limited to presenting and interpreting facts. The function of the citizen begins where that of the historian ends. The citizen forms his conclusions as guides for present conduct and public work. These new conclusions are modified by old convictions, and old convictions are modified by the new facts. The citizen's horizon broadens and his perspective now includes those persons and things beyond the county line. He sees more accurately the complexity of modern civilization, but he also sees more accurately some of the general tendencies, perhaps laws, of that civilization. His viewpoint changes. Simple problems become involved ones, and difficult questions are answerd simply. Over all, however, he sees ceaseless change in which both good and bad appear. As a citizen he can be a factor in forwarding the good, in advancing education, and in making his community, state, and nation better prepared for a higher civilization. He will find history an aid.

APPRECIATION.

I find our *Review* fully up to the standard, with much of the kind of out-of-the-way information, of which I am so fond, contained in its pages. Bek has a little item regarding the first German School Book published in St. Louis which is very valuable to me.—William Clark Breckenridge, St. Louis, Mo., January 16, 1922.

The Missouri Historical Review of January, 1922, came the 6th inst., and every article has interest for me.

The State Conventions, page 189. I was a spectator in 1865 opposing the ordinance of emancipation, Arnold Krekel, of St. Charles, presiding.

Followers of Duden, page 289. Gert Goebel gave a lecture on astronomy in 1859, which I attended. Two uncles came over in 1832 enthusiastic for land described in Dr. Duden's report of his visit in 1824.

Your own article, page 253, contains what I wished to know of the coming of slavery to our State. We lived, 1840 to 1850, in Pike county and became familiar with the institution. I have my school atlas, 1855, Mitchell's, and there is Pike's "Great American Desert," marked on it. Kansas territory reached to Utah territory and Colorado was not yet.

The editorial comments teach the very philosophy of history. Your page is eloquent for education and righteousness, truth and knowledge. I would like to help advance Missouri to first rank. —James F. Mallinckrodt, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 15, 1922.

The Missouri Historical Review is most interesting and compares favorably with like publications from other states.

I think your listing of historical articles in Missouri newspapers is of great benefit. I am glad to renew my membership for this year.—Mrs. Robert Ferris, Laddonia, Mo., March 6, 1922.

I have been very much interested in the article in the *Missouri Historical Review* by my old friend Major Wiley Britton. I think they are the best portrayal of pioneer life in southwest Missouri that I have ever seen. Mrs. Britton and I were born in adjoining counties in the same year, 1842,—she in Newton and I in Lawrence county. I never knew Major Britton until after the Civil War but had heard of his family. We were both in the Federal Army in the Civil War, serving from 1861 until its close in 1865. I had lost track of him and supposed that he had been mustered out of this life until I learned a short time ago that he is living in Kansas City, Missouri. I think that he came nearer portraying life in southwest Missouri in the early pioneer days as I know it than anyone. I don't see why the *Missouri Historical Review* isn't taken and read by more of the people of Missouri than it is. I think that it should be in every high school and college in Missouri. I am sending you the subscription price and want you to send it to the Bolivar High School, commencing with Number 1 of Volume 16 (this year).

If I live until Saturday, April 1st next, I will be eighty years old but I am still interested in old Missouri.

I am sending you draft for $2.00 and want you to send the *Review* to the Bolivar Public Library, also beginning with the same number as above.—T. H. B. Dunnegan, Bolivar, Mo., March 30, 1922.

Let me congratulate you on the contents of No. 2 of the *Review* just published, especially article on page 258 which was very valuable to me.—James A. Speelman, St. Joseph, Mo., March 9, 1922.

CLAY COUNTY CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Under the auspices of political, commercial, and social organizations, there is being planned a centennial celebration this October commemorating the 100th birthday of Clay county. Preliminary plans were adopted at a meeting called in Liberty on March 9, 1922. At this meeting all the important organizations of the county were present thru representatives, and committees were appointed and plans perfected for insuring interesting and instructive exercises to commemorate the 100th birthday of the county. The celebration will fill two days and will embrace a grand parade under the direction of the American Legion, a home-coming picnic, and perhaps a centennial ball sponsored by the commercial club of Liberty; a pageant under the direction of the fortnightly club; a home-product show directed by the farm bureau; and historical exhibits collected and arranged by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

WILD PIGEONS.

" I have been reading an article in the *Historical Review* concerning the wild pigeon, and have also read many articles about it written by naturalists and others, but no one has described, so far as I know, one method they had of getting food in the acorn-bearing woods. Neither have I seen nor heard any other kind of birds doing anything similar. I will try to describe this method of getting acorns from under the leaves as I saw it with my own eyes.

"About the year 1866, while in the woods near Taitsville, Ray county, Missouri, I saw a flock containing millions of wild pigeons form themselves into a cylinder eight or ten feet in diameter and several hundred yards long, parallel to the surface of the ground and just above it, the pigeons so flying that they kept the cylinder revolving at a great velocity and moving slowly forward, every pigeon working its wings for dear life. The beating and flapping of the wings of this immense number of pigeons produced such a strong current of air that the leaves were blown off of the ground, leaving it bare and the acorns exposed, and sounded like a heavy wind blowing through the trees.

"As the leaves were blown away, some being blown as far as twenty feet, part of the pigeons dropped down to the ground and fed on the acorns thus exposed. When they had fed they took their places in the cylinder and others dropped to the ground. Thus they continued the process, those in the cylinder blowing away the leaves, and the ones on the ground feeding on the acorns, and changing places until all had apparently filled their craws with acorns. Then they rose and all flew away.

"The leaves in front of the cylinder of pigeons were packed down as they had fallen from the trees. After the pigeons had passed the leaves were left in a loose, fluffy bed, which one would have been unable to account for had he not seen the pigeons at work. They worked over a space several hundred yards long and about a hundred yards wide.

"I think this the masterpiece of reasoning, ingenuity or instinct, as you may please to call it, of all birds or animals. If any other reader of the *Review* has seen anything similar, I would like to hear from him."—W. H. George, Warrensburg, Mo., April 28, 1922.

MANUSCRIPT DONATION.

The Society has recently received from Mr. Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles, Mo., two valuable manuscript donations, the character of which is set forth in the following letter from Mr. Emmons:

> "I enclose the old Survey made by Antoine Soulard, the first surveyor of Upper Louisiana of grant made to Francois Duquette in 1796 by the Spanish Government. Also patent from the Government for the same. Note the excellent con-

dition of the survey which is 118 years old. Francois Duquette was the most historic Frenchman that ever lived in St. Charles and also the one that owned the old Spanish Fort on the hill, which he converted into a grit mill which was run by Jean Joeffre, a forebear of the great Field Marshall of France. They are extremely interesting when one knows the history connected therewith."—Ben L. Emmons, St. Charles, Mo., April 21, 1922.

PROPHECIES THAT FAILED.

"You may recall, I told you some days ago, a United States senator had presented the argument on the floor of the Senate, that Oregon could never become a state in the American Union, unless we had two capitals—for said he, Oregon is four thousand miles from Washington, D. C., and traveling at the rate of twenty miles a day, it would take a representative from that distant territory, about a year, going back and forth, and no time would be left for his duties as senator. This man was Hon. Mahlon Dickinson, a graduate of Princeton College, President of the American Institute, Governor of New Jersey, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, United States Senator for sixteen years, Secretary of the Navy under Jackson and Van Buren. Times have changed. Our powers of locomotion have improved.

"I read recently another incident which I thought interesting, as showing the strides we have made in eighty years. An eminent English scientist, Dr. Dionysius Lardner, in the middle thirties, made a mathematical demonstration in which he showed by veritable proof, at least to his satisfaction, that the Atlantic ocean from Liverpool to New York could never be navigated by steam. A copy of the book (in its first edition), by which he established this thesis, came to America on a steam-driven vessel.

"These things go to show the human mind can accomplish whatever it resolves to accomplish, and whatever is necessary to be accomplished for the progress of the world."—C. B. Rollins, Columbia, Mo., April 18, 1922.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

COMPILED BY J. WILLARD RIDINGS

THE STORY OF THE McNEIL RANGERS.

From Columbia *Evening Missourian*, April 8, 1921.

In 1862, Captain Hanson McNeil, who lived four miles south of Columbia, together with his son, Jesse, attempted to organize a company of Confederate soldiers in Boone county. The company was just preparing to leave for service when a band of federal troops captured and arrested its members. For a time they were held prisoners at the University of Missouri. Captain McNeil and his son were treated leniently and permitted to visit their home during the day time, provided they reported at night. This did not last long, however, After two weeks they were taken to a federal prison at Alton, from which young McNeil made his escape by bribing a guard to give him his clothes. Lieut. Jesse McNeil then succeeded in helping his father to escape by climbing a pile of lumber which had been placed against the prison wall. After their escape they went down the Mississippi river, up the Ohio, and across country until they reached their old home in Virginia. Here they organized the famous McNeil Rangers, noted for their intrepidity and loyalty to the South. This company was composed almost entirely of relatives and close friends of the McNeil family. Captain McNeil equipped the company of about 80 men with good horses and complete outfits. They made their camp and headquarters in the Blue Ridge mountains and often swept down on small groups of federal troops, capturing goods and supplies and sometimes hindering the advance of troop trains. Although special squads of Union men were several times sent out to take the McNeil Rangers, they were never successful. In one of the skirmishes, however, Captain McNeil was killed and his son left in command. It was shortly after this that an event which histories call, "one of the famous incidents of the war," occurred. Two federal commanders, General Cook and General Kelly, with several thousand Union soldiers, had established headquarters in a Cumberland, Maryland, hotel. Young Jesse McNeil decided he would take these two generals without bothering about having a battle. Selecting Lieut. Joe Vandiver and John Cunningham and some ten others, he started one night for the federal camp. They had previously discovered the password and had no trouble in getting by the guard. Boldly they rode up to the hotel, entered the lobby, and with assurance went up the steps to the generals' room. In three minutes they had offered sufficient persuasion to get the generals down the stairs and on their horses, before the astonished occupants of the hotel could collect their scattered wits.

Young McNeil returned to Missouri after the war, but later moved to Illinois. Of the McNeil Rangers only one member is living, Col. Reiman Duvall of New York.

THE FAVORITE FLOOD OF KANSAS CITY'S OLD TIMERS

From The Kansas City *Star*, April 26, 1921.

Kansas City, in her ever lengthening history, has had many floods. The floods of 1903, 1904 and 1908 remain most vividly in mind because most recent. Then there was the flood of '44, the grandpa of all Kansas City floods, which was higher by two feet than the flood of 1903, and which set a record never since equaled. It wasn't Kansas City's first flood, this one of '44, for back in 1826 Francois Chouteau's trading post on the river three miles below the foot of Main street was washed away by the rampageous Missouri.

But of all Kansas City's floods, perhaps the favorite is the flood of 1881. The break up of the ice in the upper stretches of the Missouri early in April of that year, accompanied by rains, sent down stream the first warning of the flood that was to come.

On April 11th, according to *The Times*, "the ice was running very heavily, grinding against the piers and striking the great pier of the drawbridge with a loud booming sound. The bridge trembled under the ordeal, but stood firm." The thriving little city paid scant attention to this warning. Too many times in the past it had observed that the "June rise" didn't amount to much, and so discounted the warning.

At 10 p. m., April 23rd, the flood reached Kansas City in force. At that hour the levee at Harlem broke and the river began sweeping across through the little town on the Clay county side. All day Sunday, the 24th, the muddy waters continued to rise about Harlem. *The Times* the morning of the 25th said: "When the morning dawned the whole expanse of the Clay county bottoms was found to be submerged. On all sides, as far as the eye could see, was water. The mad Missouri had burst the bands which bound her in at night."

All day Sunday crowds lined the river bank or strolled up and down the levee, gazing with awe on the rushing waters. The Annie Cade, between ferry trips to Randolph, ranged up and down the swollen siver, picking up refugees from flooded districts. In West Kansas City seepage waters were slowly trickling into basements and cellars, although the Kaw had not as yet overflowed the bottoms.

By Monday afternoon the river had risen to 23.5 feet above the low-water mark. Tuesday the Kaw began to rise and West Kansas began to get panicky. "If the Kaw overflows, good-bye to everything," the crowds on the levee began to say. Wednesday preparations were hurriedly made to save property from the impending flood. Plankinton and Armour, Jacob Dold & Son, Fowler Bros., and the other packers were riprapping the levee, moving their ice from storage and their meats from the flood's path. Shanties from Armourdale were floating down stream. Thursday morning the flood broke over the bottoms. "The Missouri and the Kaw," said *The Times*, "have at last broken through all barriers and a large portion of West Kansas is under water. Thousands of poor colored people and whites have been driven from their homes by the sudden breaking of the temporary levee along the river front between State Line and Mulberry, allowing an uninterrupted rush of water upon the frail and temporary homes in that section."

The need of food and clothing for the sufferers was apparent. Relief funds were started by the newspapers and various other organizations, and the total fund soon amounted to more than $5,000.

Friday and Saturday saw the crest of the high water. The flood reached its highest mark Friday afternoon about 6 o'clock, when the gauge marked 27.5 feet. The following morning the river was stationary at the same level and by evening was receding. Compared with the flood of 1903, which gauged 35 feet, and that of 1844, which topped this mark by another two feet, the flood of '81 set no record. Train service, with the exception of that of the railroads cut off at Harlem, was maintained in and out of the Union depot with but little interruption. At the depot seepage water came into the engine room in the basement, but the famous high-water mark to be set on the waiting-room wall by the flood of 1903 was not within the power of the flood of 1881.

PERSONALS.

John H. Curran: Died at St. Louis, June 1, 1922. He was Immigration Commissioner under Governor Hadley and was active in publicity work designed to get settlers into Missouri from other states and to overcome a trend from the Mississippi valley toward Canada, which at one time threatened to lessen the population of this and adjoining states.

Hon. H. C. Grenner: Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 22, 1854; died at St. Louis, Missouri, June 7, 1922. He came to St. Louis in 1886 and became active in the oil business, at the time of his death being president of the Automobile Gasoline Company. During 1898-1902 he served as United States Collector of Internal Revenue in St. Louis.

James Orin McKinney: Born in Janesville, Wisconsin, February 24, 1851; died at Brookfield, Missouri, April 24, 1922. He came to Missouri with his parents as a youth and for more than half a century made his home in Linn county. He was especially interested in politics and history and had been for several years a member of the State Historical Society.

John B. Murray: Born at Liberty, Missouri, March 14, 1852; died at Liberty, October 9, 1921. In 1887 he purchased the Liberty *Advance*, and, with his brother, conducted this paper for twenty-five years. Later he sold the paper and established the *Democrat-Alcalde*, which publication, however, was short lived.

Capt. Samuel W. Ravenel: Born in Charleston, South Carolina, April 13, 1848; died at New Franklin, Missouri, April 30, 1922, With the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Confederate Army, advancing to the rank of captain, enjoying the distinction of being the youngest captain in the Confederate Army. He came to Missouri in 1871 in connection with the construction of the M., K. & T. Railroad. During his later years Capt. Ravenel became interested in Missouri history and wrote a great deal on the subject, dealing particularly with Howard county and central Missouri. He was a member of the State Historical Society.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

APRIL-JUNE, 1921.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Reporter*.
April 22. Forty-five years old next Thursday. A short historical sketch of the *Reporter*.

Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Mail*.
May 6. The flood of 1881. Details reported from the *Mail* of April 28, 1881.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer*.
June 30. Small groups of families created the first schools in Missouri. Short sketch of public school legislation.

———— ————*Weekly Ledger*.
June 23. First home erected in Mexico 84 years ago; together with other "first things" of Mexico.

———— Vandalia, *Leader*.
April 7. The plague in Palmyra. An account of the cholera plague of 1832-33. Reprinted from the Palmyra *Spectator* of 1900.

Barry County. Monett, *Times*.
May 27. Sketch of the life of Wm. R. Browning, Union veteran and former county official.

Bates County. Butler, *Weekly Times*.
April 14. Sketch of the life of Harvey C. Clark, former adjutant-general of Missouri. See also Butler, *Bates County Democrat* for April 14th, *Republican-Press*, for April 14th, and Pleasant Hill *Times*, June 10th.

Boone County. Centralia, *Courier*.
June 10. An interesting account of the Centralia massacre. Reprinted from Paris, *Monroe County Appeal*.

———— ————*Fireside Guard*.
April 8. From Harvey Hulen. Random reminiscences. Continued in issue of May 6th.

———— Columbia, *Evening Missourian*.
April 8. Vandiver tells daring incident. Story of Confederate troop organized by Capt. McNeil of Columbia.
April 11. He first said, "Show me." Famous Missouri expression attributed to W. D. Vandiver.
April 14. Columbia was made county seat 100 years ago.
April 20. Memories of Mormon trial of 1839.
April 21. Land grant in 1820 was beginning of University. University memorial for Spanish war deaths. M. U.'s first valedictory was prophecy. MS. of Robert L. Todd of class of 1843.

April 25. Headed two journalistic organizations. Some data concerning Missouri Press Association and Missouri Writers Guild.
May 7. Abraham Lincoln called on his sweetheart here. Story of a visit to Columbia in 1844.
May 12. Suspicious of eastern boys. Story of the establishing of fraternity at U. of M. in 1869.
May 16. Man expelled from church for swearing. Some Bear Creek Church records of 1824.
June 6. Early school history found. Notes on old Midway School, seven miles west of Columbia.
June 7. County names said to have varied origin.
June 20. Boone county history tells of Civil War. Some extracts.
June 24. M. U. bell has long history.
June 25. Rocheport 89 years old next December. Historical sketches of town.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Catholic Tribune.*
June 25. Centennial edition. Some historical facts concerning Missouri.

——————— ———————*Gazette.*
May 1. Far cry from first trolley car to those of today. History of service in St. Joseph.
May 15. History of Missouri traced through names of places. Continued in issue of May 22nd.
May 20. Sketch of P. P. Kane, fire chief for 24 years.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Gazette.*
April 14. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. H. Marquess, former president of Westminster College.
May 12. Sketch of the life of Capt. J. T. Fisher, Confederate veteran.

Camden County. Linn Creek, *Reveille.*
May 13. A Fortieth Birthday edition, with random notes on Linn Creek during past forty years.

Cape Girardeau. Jackson, *Cash-Book.*
May 5. Old-time attorney of old Jackson.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Republican-Record.*
April 28. Sketch of the life of Wm. A. Cobb, former county official.

Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat.*
May 5. Old justice of peace docket. Dates from 1829 to 1840. Recalls days of 1876. Some recollections of the election of that year.

——————— Pleasant Hill, *Times.*
April 1. Anecdotes of Champ Clark.
April 29. Recalls days of '76. Some recollections of presidential campaign of that year.
May 27. How Pleasant Hill happens to be in the bottoms. A sidelight on the building of the Missouri Pacific Railroad.
June 3. Sketch of the life of James H. Hatton, former county official.
June 10. Is free of its railroad bonds. Mt. Pleasant township, in Bates county, and its experience with the "Lexington, Lake and Gulf Railroad," in 1870. See also Butler *Democrat* for June 2nd.

Cedar County. Stockton, *Cedar County Republican.*
June 2. Forty years ago Stockton Exchange Bank opens for business.

Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator.*
June 3. Salisbury—its early history. Builders of this community. History of Chariton County.

Christian County. Ozark, *Christian County Republican.*
June 10. Sketch of the life of James J. Gideon, Union veteran and former member of Missouri legislature.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier.*
April 8. Chapters from the history of Clark county. Continued in issues of April 22, May 13, June 3 and 17.

——— ———*Gazette-Herald.*
April 8. Chapters of Clark county history. Continued in issues of April 15, 22, 29; May 6, 13, 20 and 27.

Clay County. Liberty, *Advance.*
May 23. In the days of the pioneers. Description of pioneer life, by Mrs. Louise Wilson Miller.

Clinton County. Plattsburg, *Leader.*
June 3. In the days of the pioneers. Customs of the past century. Reprinted from Liberty *Advance.*

Cooper County. Boonville, *Central Missouri Republican.*
April 28. Presbyterian church here is 100 years old. Some historical facts.

——— Bunceton, *Eagle.*
June 17. 60th anniversary of Battle of Boonville. Reprinted from Switzler's "History of Missouri."

Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin Democrat.*
June 3. Sketch of the life of R. W. Stokes, Sr., Confederate veteran.

Franklin County. Washington, *Citizen.*
May 6. The memories of early impressions of a scattered generation. Recollections of early days in Washington and Franklin county, by Rev. J. F. Schwarz. Continued in issues of May 13, 20, 27; June 3, 10, 17 and 24.

Gentry County. King City, *Tri-County News.*
June 17. Fortieth anniversary brings memories of the big cyclone of June 12, 1881.

Jackson County. Kansas City, *Midwest Bookman.*
May History of the Missouri Writers Guild. By J. Breckenridge Ellis.
June How Westport Landing won success.

——— ———*Post.*
April 7. Ozark language quaint. Some local color of the Ozarks.
April 10. Carrie A. Nation buried at Belton. Missouri State Flag adopted only after three legislative fights. By L. H. Edwards,

rewritten from article by R. B. Oliver in *Missouri Historical Review* for April, 1919.

May 15. Bitter combats marked politics in Missouri's past. Rewritten from *Missouri Historical Review.*

———— ————*Star.*

April 3. When the "Junction" was a cow pasture. Extracts from documents of Missouri Valley Historical Society.

April 26. The favorite flood of K. C.'s old timers. The story of the high waters of 1881.

May 1. The remarkable change of half a century in the heart of Kansas City. Pictures of the business section of 1872 and of today. Into Kansas City by ferryboat in 1868.

May 22. K. C., not Richmond, Va., had first trolley.

June 1. When 'Gene Field laughed at Denver's opera house. Reprinted from the New York *Times.*

June 18. Old records of New Orleans tell tales of foreign rule. Some details of French and Spanish rule in Territory of Louisiana.

June 19. In 1856 bought land "adjoining the city" for $250 an acre. Land valuation in early and present day Kansas City.

———— ————*Times.*

April 12. Sketch of the life of Gen. Harvey C Clark, former adjutant general of Missouri. See other Missouri dailies of this date.

Sketch of Dr. Joseph S. Halstead of Breckenridge, Missouri, 103 years old.

April 30. Tells of Pony Express. Extracts from address of Purd B. Wright at Missouri Valley Historical Society meeting.

May 10. Was Custer's messenger. Kansas Citizen's recollections of General Custer.

Sketch of the life of E. H. Stiles, former circuit court judge.

June 10. Cannibals once lived in Missouri Ozark caverns. Description of Pulaski county caves.

———— Lee's Summit, *Journal.*

June 9. A history of Lee's Summit's schools.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press.*

May 19. Sketch of the life of J. P. Leggett, former mayor of Carthage.

June 9. History of agriculture in Missouri. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review.* Continued in issue of June 16th.

June 16. Historical facts about Missouri.

Laclede County. Lebanon, *Rustic.*

June 30. Facts about Laclede county.

Lawrence County. Mt. Vernon, *Chieftain.*

April 7. First county settlers in 1829. A few historical facts.

Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Constitution.*

April 28. Sketch of the life of Capt. Archibald McVey, Union veteran.

Marion County. Palmyra, *Spectator.*

June 15. Story of the first legal hanging in Marion county. Printed under department heading, "Scraps of History." Continued in issues of June 22 and 29.

Monroe County. Paris, *Monroe County Appeal.*

April 1. Deer hunting in pioneer days.

June 3. Sketch of the life of Judge Theodore Brace, former member of Missouri supreme court.

Hauled three loads of dead. George W. Roger's experiences in the Centralia massacre of 1864.

Newton County. Neosho, *Times.*

April 14. Old-time school days. Recollections of Tyra Barlow Hudson.

Perry County. Perryville, *New Era.*

April 28. Historical Society adopts a constitution. Some facts about county society.

Pettis County. Lamonte, *Record.*

May 20. Sketch of the life of J. G. Senior, Confederate veteran and former county official.

Phelps County. Rolla, *Herald.*

April 21. Sketch of the life of E. G. Williams, Confederate veteran and county official.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times.*

April 7. History column. Sidelights on early days in Missouri and Pike county, by I. Walter Bayse. Continued in issues of April 14, May 26, June 2, 9 and 30.

———— Clarksville, *Banner-Sentinel.*

April 20. Interesting Clarksville history. Items from Clarksville, *Weekly Union* of February 10, 1860.

May 11. Prominent citizens of 1870. Continued in issues of May 18, 25; June 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29.

———— Louisiana, *Journal.*

April 5. St. Louisan writes of spiritual life of Champ Clark. Reprinted from St. Louis *Star.*

———— ————*Twice-a-Week Times.*

April 5. History of Frankford Christian Church.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Free Press.*

May 5. Looking backward. Recollections of Bolivar of 25 years ago.

———— ————*Herald.*

May 5. Half century of service rounded out. A sketch of the *Herald.*

———— Humansville, *Star-Leader.*

April 14. Battle of Humansville (Continued from March 31). See also issue of April 21.

Ray County. Richmond, *Conservator.*

April 7. Missouri capitals. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review.*

April 21. Col. Doniphan's word opened Salt Lake City. A copy of a letter written by Col. A. W. Doniphan in 1885.

May 26. In the days of the pioneer, by Mrs. L. W. Miller. Reprinted from Liberty *Advance.*

St. Louis County. Clayton, *St. Louis County Sentinel.*
July 1. St. Aloysius church will give jubilee. With historical sketch.

St. Louis City. *Post-Dispatch.*
April 17. Missouri's real Darby and Joan. Sketch of Dr. J. S. Halstead and wife of Breckenridge, 103 and 93 years old.
May 1. Sketch of St. Louis University's library.
May 22. Tragedy and comedy which veteran has seen during 28 years of fire fighting in St. Louis. Record of Chief Wm. G. Panzer.
June 5. In wild northwest with Father De Smet. Diary of John O'Fallon concerning trip to Ft. Benton in '60's.
June 12. When Bishop Tuttle rode with bible and rifle. Western life of the '60's.
June 19. How Missouri will celebrate 100th anniversary of statehood at Sedalia August 8th to 20th.

———— *Star.*
May 20. Recalls days when Broadway was too far west for business. Recollections of Capt. H. W. Brolaski, builder of old Laclede Hotel.
June 2. Old-time banker would find it hard going now. J. H. Dieckman recalls days of private banks.

Saline County. Miami, *Democrat News.*
Mar. 3. Miami in an early day.

———— ————*Weekly News.*
Mar. 17. Early history and memories of Saline county.
April 21. The Miami settlement. A short historical sketch. Continued in issue of May 19th. Reprinted from *Saline County Progress.*

Wright County. Marshfield, *Mail.*
April 14. Story of Marshfield cyclone of April, 1880.
June 9. Sketch of the life of F. M. Russel, Confederate veteran.

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